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Ecological Knowledge of the Dene Tha': Traditional Subsistence Activities and Childhood Socialization

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis involves a study of the attitudes of the children of the Dene Tha' of Chateh, Alberta toward their natural and social environment as determined by their exposure to traditional subsistence activities and to traditional knowledge in the form of storytelling or Native American spirituality. Conservationism and communitarianism are at the center of the relationships of the Dene Tha' to nature and people and are defined as positive attitudes towards nature shown by the efficient use of natural resources and preservation and towards the community based on cooperation and reciprocity. The study found that the greater the exposure children have to traditional knowledge the more conservationism and communitarianism they demonstrate as measured by maps of their community (see *Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study*, Arctic Institute). Finally, an ambivalence theory is proposed as a model for understanding contradictory characteristics of the Dene Tha', with implications for other Subarctic populations.

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INTRODUCTION AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHATEH

The Dene Tha', which means in Dene Dhah language "Ordinary People", live in the boreal forest of Northwestern Alberta, Canada and are referred to by anthropologists as the Slavey Indians of the Subarctic Region. They are also known as the Dene, which is used for referring to northern Athabaskan-speaking people in general (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). The Dene Tha' population as of 1996 was approximately 2,200 including the reserves of Chateh, or Assumption (the largest), Meander River, and Bushe River (The Dene Tha' Nation, 1997). However, the Dene Tha' traditional lands constitute a vast territory consisting of the northwestern corner of Alberta, Northeastern British Columbia, and the southern border area of the Northwest Territories, an area where people traditionally lived and traveled periodically in small family hunting groups until the 1950s (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). Even though the Dene Tha' today live in permanent settlements and have adopted a sedentary lifestyle, often engage in wage work, and have changed their lifestyle considerably due to increased contact with the dominant white society and its institutions, many of them still engage to some extent in traditional subsistence activities (TSAs) such as hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and crafts in their traditional territory. In this chapter I will describe the historical background of the Dene Tha', the ecological setting in which they live, their current lifestyle, the traditional subsistence activities that they practice, and their cultural beliefs and values.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The ability of the Dene Tha' to continue semi-nomadic patterns until the 1950s and the preservation of much of their traditional culture today can be explained by the

relative isolation of the region due to its inaccessibility caused by the environment's topography, including the Alexandra and Louise Falls on Hay River which blocked transport upstream (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). Also, since the nomadic lifestyle of Subarctic people contributed to the fur trade, there was no interest on the part of the government to change this situation, and contact between the two societies was limited to this trade (Helm, Rogers, and Smith, 1981). At the beginning of the 1900s the Dene Tha' still lived in scattered semi-permanent camps along water sources such as lakes and rivers, including the areas of Hay Lakes, Zama Lake, Duck House, Bitscho Lake, Rainbow Lake, Rabbit River, and Amber River, where they based their year-round subsistence activities (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). Major trading centers for the Dene Tha' included Fort Vermillion, Fort Liard, Fort Nelson, and Peace River, which were accessible to trappers by dogsled or horse to cash in their furs to buy items such as flour, lard, tea, sugar, guns, and other hunting equipment. Although the fur trade did not result in the permanent settlement of the Dene Tha', it did introduce new trade items and some Christian ideas which were incorporated into Dene Tha' life (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). Also, in 1900 the Dene Tha' signed Treaty 8 with the belief that it constituted a peace treaty and the sharing rather than the giving up of the land to the Canadian government. At that time a chief and council for representing the people was elected and a band membership list was created (Goulet, 1998).

Missionary contact with the Dene Tha' became frequent after the 1860s whereby Catholic priests from the Oblate order commuted from Fort Vermillion to different Dene Tha' sites. In 1917, a chapel was built along the shores of the Hay Lakes by Father Joseph Habay and the site received his name in 1953 (Goulet, 1998). Afterwards, another chapel was built in 1927-28 by Father Arbet at Hay Lakes which he used as a base to visit the scattered settlements of the Dene Tha' (ibid.). During the 1930s Dene Tha' families established themselves more permanently in log houses but still continued engaging

year-round in traditional subsistence activities at different sites, such as Habay, Meander, and Zama Lake. In the late 1940s Habay became a larger settlement, including a nursing station, a ranger station, and a trading post where people could buy goods in spring and summer (The Dene Tha' Nation, 1997).

At the beginning of the 20th century Dene traditional ceremonies evolved into the Tea Dance religion, with many Dene Tha' prophets coming from the Bitscho Lake area (Moore and Wheelock, 1990). The prophet Nogha, or "Wolverine", became the head prophet of this movement locally, and he predicted in the 1930s with accuracy the future of the Dene Tha' of today, saying that "they would be forced onto a reservation, that welfare would erode their ability to control their children, and that the land would be sectioned by cutlines used to provide access for oil companies" (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: 60-61).

Due to the collapse of the fur trade in the 1940s and 1950s, the Canadian government became more involved in native life throughout the Subarctic, introducing welfare, local schools, community health stations, and housing programs (Honigmann, 1981). In the case of the Dene Tha', this resulted in the construction of a residential school, which was built at Assumption in 1951. However, during the 1950s many of the families still resided at their previous settlements and lived off the land, with the children staying in the residential school directed by the Catholic priests during the school year and spending summers with their parents. In the early 1960s more Dene Tha' families started moving to Assumption because of flooding in Habay and due to a desire to be closer to their children. In 1965, the discovery of oil and natural gas in the area near Assumption resulted in the construction of a road between High Level and Rainbow Lake and the economic development of these centers (Goulet, 1998). In 1969, due to a demand on the part of the Dene Tha' for better living conditions, a day school was built to replace the residential school, and new services, such as a police station, a nursing station, a

courthouse, a gas station, a grocery store, and new houses built from plywood, became available. At that time the name of Assumption was changed to Chateh (Goulet, 1998). Today all of the Dene Tha' live on reserves and live off of some combination of wage work, government aid, and traditional subsistence activities. John Honigmann notes that the change to sedentarism in Subarctic populations caused women and children "increasingly [to abandon] the annual pattern of mobility to and from the trapline . . . [s]hedding a number of their economic roles [as] they remained in the settlements" (1981: 712). Also, since the 1950s, wage work and government subsidies have increasingly replaced hunting and trapping as important sources of subsistence (ibid.).

ECOLOGY OF THE DENE THA' TERRITORY

The Dene Tha' territory consists of a boreal forest with a network of small lakes and rivers over which semi-nomadic hunting groups traveled in the past using canoes, rafts, dog teams, and horses. Like most of the Subarctic Region, this territory is characterized by a continental climate which involves "long, cold winters and short, . . . mild summers separated by brief transition periods known as breakup and freeze-up" (Asch, 1981: 339). Coniferous trees such as white spruce, black spruce, and tamarack, and deciduous trees such as poplar, aspen, and white birch are found in this area. In the summer berries of all sorts are found, including cranberries, strawberries, chokecherries, saskatoons, and raspberries, all of which are still gathered by the Dene Tha', along with some medicinal plants. With respect to the fauna, moose is the major big-game animal hunted by the Dene Tha', although they also hunt deer, caribou, and black bears. Fur-bearing animals that are trapped in the region include lynx, marten, beaver, muskrat, mink, fox, wolves, and squirrels. Small-game animals and fowl that are hunted include

rabbits, porcupines, ducks, geese, and prairie chickens. Also, different types of fish are caught during summer and winter seasons.

Today the terrain of the Dene Tha' territory has changed due to logging and development by oil and gas companies and the consequent construction of access roads, cutlines, oil wells, and pipelines, including the drilling of oil in some lakes. This economic development has caused some degradation of the environment in that natural sources of water are contaminated, duck hunting last year decreased due to disease and deformities, and bears are also hunted less because they are now feeding on garbage at oil companies' sites. Moreover, the amount of clearcutting in the Dene Tha' territory is a concern, since not only coniferous trees but also deciduous trees are being logged for material used in building houses. Also, the spraying of herbicide to produce bigger trees may have negative consequences on the environment. In spite of all this, the Dene Tha' continue to engage in TSAs and adapt their ways of undertaking these activities to these changes.

CURRENT LIFESTYLE OF THE DENE THA' OF CHATEH

Today the Dene Tha' Reserve of Chateh includes both commercial and residential sectors, which consist of Townsite, New Townsite, Trailer Court, First Prairie, Second Prairie, Third Prairie, and the area of Habay Road. The Townsite is where most of the community services are located, including a grocery store with gas station owned by the Band, the school and playground, a youth center, a day care center, a privately-owned convenience store with a gas station, a privately-owned pizza parlor, the Nursing Station, an adult education center, an elders' home, the police station (RCMP), and the houses of the school principal, non-native teachers, and nurses. The rest of the community areas, with the exception of the New Townsite, are divided from Townsite by the Gun River,

and between the Townsite and Trailer Court are located the Band Office, the Arena, a shop for carpentry and mechanical work, the church, the Old Band Office (from which the local radio and TV stations are transmitted), the natural gas distribution building, and a trailer for the Child Welfare Office, which is vacant at the moment. The Trailer Court and parts of the Townsite are the most residential-looking areas and are where most of the new houses are being built in the community, in contrast to First Prairie, Second Prairie, Third Prairie, and Habay Road, where older houses, some of which do not have running water, are spread out. The household composition in Chateh varies from nuclear families to nuclear families living next to the extended family to three generations of an extended family living together. Extended families are more typical of the Prairies and houses along Habay Road, while nuclear families are more typical of Trailer Court, where most new houses are built. In general, the more traditional families tend to live outside of Townsite and Trailer Court. The Dene Tha' of Chateh have three traditional Tea Dance grounds located in Townsite, First Prairie, and Third Prairie, all associated with prophets' houses. In addition, an Assembly Ground with a stage, built fairly recently, is located in Trailer Court next to the house of another Dene Tha' prophet, where Tea Dances are held commemorating the beginning of the school year and Treaty Day.

The presence of modern technology in the life of the Dene Tha' can be observed in a number of areas. However, the number of items of modern technology owned varies greatly between families and reflects differentials in economic status. An item that is common to most households is the television, and today many families have satellite dishes. Other items that are found in some households include modern hunting equipment, different forms of transportation, such as pick-up trucks, four-wheelers, skidoos, and motor boats, electronic appliances, such as stereos, VCRs, video cameras, Nintendo sets, and sometimes computers, and domestic appliances, such as washers and

dryers. Nevertheless, many households own traditional items that reflect Dene Tha' culture, such as teepees used for drying meat, animal hides, canoes, old wooden snowshoes, ribbons of different colors placed at the entrance of people's houses for protection against bad spirits, dream catchers with animal designs, and other crafts hanging on their walls, along with rosaries, a figure of the Virgin Mary or of Jesus Christ, and other Christian symbols. Also, modern items are many times associated with traditional sharing. For example, I observed families that did not have satellites going to relatives' houses to watch movies on TV and people sometimes washing their clothes at relatives' houses and then reciprocating by spontaneously helping with a chore. Also, there is extensive borrowing of items such as vehicles or guns for hunting. Thus, the traditional value of reciprocity extends to the use of modern items.

Sources of income in the community are from wage work, government aid, and traditional subsistence activities. Employment in the community is limited and consists mostly of working in the area of services, such as administrative work, teacher's aid, community health, social workers, operators of heavy equipment, construction, automotive mechanics, cleaning, maintenance personnel, and clerical work in the stores. Work outside the Reserve for men is often part-time and seasonal, including firefighting, slashing, and drilling for oil and gas. More recently, work has been provided for men in the community by the Band for clearing trees and making roads for oil and gas companies in the timber license area. Also, many adults attend adult education classes, for which students receive some aid from the government. Few adults are going or have gone to college. Most of the professional jobs in the community are held by whites, such as the principal of the school, teachers, school psychologist, the manager of the grocery store, nurses, some professional positions working for the administrative part of the Band, lay priests, and the doctor who comes from High level once a week. Some people who are involved in wage work as well as some people who receive government aid rely

on TSAs to complement their sustenance. Trapping is done mainly by the older generation, and although it has decreased throughout the years, there are still 70 active trappers in Chateh, Meander, and Bushe (The Dene Tha' Nation, 1997). Interaction between the white population and the people of Chateh is not very extensive and remains more related to work relationships and educational contexts.

The school and the church are the two institutions, in addition to mass media, that expose the community to the ways of teaching, knowledge, and values of Western society. In the school I observed that the favorite classes of many children in my study were math, art, and gym, which do not require extensive English. In Chateh many of the children are bilingual and some do not speak Dene Dhah but understand it. Moreover, since instruction at school is more consistent with the Western approach to knowledge, emphasizing abstraction over experience, teachers many times have difficulty capturing children's attention and interest. However, traditional Dene Tha' culture is taught in the Dene Tha' Language and Culture Program, which was initiated five years ago and is taught four times a week in 40-minute periods. Also, two full days per school year are dedicated to the teaching of practical knowledge, including cooking traditional meals, doing offerings, and making traditional crafts and hunting tools, which are taught by elders and other community members. Also, storytelling by elders occurs in this class, and winter ice fishing and survival camps are conducted where the children get to go to the bush. With respect to the church, attendance varies and consists mainly of families with young children, who mostly play during the service. A priest from High Level comes once a month for officiating at the mass, but this is usually done by a married couple who have lived in Chateh for three years. Also, through the church, mission groups come for teaching the Bible, doing home visits, and carrying out other activities related to the Christian religion.

Different settings in the community serve for socializing and forms of recreation vary. The Band-owned grocery store, which provides other services to the community such as a post office, snack bar, and laundromat, is a place where adults and youths congregate and talk. Also, there are benches in front of "the store" where many adults congregate. Children like to go to the store to buy pop and candy, and many play in the aisles. Finally, teenagers sometimes go there in groups. Some adults also spend time at the Band Office and Nursing Station. For many children the Youth Center is the favorite place for getting together. There, different activities are organized for children, including the production of crafts, watching movies, playing with computers, and cooking. Children and teenagers like to visit each other at their houses and spend a lot of their time outside. The Arena during winter serves for ice skating and hockey, which is the favorite sport of many adults and children. Sometimes "sober" dances are organized there at which both children and adults are present. Furthermore, people meet each other in the bush while hunting and fishing, such as in the Habay area. Finally, Tea Dances are occasions for gathering and socializing and also moments for prayer.

In terms of recreation, adults engage in TSAs and sports, watch television programs and movies, and play bingo, while children play Nintendo, ride four-wheelers and skidoos, go to High Level for shopping, the swimming pool, bowling, and High Level Park, and go to other cities such as Edmonton to go to malls. Although television and movies are frequent activities, I observed that many times movies are not finished and the TV stays on even when no one is watching. Many families watch bingo on Wednesday nights and some even go to High Level to play bingo on the weekend. In addition, on paydays or when welfare cheques arrive at the end of the month, many adults, and especially males, party and drink with friends, which in many cases leads to intoxication and violence, representing a social problem.

DENE THA' TRADITIONAL SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES (TSAs)

In spite of all the change brought about by sedentarism, wage work, government aid, and participation in the social institutions of the dominant white society, the Dene Tha' of Chateh still engage to a great extent in traditional subsistence activities, involving hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and crafts. The extent to which these activities are done varies greatly among families, but it is safe to say that almost every family at some point engages in TSAs. Also, the diet in Chateh often includes wild game combined with store-bought products. Families that do not hunt often receive wild game from extended family members who do hunt. Although the way of carrying out TSAs has changed due to modern technology, the social context surrounding TSAs still is characterized by traditional Dene Tha' values. Thus, when I arrived in Chateh, I was told that if I wanted to get to know the Dene Tha' culture, "You should go hunting".

Many Dene Tha' continue to hunt and trap in their traditional territory. Due to the increase of development by oil and gas companies and the logging industry, much of the Dene Tha' land is accessible through cutlines made by oil exploration and dirt roads that lead to and from oil wells. Many of the people that I interviewed mentioned going hunting and fishing in or around Habay, Zama, Rainbow Lake, Manning, Chinchaga River, and Bitscho Lake, most of these being traditional territory, while Zama and Rainbow Lake are oil towns. For trapping, many mentioned having traplines in the areas already named and would describe their traplines as being close to or towards "Mobil Road", "Esso Road", or "Husky Road", using the different oil companies as reference points.

In the past the Dene Tha' traveled on their hunting and trapping expeditions by horse and wagon, canoe, and dogsled, they hunted with bow and arrow, and they used deadfalls for trapping. Nowadays TSAs involve modern equipment such as trucks,

four-wheelers, skidoos, motor boats, different types of hunting rifles, and modern bow and arrow, traps, and fishing equipment. Also, the way of hunting has changed from past times in that today the Dene Tha' use cutlines and go on the oil access roads looking for moose. Many explained that moose hunting today is done mainly by driving around slowly on the access roads looking for moose crossing or for moose tracks, which are followed into the bush. Other techniques mentioned for hunting moose include going to cutlines and calling the moose during mating season by using a cylindrical piece of wood made of birch bark to imitate the sound of a cow moose, rubbing a cow shoulder-blade against the trees to imitate the sound of moose horns, using four-wheelers to go on cutlines where trucks cannot be driven and then walking into the bush, using motor boats or canoes in the summer when moose are found in the water or near the shores, penetrating the bush by trips up the Paddle River to the Chinchaga River, and going to the moose habitats to look for tracks around the small trees and shrubs that they eat. With respect to trapping, skidoos are mostly used for going to traplines and cabins, since there are no roads deep in the bush that are adequate for trucks. For fishing, modern tackle is used, and people go in canoes and motor boats or fish along the river banks. Many people stated that hunting was done "the easy way" nowadays as compared to the past, since it is now possible to reduce the amount of time and effort by using the cutlines and access roads. For instance one woman said, "If you are lucky, you'll catch the moose right when they are crossing [the access road or cutline]; otherwise you have to go all over and . . . just go hunting and camping". This statement reflects the fact that people have less time for hunting nowadays since many are involved in wage work. Nevertheless, hunting skills are still required regardless of the fact that modern technology is used, but these skills seem to vary considerably. These skills require knowledge of the environment in terms of knowing the direction of the wind so that the moose cannot smell the hunter, being able

to detect the freshness of the moose tracks from the consistency of the soil, and having the capacity for patience and silence.

The end product of successful hunting, which is the distribution of the game that is killed, reflects continuity from the past to the present in terms of meat sharing. From my interviews, talks, and personal observations on hunting trips I had the impression that wild game is most commonly shared with the hunting party, the people who help butcher the moose or prepare the meat, and extended families. Also, many mentioned sharing meat with elders, widows, single women with children, visitors, and those who have recently had a death in their family. Finally, before Tea Dances people still go hunting to contribute meat to the ceremony. Thus, wild game is widely distributed for the most part among community members. As one woman said to me, "The meat is passed around".

Traditional subsistence activities still provide the Dene Tha' with a means to carry on their tradition, which involves "a way of life" that emphasizes interaction with nature and animals. TSAs not only contribute to sustenance but also provide recreation, an opportunity for families to have fellowship, an escape from boredom, and even an alternative to vices. Some said that TSAs are "something to do" and "better than watching TV". Furthermore, TSAs enable families to have some variety, since the bush is "a place to go", a place "where it is peaceful and there is nothing to worry about". One man said, with respect to trapping in the bush, that "you are your own boss". The reliance on traditional subsistence activities and life in the bush in the past entailed hardships but satisfactions as well, as one elder pointed out in the following statement from the *Dene Tha' Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study*:

> I haven't forgotten how I grew up in the bush. We were used to being poor for lack of necessities. But we were healthy and were always in good spirits. In order to survive in those conditions you had to be mentally strong. You couldn't be lazy; if you were, you went hungry (1997: 26).

Most families vary their TSAs according to the different seasons of the year. When I arrived in Chateh to do my fieldwork in the fall, it was hunting season, since it was the time for mating and the time when moose have the most fat. Thus, I was able to observe and experience how hunting is incorporated into the daily life of the community. I saw people almost every afternoon going to hunt for moose, ducks, geese, rabbits, and prairie chickens in the bush, both on and off of the Reserve. Some men would often join their relatives or co-workers in a hunting party after work. Also, couples would often go driving around looking for moose, many times accompanied by their children. In addition, when I visited houses during this period I sometimes saw long strips of dry moose meat hanging on a cord or in a large container, where both children and adults would tear off a chunk and eat it with salt and lard. Finally, as I walked in the community I would often see women preparing the meat by smoking and drying it in their teepees or sweat houses.

From my interviews and observations I had the impression that the time dedicated to hunting in the fall ranged from going everyday to some weekdays and weekends to weekends only, depending on the time families had left after their jobs. Also during this time many nuclear and extended families go camping for a week or more in the bush. I noticed that at school some children were absent because they had gone hunting with their father or grandfather for a day or had gone camping with their families for a week or more. Some of the families said that they would use part of their vacation from work during this period in order to go camping and hunting. When people go camping to stay for a week or longer in the bush they take drinking water (since natural water is polluted due to industrial development), some store-bought food, including canned meat and wieners, and/or frozen wild game, gasoline for their vehicles and four-wheelers, tents and sleeping bags, and other personal items. Camping in the bush is sometimes interrupted for short trips to either Chateh or other nearby towns in order to get more water, gas, and

food. Also, I noticed one time that a family even returned to Chateh to watch bingo on TV and to wash clothes.

It was my observation that during a hunting/camping trip males spend most of the day hunting and bring back the wild game to the camp, where they socialize, spend time with the children, tell about their day of hunting, and eat. Females and small children usually stay in the camp. Females do several things in the camp, such as take care of the fire, skin and cut the small animals, smoke them, cook them, make tea and coffee, gather spruce boughs for the camp floor, and gather wood for the fire and water from nearby ponds for washing dishes. Children spend most of their time playing in the camp, sometimes making teepees, playing tag, drawing, practicing hunting with their BB guns, and helping the females with chores. While the men are hunting the women spend a lot of their time sitting around the fire talking, doing chores, and watching their children. Also, nuclear families sometimes leave the campsite together and drive around for a few hours on nearby access roads looking for game.

The hunting/camping experience is characterized by a mixture of modern and traditional features. For instance, tents are used along with teepees and other structures made from poplar trees in the campsite area, and the teepee is covered with a tarp for protecting the fire at the center against wind and rain. Even though store-bought food is consumed, wild game from the day's hunt is also eaten every day. Camping in the bush is an important experience for children since it takes them away from TV, Nintendo, and other types of modern entertainment and permits them to be directly exposed to TSAs, whereby they are able to learn by observing and participating themselves, which is the type of learning and teaching that is characteristic of the Dene Tha' traditionally.

In winter, trapping becomes the major seasonal activity. The frequency of this activity is less than that of hunting, and it is done mainly by the older generation. Nevertheless, there are some younger males who engage in trapping when they do not

have to work at their seasonal job. Trapping, from what I gathered in the interviews, involves staying in a cabin in the bush for up to a week, setting the traps, and then going back and forth from the community to check the traps. Many families in Chateh still have cabins in different parts of the traditional territory, and on the weekends in winter and summer cabins are places where extended families often visit and do TSAs together, representing another important learning environment for the children. Also, during the winter, ice fishing is done in Habay and sometimes Bitscho Lake. In spring, the hunting of fowl is one of the most frequent activities. During the summer, the hunting of fowl and moose, along with fishing and gathering berries, are TSAs in which people engage. Camping, duck hunting, and fishing are usually combined in the summer, and the most frequent place for them is Habay. Many community members said that Habay is a place for socializing and visiting in the summer, since "the whole community moves there".

In general, traditional subsistence activities are divided according to sex. Males hunt for big and small game, butcher the moose, trap, and fish, and females cut and dry the meat, fish and hunt small game, gather berries, and make crafts with bush products. The women in Chateh still dedicate time to the processing of moose hides for making moccasins, mukluks, gloves, and pack-sacks, and bush products are used for making other crafts, such as tufting, beadwork for moccasins, birch-bark baskets, earrings and necklaces from porcupine quills, and dream catchers. Nevertheless, most of the participation in TSAs by women is done by the older generation, especially processing moose hides, drying meat, and the production of most crafts, since many younger females either do not know how to do these things or do not have the time for them due to their work.

In addition to participating in TSAs the Dene Tha' still value traditional knowledge associated with these activities, such as storytelling and spiritual ceremonies. Storytelling about animal people and hunting experiences from the past reflect the

importance still given to these mythic beings, the powers received from animal helpers, and the values of sharing and cooperation that are derived from nature itself. Also, spiritual ceremonies such as the Tea Dance symbolize the value of reciprocity between humans and nature. Finally, traditional knowledge is transmitted today mostly from grandparents to their grandchildren.

Stories told today by the Dene Tha' are intimately related to TSAs, to struggles associated with living off the land in the past, and to the relationships between humans and animals. Thus, one elder said, "The stories are to help people live; that is why people told about these dangerous beings" (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: xi). In Dene Tha' stories great importance is given to dreams and visions, which are the vehicles for acquiring power from animal helpers, resulting in knowledge that is personal because of being learned through experience and observation. Thus, the purpose of the stories is not only to prepare children for survival in the bush but to teach moral values. Today, these stories are important for teaching the children the value of mutuality with nature and between people themselves.

The Tea dance, or Prophet Dance, is a ceremony that has continued to this day among the Dene Tha'. Its purposes are several, including praying for the well-being of the people, for success in hunting, for good weather, for people who have died, for the longevity of the older generation so that they can teach the children, and, nowadays, for the children to have a good year in school. The ceremony involves speeches by spiritual leaders with reference to their dreams, through which they advise the people, the offering of tobacco and moose fat to the fire, sharing a meal of moose meat and potatoes with bannock and tea, and dancing to traditional drumming and songs. Christian elements, such as rosaries and the act of crossing the self, are present. Although I did not get to see a typical Tea Dance during the period in which I collected my data due to the fact that important elders had recently died, I did make a field trip with members of the Arctic

Institute in November of 1997 on which I was able to be a participant observer in an offering that had some of the components of the Tea Dance.

In conclusion, the life of the Dene Tha' today is very different from that of their semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer ancestors in that life now involves living on a reserve, using modern technology, participating in the dominant white society's institutions, and being in contact with the rest of the world through modern mass media and transport. However, the Dene Tha' have not cut completely their ties to the past, since they still engage in traditional subsistence activities in the bush, in storytelling, and in rituals such as the Tea Dance. Thus, although traditional conceptions of the world may have less influence among the Dene Tha' of today than in the past, their values and way of life still distinguish them from the dominant white society and even from the acculturated sector of indigenous society. Even Dene Tha' youth, although raised on a reserve, exposed systematically to Western education and religion, and heavily influenced by the modern mass media, still show the influence of the past in that a good number of them participate in TSAs and traditional knowledge, including familiarity with Dene Dhah, the Dene Tha' language, storytelling, and spiritual ceremonies, resulting in somewhat of a dual existence.

Chapter II

THEORY

INTRODUCTION

The broad theoretical framework adopted for this study is that of psychological anthropology and specifically the relation of subsistence economy and child socialization to the formation of values (see Malinowski, 1939; Kardiner, 1939, 1945; Whiting and Child 1953; and Barry, Child, and Bacon, 1959). It is my purpose to relate traditional subsistence activities (TSAs) that are still practiced among the Dene Tha' of Chateh, Alberta (including hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering of plants, and any activity derived from these, such as preparation of game for consumption, processing of the hides, and crafts) to the transmission of conservationist and communitarian values through child socialization by direct exposure to TSAs or indirectly through storytelling or spiritual ceremonies.

Even though the Dene Tha' of Chateh nowadays engage to a great extent in wage work, reliance to different degrees on hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and crafts is still present and is prominent. These traditional subsistence activities are considered to be the foundation of Dene Tha' culture and represent the core values of this society, centered around the twin concepts of conservationism and communitarianism. By conservationism, I mean an efficient use of resources and environmental preservation. By communitarianism, I mean a positive attitude towards the community based on cooperation and reciprocity.

It is the hypothesis of this study that the degree of exposure of children to TSAs will determine their attitudes towards their natural and social environment in terms of how much conservationism and communitarianism are observed. The greater the

exposure to TSAs the more these values should be demonstrated. It is also predicted that conservationism and communitarianism will be present at the same time, since there is an implied connection between the two. In order to better understand the cultural factors which I am studying, I will first attempt to describe the theoretical background on which my study is based by including an overview of the theories of socialization within the field of psychological anthropology, and second, I will describe the reasons for attributing to the Dene Tha' culture the values of conservationism and communitarianism by including an overview of the theoretical issues in the literature on hunter-gatherer research. The issues that most relate to my study are retention of cultural values by the continuation of some traditional subsistence activities in the face of modernization and the relation of hunter-gatherers to their natural and social environment.

THEORIES OF CHILD SOCIALIZATION IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Studies on child socialization within anthropology began with the theories of the Culture and Personality School, which is today referred to as psychological anthropology. Interest within the field on child socialization arose from attempts to understand the relationship between culture and personality.

The early School of Culture and Personality had three main sources of influence: (1) Franz Boas' ideas on historical particularism and cultural relativism, whereby societies were seen as developing in different ways according to their particular historical context and thus needed to be interpreted in their own terms, ideas which counteracted theories of social evolution based on unilinear stages; (2) Sigmund Freud's emphasis on childhood experiences as an important factor for the development of personality; and (3) Bronislaw Malinowski's psychological functionalism, according to which the biological

and psychological needs of the individual are satisfied through expressive systems such as religion, art, and play.

Margaret Mead carried out the first studies in anthropology on child-rearing, wherein she questioned, from a cultural relativist standpoint, concepts concerning universal human development proposed by psychological theories (adolescence as a stage of turmoil in *Coming of Age in Samoa* [1928] and animism as a universal stage of child development in *Growing Up in New Guinea* [1930]). Mead's theoretical framework adhered to Ruth Benedict's configurationalist approach, which described culture as "patterned, integrated wholes" (Piker, 1994). For Benedict and Mead, culture and personality were treated as the same thing. Influenced by gestalt psychology, "cultural wholes are greater than the sum of their parts" (Bock, 1980: 68). Many combinations of traits are possible, yet these are limited by the configuration of a particular culture. Thus, configurations integrated many different aspects of a culture, such as economic practices, family structure, political structure, religion, and folklore, which could only be understood in relation to the whole (Bock, 1980). This approach went beyond Boas' approach to culture, since it attempted to interrelate institutions, ideologies, and personality through the theme of sociocultural life (Harris, 1968) and moved beyond historical reconstruction to attempt a more psychological understanding of culture (Bock, 1980).

Mead's major contribution probably consisted of viewing child socialization as the foundation of the relation between the individual and culture (Piker, 1994) and thus "[setting] the stage for investigations over the next forty years into the relationships among cultural environments, child-rearing practices, and adult behavior" (Harkness, 1992: 105). Moreover, Mead's research constituted "the first scientific evidence on variability in children's environments and behavior" (ibid.). In Mead's view, the child acquires a personality that is formed by the main patterns or themes provided by the

culture. Thus, it follows that the child was assumed to be a relatively passive receiver of cultural information. However, this idea was somewhat modified by Mead during her more mature years through her concept of "enculturation", which she understood to be the *process* by which cultural patterns are internalized and learned from generation to generation and by which the child becomes the adapted adult in his society. Robert LeVine summarizes Mead's approach to enculturation as follows:

> Mead (e.g., 1964) and her co-workers have looked at enculturation in the terms of communication and information theory. Child rearing is seen as a process of communicating culture to the child, encoded as implicit and explicit messages in behavior (1982: 62).

Thus, this idea held that personality consisted of a configurational *process* instead of a configuration of *traits*. Nevertheless, the configurationalist approach revealed weaknesses in terms of not being able to explain how the relationship between the different aspects of a culture and child-rearing practices and personality came to be nor could it account for cultural change within a system.

In the 1930s, following a Neo-Freudian approach, the psychoanalyst Abram Kardiner developed a theory that synthesized past anthropological knowledge on personality with psychoanalytic causal mechanisms to explain personality formation, involving both conscious and unconscious processes. Kardiner increased the importance given to the natural environment and to subsistence techniques for adaptation. Moreover, his theory posits a reciprocal relationship between personality and culture. On the one hand, personality is formed by culture through *primary institutions* that include child-rearing practices, which are based on subsistence techniques. A *basic personality structure* was considered to be shared by members of the society, and this in turn, due to frustrations and anxieties created by the primary institutions, produced *secondary institutions*, or projective systems, formed by the unconscious, which include art, folklore, myth, warfare, and religion. Furthermore, the conception of socialization behind

this model is that of the acquisition of impulse control (LeVine, 1982). LeVine notes that in the process of socialization "child-training customs . . . cause personality patterns . . . which are expressed in projective [systems]" (1982: 64).

This theory was tested by Cora Du Bois in *The People of Alor* (1944), and her findings, based in part on projective tests, were consistent with Kardiner's theory for the most part, with the exception of a greater variety in personality types than what was expected, leading Du Bois to postulate the concept of "Modal Personality", replacing that of "Basic Personality Structure". According to the concept of modal personality, members of a society were assumed to share certain common tendencies but not the same personality structure (Bock, 1980). However, Kardiner's approach did not explain historical factors, and his analysis of the ethnographic data did not fully explore the sources of primary institutions which he had suggested in his model were adaptations to the natural environment through subsistence practices (Piker, 1994). Rather, Kardiner put a greater emphasis on the part of the model that dealt with projection in terms of how repressed experiences in childhood were projected onto secondary institutions. This relates to the method used for interpreting the ethnographic material, which was mainly clinical interpretations and the use of projective tests (Piker, 1994). Nevertheless, this approach constituted an improvement in theory, since it explained personality as mediated by different aspects of the culture.

John Whiting and Irvin Child (1953) incorporated Kardiner's theory and modified it. Kardiner's primary institutions were defined as *maintenance systems* and involved the economic, political, and social organizations of a society which influenced *child-training practices*, and these created *personality variables* that in turn produced *projective systems*. The model thus included greater emphasis on environmental and economic factors related to subsistence and separated child-rearing practices from maintenance systems, the former being derived from the latter. Moreover, Whiting stated that the

model's causal direction could also be reversed or involve feedback. In *Child Training and Personality* (1953), child-rearing customs were treated as "antecedents" and customs related to illness were treated as "consequents". Aspects of the maintenance systems were not fully explored, and only types of marriage and structure of family unit were taken into account. The emphasis in the theoretical model was still placed mainly on the relation of child-rearing practices to personality formation and projection. The psychoanalytic concept of fixation was used to measure anxiety caused by harsh socialization practices and how these were projected onto beliefs about illnesses.

Whiting's model for psychocultural research assumed that adults in all societies have the same psychobiological needs, motives and capacities but that they behave differently due to beliefs, values, and subsistence techniques of their respective cultures (Whiting, 1973). Thus, this theory, in addition to positing great psychobiological uniformity, stresses the importance of factors from early childhood, including the child's learning environment and interpersonal relations. Finally, John and Beatrice Whiting (1978) summarize the influences on their approach to the study of the relation of culture and personality, including the importance of history from Leslie Spier, the functionalism of Bronislaw Malinowski, the materialism of William G. Sumner and George P. Murdock, the psychoanalytic approach of John Dollard, and the learning and behavioral theories of Clark Hull and Neil Miller.

Herbert Barry, Irvin Child, and Margaret Bacon, in their 1959 article, were the first to specifically test the relation between what they called *subsistence economy* and child training. This study intended to investigate and explain the source of child-rearing practices and their variability in different cultures as determined by subsistence factors, including the first causative agent in Whiting's model, that of maintenance systems. Priority was placed on the adult role required in the economy of the society, which was hypothesized to depend on the degree of accumulation of food resources, and this would,

in turn, determine the type of child training that would be favored. On the high end of accumulation of food resources (pastoral and agricultural societies), training for obedience and responsibility would be stressed for the adherence to techniques already known to the society in order to maintain their resources. On the other end, hunter-gatherers were considered to be low accumulation societies due to their consumption of food resources as they are obtained, which would involve training for self-reliance and individual achievement, since innovation would be more welcome. The researchers in this study developed codes for the training of independence (Barry, Child, and Bacon, 1967) and grouped them in six categories: responsibility, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, obedience, and general independence. These codes have been used with some variation in other studies (e.g. Whiting and Whiting 1975; Munroc, Munroe, and Shimmin, 1984).

The hypothesis of Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959) was tested by rating ethnographies of 104 societies. The above variables were rated for both boys and girls in this study. Also, these societies were rated for a more general variable of socialization involving compliance and assertion, whereby pressure towards compliance was correlated with high accumulation societies and assertion with low accumulation societies.

In a follow up on Barry, Child, and Bacon's 1959 paper, the *Six Cultures* project (1975) attempted to investigate the relation of maintenance systems to the learning environment of the child with a greater emphasis put on the total setting, including the child's interactions with other children and adults, the mother's workload, tasks assigned to the child, and the salience of the mother and father. It was hypothesized that this learning environment would determine the social behavior of the children (Whiting and Whiting, 1975). The *Six Cultures* project was the first study to include both cross-cultural and intracultural approaches, since children from the same culture were compared on the

basis of their learning environment, which was not assumed to be the same in every case (ibid.). In this study behavior was used as an index of personality, and behavior was considered to be responsive to social situations involving the child's learning environment.

In the *Six Cultures* project, socioeconomic structure and household structure proved to be the strongest determinants of the children's social behavior. In simpler societies with no distinct classes, a lack of superorganic authority, mother with high workload, and greater self-reliance on the part of the children, the children had higher nurturance and responsibility, since work is expected from them. Societies that were more complex in socioeconomic structure and with opposite characteristics demonstrated more egotistic and dependent behavior on the part of the children. These findings were somewhat different from those of Barry, Child, and Bacon because the types of societies studied in *Six Cultures* were different, involving more complex societies and not including hunter-gatherer societies. Also, in societies with nuclear-family households, child behavior was more sociable-intimate. In patrilineal extended-family households child behavior was more authoritative-aggressive. The social behavior of the children was compatible with adult role requirements, and early economic tasks assigned to the children helped to identify them with their parents. In addition, sex differences were found between boys and girls, with girls being more intimate-dependent and nurturant than boys, explained by more frequent interaction with their mothers and infants. Boys were found to be more dominant-independent and more aggressive due to spending less time at home and having more interaction with peers. Moreover, it was found that children's behavior varied depending on the people with whom they interacted.

The *Six Cultures* project resulted in a revision of Barry, Child, and Bacon's theory in that the Whitings found that the workload of the mother rather than the amount of accumulation of food resources accounted more directly for the training for

responsibility, since the former determined the tasks assigned to children. The Whitings (1978) refer to Patricia Draper's study of the Kung! Bushmen, where parental and child behavior were observed to support their hypothesis, since the workload of women was considered to be much less than agriculturists, giving children more free time for playing and practicing skills on their own, which were important contributors to the tendencies toward self-reliance and achievement. Ruth Munroe, Robert Munroe, and Harold Shimmin (1984) replicated the *Six Cultures* project using the same categories of child social behavior and obtained similar findings, that the amount of productive labor engaged in by the children was a result of the family's labor needs and that this tended to produce responsible behavior that went beyond the work setting, in contrast to children who did not work.

The *Six Cultures* project reduced significantly the theoretical importance of early experience in favor of social settings in particular cultures and, therefore, involved more situational or "sociogenic" explanations (Schegel, 1994). A trend of change from psychogenic to sociogenic explanations occurred after the 1970s in psychological anthropology (Schegel, 1990; Harkness, 1994). However, other studies that have included both psychogenic and sociogenic explanations within the interactionist approach are those by John M. Roberts and Brian Sutton-Smith (1962), and more recently the study by Herbert Barry and Alice Schegel (1990), who incorporated theories from psychology, anthropology and sociobiology.

Valuable contributions to studies on socialization within psychological anthropology include the interdisciplinary approach to explain issues of human nature involving universal regularities as well as cultural uniqueness (Bock, 1994), the relation of personality and culture within an integral model (Bock, 1994; Piker 1994), and, finally, the role of socialization in the transmission of culture from one generation to another (Piker, 1994). The rich type of explanation used by these approaches, involving

not only observed behavior but also symbolic aspects, lends itself for employment in my project in Chateh, since here observations of children's interactions are combined with the children's verbal associations to and fantasies about their drawings and the expressive meaning attached to these.

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN HUNTER-GATHERER RESEARCH

Research from the 1960s on hunters and gatherers achieved a new understanding of these societies that was somewhat in contrast to the preceding perspective based on cultural evolution. The new perspective viewed hunter-gatherer societies as being socially complex, involving small, mobile bands with an egalitarian political structure based on generalized reciprocity, and economically and environmentally sustainable and more "affluent" than previously thought due to the amount of time for socializing and leisure. Over the next few decades further research was done on optimal foraging strategies, hunter-gatherer exchange and trade relations with other groups, and the diversity found within the category of hunter-gatherers by distinguishing between "generalized" versus "complex" hunter-gatherers (Price and Brown, 1985) and between "immediate return" versus "delayed return" societies (Woodburn, 1982; Testart, 1988).

In the 80s and 90s a "revisionist" perspective criticized past research on hunter-gatherers with respect to the idealized picture of hunter-gatherer society as pristine, egalitarian, and conservationist. Moreover, this critique questioned whether hunter-gatherers constituted a separate category. Revisionists maintained that hunter-gatherers had not been placed within the contexts of the regional and world economic systems, and they also suggested that hunter-gatherer societies might be "a noncategory, a construction of observers mired in one or another brand of romantic idealism" (Lee, 1992: 169). Thus, hunter-gatherer research has become one of the most

controversial areas of investigation within anthropology, and some critics have questioned the legitimacy of this field of inquiry.

Richard Lee (1992) summarizes the revisionists' arguments on two main points. Past research has been criticized for ignoring historical and political issues and for conceiving of hunter-gatherer societies as being pristine. The revisionists argue that the long contact of these societies with regional and international economic systems has transformed the hunter-gatherer way of life so as to be unrepresentative and that these societies now reflect relations of domination and accumulation of wealth characteristic of class societies. From an ideological point of view, critics argue, hunter-gatherer researchers can only see "the other" as a "flawed perception of themselves" (Lee, 1992: 172). Lee disagrees with the views proposed by the revisionists and sees them as influenced by the intellectual climate of the Late Capitalist era and the changed conditions in many hunter-gatherer societies. He concludes that the revisionist bias is an attempt to "project the contemporary patterns of [social] destruction [and] outside domination [of hunter-gatherer societies] into the past" (Lee, 1992: 176).

New trends and changes in views have taken place today in the field of hunter-gatherer research concerning the idea of these societies as proto-typical of "human nature" in general. Also, the observation that even hunter-gatherer societies which have coexisted with farmers have retained much of their cultural identity has been used to refute the critics of the field. Furthermore, Lee has noted that it is important to understand the hunter-gatherer mode of production not just in ecological terms or in terms of subsistence but as "a communal mode of production" (1992: 178). Finally, Lee notes that a model for understanding hunter-gatherers should involve a three-fold process: first, understanding the internal dynamics of communal relations of production; second, understanding the historical dynamics involved in the interactions with other

groups; and last, understanding the "articulation and incorporation within the modern world system" (1992: 180).

In what follows we will examine the traditional subsistence activities of Subarctic hunter-gatherers, referencing hunter-gatherers from other areas from time to time, in terms of their retention of traditional values. Specifically, the values of conservationism and communitarianism will be analyzed in terms of their relation to traditional subsistence activities.

Retention of Values Through Traditional Subsistence Activities Within the Process of Modernization

Bruce Cox asks the following question: "Can foragers use skidoos, boats with kickers, or bush planes to reach their hunting grounds?" He answers, "Likely they can, and still remain foragers, if their relations of production remain unaffected" (1987: xiv). According to this view the hunter-gatherer mode of production is not determined by the technology used but rather by the social relations involved in these activities.

Due to increasing contact with Western society for more than a century and the changes produced from this contact, ranging from new technology, sedentarism, and incorporation into the Western economic system, modern hunter-gatherers are perceived by many researchers as having been assimilated into the dominant society. The point to be made here is that modern hunter-gatherers have not been assimilated altogether with respect to the essence of their culture and instead have adapted to modern changes in different ways by reinterpreting Western institutions within their own traditions, incorporating new technology into traditional subsistence activities and continuing to engage in traditional subsistence activities while complementing them with other types of labor.

Many researchers after the 1920s emphasized the "disintegration" or "acculturation process" in native Subarctic societies due to socioeconomic changes, while some recent authors (Tanner, 1979; Ridington, 1992; Goulet, 1998) have drawn attention to a process of "creative adaptation". Thus, according to the latter interpretation, "the long-expected assimilation of the Indian has never materialized" (Goulet, 1998: 83). Jean-Guy Goulet, in his analysis of Dene Tha' religion, a term which he prefers to refer to as "the Dene Tha' way of living and doing things" (1998: xxvii), noted that "the Dene [Tha'] have successfully incorporated key Christian symbols into their ways of knowing and living without changing the essentials of their world view and ethos" (1998: 221). Thus, the Dene Tha' have integrated Catholic beliefs into their indigenous cosmology without opposing the two systems. Moreover, Goulet finds that spiritual beliefs related to traditional subsistence activities and involving the concept of animal helpers are still, in the "cognitive sense", present in Dene Tha' youth and give meaning to events (1998: 85). Another example of the reinterpretation of tradition by contemporary youth was described by George Fulford (1994), where he showed how Mashkeko Cree children reinterpreted the contemporary Western "ninja turtles" as a modern version of the mythical Cree turtle, a culture hero who fought against evil. Thus, the ninja turtles are seen as modern culture heroes who fight against modern evils (alcohol abuse and violence).

Adrian Tanner (1979) provides us with an example of how the Mistassini Cree of the Subarctic reinterpreted capitalist economic institutions. He rejects Eleanor Leacock's prediction based on her "acculturation" theory that Mistassini Cree engagement in fur trade would eventually replace the hunting mode of production as a means of sustenance and would result in an individualistic pattern of trapping. Tanner, using a "transformational" approach, notes that although the Hudson Bay Company considered the equipment and supplies advanced to the trappers as credit under what is known as the

"putting out" system, the natives interpreted it as a gift to be reciprocated with furs at a later date. This system occurred and was maintained due to the fact that the fur trade did not involve a capital-intensive mode of production, the government was not involved, the trapping areas were geographically isolated, and the resources were somewhat stable (Tanner, 1979). Tanner describes this system as follows:

> The 'putting out' system can in fact be understood as a transformation of the traditional system of Indian gift exchange, and it is therefore easy to understand why in the early days of the fur trade transactions with Indians frequently followed an established ceremonial pattern. The trader made a gift in goods; the Indian repaid it in furs (1979: 66).

Thus, under this system, the exchange of furs for equipment and supplies should not be classified as a purely capitalist exchange. Moreover, Tanner notes that it was the trapping system that was accommodated to the hunting mode of production and not the other way around. Thus hunting for subsistence continued to be important. Tanner describes how individuals in their hunting groups dedicated their time to both activities, with the trapping done by the individual and hunting done in groups. Finally, he states that "[the] cultural ideology based on hunting continues relatively independently of the economic and political subordination of the Mistassini band; [it] is a major finding . . . and . . . may be understood theoretically if we examine the total 'mode of production' " (Tanner, 1979: 181).

Ideas about the "acculturation" of hunting peoples have been advanced because of the incorporation of new technology and other aspects of Western life into the traditional subsistence activities and daily lives of these people. However, George Wenzel (1991) makes a good point on this issue in his analysis of the history of Inuit economic and social life, its relation to the traditional activity of harvesting seals, and the seal ban placed by the European Economic Union in 1983 and extended in 1985. He shows how Westerners view the Inuit's harvesting of seals as a commercial activity based

on profit whereas the Inuit's perception of the harvesting of seals involves their traditional subsistence activities and their relationship to the Inuit way of life and culture. Moreover, Wenzel points out that traditional subsistence activities are viewed by many anthropologists and the public "as the material state of hunters' lives", but he states that "what the term actually describes is the cultural values that socially integrate the economic relations of hunting peoples into their daily lives" (1991: 57). The Inuit have often been seen as "acculturated" due to their adoption of modern technology, although Wenzel makes the point that the use of modern technology is not due to having been assimilated but rather is an adaptation in order to maintain the core aspects of their culture, which are centered around traditional subsistence activities. By using snowmobiles the Inuit were able to travel to traditional hunting grounds, which were at a greater distance due to their relocation to reserves. Wenzel points out how tradition is viewed with exoticism by Westerners and the consequent incapacity of most Westerners to think dialectically. Rather than emphasizing the artifacts used for Inuit traditional subsistence activities, it is necessary to look at the social relations instead. Wenzel also made the point that the Inuit used seals for consumption and traded them to buy equipment for hunting. Thus, he found that the gain was directed towards consumption, no surplus was involved, and therefore there was no accumulation of wealth. In addition, much of the knowledge required for hunting, such as stillness, patience, concentration, and having a "hunter's mind", was still used by the Inuit, since these could not be replaced by modern technology.

Robin Ridington (1992), based on his research on the Beaver, had findings similar to those of Wenzel on the Inuit. He emphasizes that techniques, skills, and knowledge, or "artifice", were more important for the adaptive success of nomadic peoples of the Subarctic than the use of artifacts. Ridington views the means of production in these societies as being "mental as well as material" (1992: 65). He also agrees with Wenzel

that hunting is more than just subsistence. Ridington describes this view in the following way:

> In thinking about hunting and gathering people who must move frequently from place to place . . . technology should be seen as a system of knowledge rather than an inventory of objects . . . . The essence of hunting and gathering adaptive strategy is to retain, and to be able to act upon, information about the possible relationships between people and the natural environment. When realized, these life-giving relationships are as much the artifacts of hunting and gathering technology as are the material objects that are instrumental in bringing them about (1992: 86).

Thus, ideology, including religion, is intimately related to traditional subsistence activities, since it forms part of the cultural knowledge about the natural environment and about human relations, knowledge that is expressed through dreams and stories. Ridington says that folk stories provide "a model for the adaptive artifice required for nomadic people" (1992: 71).

The continued engagement in traditional subsistence activities by modern hunter-gatherers in the Subarctic and other parts of the world thus results in the maintenance of many of the core values of their societies. Goulet noted that, as of 1991, many of the Dene Tha' still relied, at least in part, on hunting and trapping and also engaged in ceremonial offerings such as the Tea Dance to pray for "well-being in general and success in hunting in particular" (1998: 209). Moreover, he notes that although many of the traditional beliefs are not actively practiced by the younger generation due to the influence of Western institutions, there is evidence that the Dene Tha' still retain many of the core aspects of their culture. Hugh Brody (1980) also noted that, among the Beaver, children were sent to the bush when they misbehaved in order to learn how to relate to others, as a form of social control. With respect to Arctic cultures, Wenzel (1991) noted that the continuation of traditional subsistence activities by the Inuit seemed to help preserve the values of their culture. Thus, Inuit traditional subsistence activities shape the social relations of the people and their values, reflected by sharing and generalized

reciprocity. In addition, Inuit traditional subsistence activities connect the community to nature and, through hunting, young people learn the moral values of Inuit society. Therefore, these activities represent a "cognitive model of the world" (Wenzel, 1991: 140), and "Inuit subsistence is . . . not part of Inuit culture [but rather] *is* Inuit culture, since it encapsulates a self-image and identity shared by all Inuit" (1991: 10, emphasis in original). Furthermore, Wenzel (1991) confirmed that the European ban on the trading of seal skin threatened the fabric of Inuit culture. Finally, in the African tribe of the Ik, Colin Turnbull (1972) found that when they were deprived of their rights to hunt and relocated by the government on lands for agriculture, there was a disruption of their social system and a rapid degradation of their cultural values.

However, the expansion of Western technology to Subarctic cultures has been inevitable, resulting in a restructuring of traditional subsistence activities and an attempt to reinterpret new technology in old situations. For the Beaver, according to Ridington (1992), these changes brought modifications in their means of production and ideology. Since the new technology was not part of their folk stories or cosmology, "[it was an] artifact for which the Beaver people had no artifice" (Ridington, 1992: 78). Also, Ridington noted that the introduction of firearms weakened "the spiritual relationship of knowledge and mutual understanding" between hunters and animals and between hunters themselves (1992: 78). This is revealed by a folk story about one hunter killing another with a rifle, thinking he was an animal. Ridington states that the Beaver gave meaning to these artifacts and to European institutions in terms of their own culture and reinterpreted Christianity according to their traditional religion. Wenzel (1991) also noted the impact of relocation and the need for new technology to access hunting grounds on the part of the Inuit. Thus, the increase of dependence on wage work introduced a class structure into Inuit society. Nevertheless, Wenzel notes that the Inuit have continued to use feasts as an old strategy for redistribution and social leveling.

Conservationism and Its Relation to Traditional Subsistence Activities

Understanding the subsistence activities of Subarctic hunter-gatherers means understanding the relations of their mode of production to other aspects of their culture and examining the interrelationships of people with the natural environment and between themselves. As reviewed above, the mode of production in hunter-gatherer societies is related to non-material as well as material processes. In this section I will summarize anthropologists' knowledge of Subarctic hunter-gatherer cultures based on myths, dreams, and divinations, all religious rites for illuminating the ideological matrix involved in traditional subsistence activities and the values associated with these, which I believe to be conservationist in nature.

Robin Ridington (1992), in his analysis of Beaver traditional subsistence activities, questions the Marxist interpretation of mode of production, which excludes ideology. Ridington notes Maurice Godelier's extension of Marx's concept of mode of production to societies where "productivity depends above all on variations in ecological conditions" (Godelier in Ridington, 1992: 96). Godelier maintains that a lack of control over the environment in hunter-gatherer societies results in the projection of social relations onto nature. Thus, he sees the ideology of hunters and gatherers as being "spurious", magical, and irrational (Godelier in Ridington, 1992: 97). However, Ridington argues that ideology, as a type of knowledge about nature, is part of the mode of production, and thus is not "spurious". Therefore, according to Ridington, the mode of production in hunter-gatherer societies is one "that controls human relationships to the environment rather than the environment itself" (1992: 97). Nevertheless, although Ridington agrees that more emphasis is placed on understanding the natural environment than controlling it, he notes that some control is exercised via supra-rational means, involving dreaming and divination.

Adrian Tanner, from his study of the Mistassini Cree, concluded that in this society religion and technology are parallel and that "the concept of production includes . . . an ideological level", thus coming close to Ridington's position (1979: 10). With respect to divination, Tanner notes that "the conceptual opposition between the magical and the common sense methods of hunting are not drawn attention to in Cree thought" (1979: 201). Even though Tanner admits that these two types of knowledge are not opposed to each other, he does not consider that they may be different aspects of the same thing, both involving mental processes about material knowledge. Tanner also implies that divination can have a rational component, since it is "a means of thinking about their hunting activities" (1979: 100). Thus, divination is a type of problem-solving.

Hunter-gatherer myths reflect a process of identification with nature in which animals are seen as persons and human ways of life are projected onto them. Tanner (1979) observed this in the traditional myths of the Mistassini Cree which told of animals living according to Cree forms of social and cultural organization. Tanner nevertheless feels that these "beliefs" should not be taken at face value, since the modern Cree would not accept them. Instead, what is important in these myths, as they relate to beliefs from the past, is that they "explain the origins of the hunting rituals that are used today" (Tanner, 1979: 137). According to Tanner, "we may say that the hunting rites are believed to constitute an effective form of magical action, and that they depend to some extent on reconstituting the world 'as if' the conditions of mythic times were in place" (1979: 137). Thus, even though the "beliefs" involved in the myths may not be considered to be real, they are reenacted through the rituals of hunting and through the relations of the hunters to the animals by the respect shown to them. Along the same lines, Jean-Guy Goulet (1998) states that Dene Tha' tradition considers animals to be "other-than-human-persons" and refers to a time in the past when animals and humans "spoke the same language, married, and cohabited" (1998: 62). However, according to

Goulet, although the Dene Tha' do not technically believe this anymore, they still consider animals and human beings to have "intimate relationships" (ibid.).

Thus, in hunter-gatherer society, the reciprocal relationship between hunters and animals is projected back onto human social interaction. Ridington (1992) refers to the reciprocal relationship between humans and animals and between humans as one of "mutual understanding". He describes the process as follows:

> In order for a hunt to be successfully completed, the animal had to have previously given itself to the hunter in a dream. Both animals and hunter were supposed to have been known to one another before their physical meeting in the hunt itself. Animals were believed to be pleased by the hunter's respect for their bodies and to notice his generosity in distributing the meat. Hunters sought to develop an ability to think like game animals in order to predict an animal's perspective. The hunter's understanding of an animal's thought process was believed to be mirrored by the animal's understanding of how humans fulfilled obligations incurred in the hunt (1992: 88-89).

Thus, relationships are the basis of the hunting mode of production, which includes both understanding and respecting the animal by careful disposal of its parts and sharing the meat with other human beings. Ridington adds that it was believed that the quality of interpersonal relationships between people affected their relationships to the animals and that bad relations amongst the hunters made animals not give themselves to them. Also, he notes that the role of dreams in hunting was not as a cause of successful hunting but rather as an estimation of the probability of success and could be said to be a preparation for hunting by anticipating the event, thus "visualizing and organizing the hunter's information about the complex pattern of potential relationships between humans and animals" (Ridington, 1992: 66).

Goulet notes that among the Dene Tha' the "relationship between human beings and animals . . . is a social one" (1998: 63). The Dene Tha' engage in a reciprocal exchange whereby the animals give themselves if they are treated with respect (ibid.).

Also, the Dene Tha' believe that animals become the helpers of certain hunters and give them some of their power, which commits them to a life-long relationship. Among the Mistassini Cree, Tanner (1979) notes that an attitude of respect towards game animals is predominant, since these are considered to be persons and the efficient use of the animal is emphasized by consumption of the meat, the use of bones and hides for ritual material, and the disposal of parts not used by burning them, burying them in the snow, or, in the case of bones, placing them on platforms, throwing them in a lake, or hanging them in trees. Thus, animism seems to be associated with conservation, including efficient use of resources and preservation of the natural environment.

Native religion and ritual is the connecting link between nature and human beings and functions to process environmental knowledge symbolically. Among the Mistassini Cree, Tanner states that "bush religion . . . is approached very much as a set of environmental phenomena . . . [and is thus] a natural philosophy" (1979: 213). Ridington (1992) prefers "adaptation" rather than "religion" for explaining the knowledge derived from nature and animal helpers. Ridington's hesitance to use the term "religion", which he finds limiting, can be explained by the functions of native "religion". Religion in the Mistassini Cree has a practical aspect, since "ritual symbolism is not overtly aimed at the formation of ideological messages but ostensibly at acting upon the environment, either directly or through the unseen entities" (Tanner, 1979: 214). Tanner, for instance, describes scapulimancy, divination by "reading" the shoulder-blades of dead animals, as part of "a specific ecological and decision-making context" (1979: 124). Furthermore, he notes that religion is not detached from daily life and aids in the mode of production of the Mistassini Cree by "totalizing the sense data" (Tanner, 1979: 208).

Thus, ideology, in the form of religious practices, rationalizes hunting techniques, mediates between the natural environment and the people, and makes explanations available at a conscious level about interaction between the environment and the people.

Tanner (1979) implies that Cree religion legitimizes common sense hunting techniques at the cognitive level through rites and divination. According to him, "religious actions involve the mediation of non-human persons [animal spirits]" and also mediate between the environment and the social institutions (Tanner, 1979: 211). Tanner notes that, for the Mistassini Cree, religion provides an "explanation" for environmental events and serves to preserve social harmony, since "the amount of uncertainty that may appear in an otherwise known and controlled context" seems reduced (1979: 213). Thus, through religion, cultural rules are usually maintained even in times of crisis. However, Tanner, from a Western point of view, implies that in times of crisis this may be inadequate, since "far from giving [real] assurance in time of trouble, Cree religion merely says why things must be the way they are" (1979: 213). He goes on to state that the people who experienced the famine of 1925-1940 in the Nichicun region told him that "the disappearance [and reappearance] of the animals had been foretold by the elders" (ibid.). Tanner implies here that the elders are always making contrary predictions so that they can never be wrong, but he does not take in consideration that the elders may have noticed environmental alterations that were atypical and that the prediction helped to make the Cree feel more in control of their destiny.

Thus, the relations between the people and the natural environment are mediated through religious beliefs and are, in turn, concretized through totemism and taboos. Totemism is part of a world-view that incorporates animism and shamanism. By viewing animals as sentient and living beings, it is believed that human beings can communicate with them through dreams, visions, or divination and, through these, achieve a relationship of "mutual understanding" (Ridington, 1992: 68). Shamanism supposedly involves a more active knowledge by which the shaman can intentionally make connection with different animal spirits. Through totemism native religion became more concrete and through taboos provided a system of morality and social control which

originated with respect for animals but extended into the social sphere. Also, in the cognitive realm, problem solving is carried out through dreaming and divination and provides mental and spiritual knowledge which puts technical knowledge in context and goes beyond it.

Religious rites also provide a concrete form through which traditional subsistence activities link the environment and human beings. The "Walking Out" ceremony described by Tanner (1979) reveals the reinforcement in children at an early age of their future roles in the subsistence economy. This ceremony takes place soon after children learn to walk. It consists of children walking out of their tent carrying either a toy rifle for "hunting" in the case of a boy or an axe for "chopping wood and gathering spruce boughs" in the case of a girl. Then the child follows a straight path to a tree, circles the tree, and goes back to the tent. This ceremony also shows the importance of walking for traditional subsistence activities, and children's moccasins are often decorated to symbolize that they helped lead the hunter to his prey (Tanner, 1979). Another important rite involving adolescents is the "First Kill" ceremony, when a young man kills for the first time a large game animal, on which occasion he is considered to be a "new marriageable person" and a feast takes place (Tanner, 1979: 179).

Although the natural environment is considered in native religion to be a benefactor, it is also considered to be a source of potential frustration and even danger. Since hunter-gatherers did not exert control over their environment, the environment could give to the people as well as withdraw from them. This fact results in a kind of ambivalence towards nature, whereby it is seen as both nurturant and devouring. Some myths demonstrate the concern for starvation and dangers in nature. For instance, Ridington describes the origin myth of the Beaver, which describes Saya, the culture hero, as "he traveled along looking for all those bad animals, the giant ones that kill people" (1992: 130). According to the myth, in ancient times human-eating

monster-animals existed which were killed by the culture hero, who brought the animals of today into this world. Ridington thus describes the cultures of northern hunter-gatherers as follows:

> [These cultures] may be understood as systems of information that guide and sustain the intelligence of individual thought and action. The cultural and individual intelligence . . . are complementary products of a long coevolutionary process" (1992: 118).

Also, since this process goes all the way back to Paleolithic times, it is even possible that the myths about monster-animals are partly related to predators that threatened human beings in that period. Another example of a myth associated with ambivalence towards nature is one described by Tanner in which people were starving and asked help from a supernatural being, who fed them more than they could eat and killed them for not being able to finish. This myth is related to the traditional "Eat All" feasts among the Mistassini Cree at which people were served more than they could eat and the food not eaten was carefully sealed to prevent air from touching it. The above myth and related rite also stress conservation, since they emphasize not letting any food go to waste.

Ridington notes that since success rates in hunting were traditionally low, there was considerable social pressure on the hunter. He concludes that failure in hunting and misfortune in general was rationalized and projected to another person, who was accused of violating the hunter's taboos, causing a medicine fight. In the medicine fight aggression was often displaced to someone outside of the individual's hunting group, thus avoiding a decrease in hunting efficiency within the group. Ridington describes the process as follows:

> The high odds against success . . . make projection rather than guilt a useful response to failure . . . . Projection takes the onus from the person and allows him to try again (1992: 157).

Thus, the medicine fight was a way to master anxiety over environmental constraints without decreasing the hunter's self-confidence, which would reduce his efficiency in hunting.

The vision quest was another way of mastering anxiety over dependency on the natural environment. In the vision quest two types of transformation take place. One involves the child's powerlessness in the bush that is changed by the child becoming a "newly empowered" person after he receives the powers of his animal helper (Ridington, 1992). In turn, this transformation will in the future, through hunting by the child, change animals into meat for the people. Ridington states that "the hunter has learned through his vision quest to enter the cycle of death and creation that brings meat into camp to feed the people" (1992: 63). Goulet (1998) also notes that in the vision quest of the Dene Tha' the child appears "pitiful" so that an animal will help him and give him his powers.

In conclusion, the value of conservationism seems to come from a relationship with nature based on animism. Also, an environmental situation based on uncertainty and scarcity undoubtedly reinforces this value.

Communitarianism and the Communal Mode of Production

Although hunting in Subarctic cultures has traditionally involved a communal mode of production, Subarctic people have been characterized by their "individualism" in social interaction and personality traits according to classic ethnographic accounts (e.g. Helm, 1973; Honigmann, 1946; Manson, 1913; Hallowell, 1955 [cited in a literature review by Christian and Gardner, 1977]). Edward Rogers, in a review of the history of ethnological research on the Subarctic (1981) in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6, notes that ethnographers have long debated whether Subarctic people are individualists or communitarians. Within the broader field of hunter-gatherer research,

individualism has been reported in many cultures from Asia, Africa, and North America, a phenomenon which has been called by Peter Gardner (1991) the "individual-autonomy syndrome".

Many authors believe that the term "individualism" misrepresents hunter-gatherer cultures and does not lead to an understanding of the real nature of their relationships (Sahlins, 1972; Testart, 1991; Lee, 1992; Ridington, 1992; Goulet, 1998). Jane Christian and Peter Gardner, in their review of the classic literature on Subarctic peoples with respect to "individualism", found the following characteristics described among the Dene and question this view as follows:

> They are quiet, uninterfering, independent almost to the point of anarchy. We almost have to force ourselves to remember that there *are* active communities, there *is* effective communication, there *are* shared agreements about behavioral propriety and there *is* cooperation (1977: 5, emphasis in original).

Robin Ridington (1992) criticizes early scholars for using the term "individualism" without explaining the cultural context in which this behavior takes place. Jean-Guy Goulet further notes that terms such as "autonomy" and "individualism" "suggest a form of self-assertion that ignores the presence and well-being of others", which he believes does not apply to the Dene Tha' (1998: 27). Alain Testart (1991) considers the concept of "individualism" to be vague and does not think that individualism is characteristic of hunters and gatherers. Instead, he points out the importance placed on sharing and ponders, "Could we not conclude that 'individual autonomy' is seriously limited by the feeling of group solidarity?" (Testart, 1991: 565). Testart sees food sharing as "a principle of law that is the opposite of the 19th-century liberal conception of individualism" (ibid.).

Most of the debate seems to relate to defining hunter-gatherer "individualism" by using Western concepts of individualism and thus misinterpreting the essence of

hunter-gatherer culture. Recently, better interpretations and definitions of this phenomenon have been suggested. Ridington (1992) relates Subarctic people's "individualism" to that noted by James Woodburn in "immediate return" egalitarian societies and describes Subarctic leaders as exercising knowledge rather than control over others. He defines Beaver "individualism" as "working autonomously toward a common goal" (Ridington, 1992: 116). Goulet interprets "individualism" in Dene Tha' society as "the ethical principle of personal responsibility for one's life and that of others", in contrast to the term "noninterference" (1998: 27). George Wenzel (1991) uses the term "interdependent autonomy" to describe Inuit society.

Individual autonomy is most readily seen in the Subarctic notions of knowledge and power. Ridington (1992) cites Frank Speck as one of the first ethnographers to describe individual knowledge as part of a "transformation" process. This transformation occurs when hunters come into contact with animals through visions and dreams, and the dreams form "part of the process of revelation by which the individual acquires the knowledge of life" (Speck in Ridington, 1992: 102). Ridington notes that "this power allows a person to focus his or her thoughts on the complex and ongoing pattern of transformations of which each individual's life is a part" (1992: 102). The knowledge and powers acquired through the process of transformation are best expressed by individuals through visions, dreams, and divination.

The vision quest also involves a process of transformation of an individual whereby he or she acquires knowledge from friendship with an animal, but this process eventually extends to the group, since the power that the animal renders to the individual will later be used to help others with hunting and healing. Knowledge and power are acquired by individuals in Subarctic hunting societies, but the benefits of this knowledge are always shared with the group. To illuminate this point, I will summarize Ridington's account of the vision quest, which explains the process of transformation through which

a child goes. Children learn about animals and the relation between people and the natural environment from the stories they are told. At about the age of 8 to 10 years a child is ready to receive a vision. He goes to the bush without any water and abstains from food. When the child encounters his animal helper the transformation occurs, upon which the child enters a mental state comparable to drunkenness and is able to identify with the animal to such a degree that he can understand the animal speaking to him. When the child returns to his family he is not able to understand the people's language. Thus, Ridington notes that the vision quest is a process of self-knowledge whereby "people do not find animals in themselves but rather begin to find themselves in the nature of animals" (1992: 58). Through the vision quest the individual acquires knowledge which later, through dreams and songs, will aid the group in hunting and healing, but Ridington notes, as follows, that the vision quest is more than that:

> In the vision quest the child is given a path to the realization of his own humanity. The vision quest symbolically transforms the child's meat into spirit, and the hunt transforms the animal's spirit into meat (1992: 60).

The power acquired from a vision is not revealed as a youth and remains personal. Nevertheless, people come to know a person's power when he is an adult by this person's avoidance of certain foods and situations, and this person is said to "know something" (ibid.)

Goulet also notes that acquiring knowledge through observation or personal experience is favored among the Dene Tha'. Stories have the role of teaching children about right and wrong and the consequences of each. Moreover, stories become the starting point and background of knowledge that will be acquired later in life (Goulet, 1998). Thus, stories aid the individual by passing on to him the knowledge of the people who created the stories. With respect to the teaching of autonomy, Goulet notes that it is not that the Dene Tha' do not act directly; rather, according to Goulet, "the Dene [Tha'] promote *their* values and view of life: they consistently maximize the number of

occasions in which one can learn by oneself and for oneself what it is to live an autonomous life competently" (1998: 36, emphasis in original). Children are taught autonomy (competency) by being able to explore their surroundings by themselves, and adults do not interfere most of the time, thus creating confidence in the child. Goulet observes that "Dene [Tha'] parents impose few restrictions, if any, on their children's access to experience" (1998: 39). He also notes that individuals are expected to be responsible for themselves. Thus, Goulet concludes that "the consequences of actions, not prohibitions from parents and relatives, teach one to modify one's behavior on one's own" (1998: 45).

Just as spiritual knowledge is appropriated by the individual for the group, some individual autonomy is also necessary for the hunter-gatherer economic mode of production. Self-reliance encourages the innovation of hunting technology and techniques, which are then shared with the group. The relation of reciprocal giving between hunter and animal is projected onto social relations, becoming generalized reciprocity, whereby the production of the individual hunter is appropriated for the group (Tanner, 1979). Although the hunter-gatherer mode of production results in a high degree of egalitarianism, there is the possibility for individual achievement and status. Nevertheless, this is limited by what Richard Lee (1992) calls "leveling devices". In other words, although some individualism is required for transformative experiences and technological innovation, the rewards for this individualism are intentionally limited in order to prevent the development of a hierarchical society. Tim Ingold refers to this type of individualism as "*holistic egalitarianism*" (1987: 239). Thus, although individual differences are recognized and rewarded in a limited sense, they do not become the basis for substantial inequality that would distinguish the individual significantly from the whole. Therefore, the individual in the hunter-gatherer mode of production always operates within a communal, collective context. Ingold further contrasts native

individualism to that of Western society by stating that, with the former, "far from standing opposed to others, [the hunter-gatherer] incorporates them into the very substance of his being". (1987: 239) Thus, Ingold describes the social life of hunters and gatherers as follows:

> [It is] a certain *quality of relatedness*, both among people and between people and their environments. In other words, our aim is to discover the properties of hunter-gatherer *sociality* . . ., [which is] a radically alternative mode of relatedness (1990: 130-131, emphasis in original).

Finally, Ingold believes that this type of relatedness is most characterized by mutual trust, which involves the "acceptance rather than denial of the autonomy of the other" (1990: 130). Thus, the above discussion has been an attempt to describe the communal mode of production and the communitarian relations produced by this type of economic organization. Lee (1992) has stated that it is the communal relations of these societies that have most defied description and explanation. Thus, it is necessary to reinterpret the "individualism" of Subarctic peoples described by classic ethnographic accounts as a type of flexible communitarianism, in contrast to contemporary communism (see Lee, 1990).

TRADITIONAL SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES AND CHILD SOCIALIZATION

In this chapter I attempted to explain the theoretical approach of the thesis by summarizing the theories within psychological anthropology that relate subsistence activities to child socialization. In addition, in the second section engagement in traditional subsistence activities was described as involving more than just subsistence and including the world-view and way of life of Subarctic and Arctic hunter-gatherer societies. Due to this fact, the continuation of traditional subsistence activities, in spite of the use of modern technology, helps to maintain values that are intimately connected to

these activities. In the case of the Dene Tha', not only has modern technology substituted for traditional technology but the degree to which traditional subsistence activities are carried on in comparison to wage work has decreased considerably. However, in spite of these changes, there is strong evidence that the values of their ancestors have been preserved to a great extent on the part of the Dene Tha'. Thus, for the Dene Tha', I have used the terms *conservationism* and *communitarianism* to refer to these classic values of hunter-gatherer society. Conservationism refers to the use of the natural environment efficiently, preservation, and ideological beliefs involving an intimate connection between the people and the environment, based on respect and mutuality, which are represented in stories and rituals that are still told and practiced today. Communitarianism refers to the relations maintained between the people based on a communal mode of production involving generalized reciprocity and sharing.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Since the hypothesis in this research is concerned with the relation between the socialization of children and traditional subsistence activities (TSAs), particularly in the areas of the socialization of communitarian and conservationist values, it was necessary to study the following: the exposure of the children to TSAs, what is transmitted from caretakers to the children about the natural and social environment, and how this transmission is reflected in children's drawings and verbal associations to these. Thus, the methods selected were diverse and included interviews with caretakers, children's individual and group drawings of their community, and behavioral observations of children's interactions in the group drawings.

The process of socialization and internalization of values was beyond the scope of this research since this occurs over a long period of time and would require a longitudinal study. However, it is possible to estimate the process of socialization in a short frame of time by doing a simulation of reality, where the child and caretakers participate, as for instance in a game (e.g. Tallman, Martoz-Baden, and Pindas, 1983). In my study it was considered that interviews with caretakers and children's drawings would reveal somewhat the intentions of caretakers and the effects on the children. Thus, for measuring the independent variable (children's exposure to TSAs), semi-structured interviews were administered to the caretakers of the children involved in the study. For measuring the dependent variable (conservationism and communitarianism), a methodology for using children's drawings was developed. In addition, participant observation was used as a tool for acquiring more information about the present state of

the community, getting more familiar with the culture, and acquiring more knowledge about traditional subsistence activities by direct observation and by conducting informal interviews with different members of the community.

The main source of data for this study will be the analysis of children's maps of their community. This study represents an attempt to simulate the Arctic Institute mapping project (see *Dene Tha' Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study*, 1997), which constitutes the source of the original idea for doing this study and focusing on children. The advantages for using children's drawings were as follows: they were easy to collect, they represent a condensed "interview" of each child, and most importantly, in contrast to an interview, the drawings and their verbal associations, since they are somewhat projective, reveal insights about the hypothesis that I could not have obtained in formal interviews.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF METHODOLOGY OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

Studies of Subsistence Economy and Child Socialization

The methods used for these studies have been diverse, since the research has been interdisciplinary, involving psychological anthropology, psychology, and sociology. This section will summarize the methods used by the pioneers of this field as well as relevant studies that have followed up on the subject. I will also review the literature on the use of children's drawings in anthropology and psychology and will relate these studies to my own, which has as its main method the quantitative and qualitative analysis of children's drawings.

The methodology in *Child Training and Personality*, the 1953 study of John Whiting and Irvin Child on the relation of theories of disease and child-rearing practices,

focused on the gathering of cross-cultural information from 75 societies, the ethnographies for which had been compiled in the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) by George P. Murdock. Due to the nature of the hypothesis involved in this study a cross-cultural comparison was needed for testing the hypothesis. John and Beatrice Whiting explain in their article "A Strategy for Psychocultural Research" the use of the cross-cultural method as follows:

> We have attempted to test hypotheses both across and within societies. In the former case we have treated societies as units of analysis, have rated them on sets of variables and made tests of associations between the variables. . . . All of our findings are of necessity based on correlational studies. Since when one is working with human beings it is difficult to devise appropriate experiments, one is forced to search in his own and other societies for naturally occurring variations in the life experiences of individuals and attempt to assess their influence on behavior and related aspects of culture (1978: 46).

Following the theoretical model derived from the findings of *Child Training and Personality* (1953), which suggested but did not test the relation of maintenance systems, which include subsistence economy, to child-rearing, Herbert Barry, Irvin Child, and Margaret Bacon (1959) also used the cross-cultural approach and relied on the HRAF for information about the societies to be compared according to either low or high accumulation of resources and the related character traits in children. The researchers in this study developed codes for each of the character traits to be rated.

Studies that relied solely on the use of general ethnographic material from the HRAF, such as in the case of Whiting and Child (1953), proved to be limited, since the ethnographic accounts included scant references to child socialization and had different theoretical perspectives. This called for a need to conduct specific ethnographic research about all aspects of children's lives and the socialization process during childhood, where comparable data could be derived from a sample of diverse cultures throughout the world (Whiting et al., 1966; Whiting and Whiting, 1978).

Thus, the lack of systematic ethnographic work on child socialization and the interest in the theory developed by Whiting relating economic factors to child-rearing practices brought a new approach to the study of child socialization which permitted comparisons "*within* and *across* cultures" (Whiting et al., 1966: 3, emphasis in original). The *Six Cultures* project (1975), as it was called, employed a variety of new methods that were elaborated and compiled by an interdisciplinary team involving psychologists and anthropologists in the *Field Guide for the Study of Socialization* (1966), which gave specific instructions as to the recording of nine variables of behavior to be studied: mothers' interviews, children's interviews, Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT), behavioral observations, ratings, and rankings. The dependent variables involved succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression, and social interactions involving 12 categories of behavior related to the nine character traits were scored (e.g. seeks help, seeks attention, seeks dominance, shows responsibility, offers support, offers help, acts socially, touches, reprimands, assaults sociably, assaults, aggresses symbolically [insults]) (Whiting and Whiting, 1975: 57-58).

The use of behavioral rating scales as the major source of data in this study reflects not only the influence of learning theory on this research but also the decline of projective tests in the field of psychological anthropology due to problems of reliability (Whiting et al., 1966; Whiting and Whiting, 1975, 1978). A study which preceded the *Six Cultures* project in the 1940s called the *Value Study* (1966) collected first-hand ethnographic material from three cultures in the same general geographic location in the American Southwest and included interviews with mothers and projective tests with children in order to compare differences in child socialization. The projective tests of this study involved a dog picture test, "Magic Man" test, and an identity test but were considered by most anthropologists to be unreliable and difficult to score (Whiting et al.,

1966). Also, the sample of only three cultures was considered too small for testing the hypothesis that differences in settlement pattern and household structure account for the differences in child-rearing practices and values reinforced in socialization (ibid.).

The method used by the Whitings in their study of child socialization that came from the *Six Cultures* project and more current research, which has involved in-depth ethnography of a particular culture to further test their theory, is best exemplified by the following statement:

> The progression for our research in this area best exemplifies the strategy which we try to follow, namely, working back and forth between the macro cross-cultural and the micro level, the detailed study of type cases, if possible making comparisons within a geographic area, and finally the study of individual differences within a society (1978: 50-51).

After the *Six Cultures* project, more research on the relation of subsistence economy and child socialization has been done using statistical analysis of macro cross-cultural data (Welch, 1980), both macro cross-cultural data and type cases with both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Barry and Schegel, 1991), and behavioral observation in a small, cross-cultural sample (Munroe, Munroe, and Shimmin, 1984).

Studies of Children's Drawings

Psychologists have pioneered in the area of interpreting children's drawings, and this research is considered to be a rich source for assessing personality, the relation of self to others, group values, and thoughts and feelings that may be hard for a child to express verbally (Klepsh and Logle, 1982). Therefore, art, including drawings, is considered to be "*pictorial* language" (ibid., 1982: 7, emphasis in original). Even though there is considerable information on children's drawings in the psychological literature, anthropologists have not found it very useful. Very few studies have relied on children's

drawings as a reliable source of data to be complemented by the ethnographic account. Margaret Mead, in *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930), used as a small part of her ethnography Manu children's drawings to test the children's imagination and to investigate whether children are more animistic than adults. The fact that the children's drawings were realistic caused Mead to conclude that the children of New Guinea were unimaginative and thus refuted the universal idea that animism was an inherent aspect of childhood thinking. Another study by Wayne Dennis (1966) used the psychological test Draw-A-Person to assess the cultural identity of Native American children.

It seems that the reason that most anthropologists have been uninterested in children's drawings as an important source of data is related to the projective quality of these and their association to projective tests such as the Rorschach and TAT, which anthropologists came to consider unreliable (for a good review of methods used in psychological anthropology, including projective tests and drawings, see Edgerton, 1970, and Barnouw, 1973). In addition, psychologists' use of children's drawings has mostly been for studying the developmental stages of childhood based on Western culture, a model which has not been fruitful for anthropology. More importantly, after the Whitings anthropologists have preferred the direct observation of behavior over its expression through projection.

However, two fairly recent works, one within the area of urban studies and another within anthropology, show the importance of drawings when doing research with children. A cross-cultural Unesco study was conducted by Kevin Lynch (1977) in diverse cities. The aim of this research was to gather information about "the way in which children use, image, and value their spatial environment, particularly where that is changing rapidly due to planned or induced development" (Lynch, 1977: 81). Thus, the intention of the research consisted of documenting how changes in the spatial environment of the child affects the child's life and development. The methodology

involved in the study included asking individual children from the sample of each country to draw a map of their community, asking the children questions about the places drawn and additional questions that were part of an interview that was done together with the map. The questions from the interviews inquired about the places and aspects that the children liked or disliked about their community, their feelings towards different places, their use of the places with respect to the activities in which they engaged, their knowledge of their community with respect to different places and history, and what they had done and where they had done it the day before. The researchers also had the option of accompanying the children to the places in the community that they drew on their maps to further discuss them. The objective of this was to get additional information about the children's perspectives and feelings about the places in their communities and also to study differences in attitudes and behavior between the children in the groups. Interviews with parents about their knowledge of their children's use of the environment were optional, and interviews with officials who are involved in the planning of the community were used to assess their knowledge and awareness of the children's use of the environment. Finally, in order to supplement the children's maps and their interviews, behavioral observations of the children in open places of the community were recorded in order to find out how each child uses or is frustrated (getting hurt or being constrained for an activity) by the environment, the territoriality of space involving conflict and competition, modifications of the physical space by the children, and the changes of activities and movement by children to different physical spaces. The maps done by the children, as well as their comments on the places drawn in them, reflected the children's sense of their community, including their identifications and affective values. This was salient in the material gathered from children of the community of Las Rosas, Argentina. In spite of the relative poverty of this community, its small size and communitarian values resulted in greater identification with and concern for the community on the part

of the children, including hope for the community, as reflected by children's maps of the community and their references to it, which were better than the reality.

In *Children's Drawings in A Mashkeko ('Swampy Cree') Community* (1994), George Fulford used children's drawings to find out how children in this community perceived their lives and their world, which were mediated by the children's drawings and their blending of native traditional culture with Western culture. As Fulford mentioned, his reason for interpreting the drawings collected from the Cree children was "to explore the phantasy world, as well as the culturally-mediated modes of cognitive functioning, of these children" (1994: 97). The analysis used the structural approach of Claude Levi-Strauss for the analysis of myth and applied it to children's drawings, since Fulford viewed the drawings "as a form of discourse" (1994: iv). From analyzing the structure of the drawings Fulford realized that the form and content were related to verbal and visual associations, most of which were unconscious. The author hypothesized that in the process of drawing in groups the children interacted with each other by a form of "unconscious word play" (Fulford, 1994: 98). Fulford found that the children went back and forth cognitively between English and Cree in the process of unconsciously communicating about their own group interactions and interactions in their community, including social problems such as drinking, gambling, and family violence. The themes that Fulford found reoccurring were the fight between good and evil (represented in the children's drawings by the good ninja turtles fighting the bad ones), the children's struggle to form an identity in a changing world, uniting certain aspects of Cree and Western culture, and the despair caused by social problems and the anxieties these created in the children. The drawings were collected during regular sessions of the poker games that the parents of these children engaged in. The children sat together at a table and each drew several drawings in one session, representing a sequence of interrelationships which could make a story. Sometimes children drew alone, and at these

times they did not engage in any wordplay. Fulford explained that he would ask the children to tell or write stories about their drawings and that the children would prefer instead to make him another drawing. Finally, in his review of the literature of children's drawings, Fulford notes that the value of children's drawings in portraying the child's microcosm has not been appreciated by anthropologists as it has been by psychologists. He includes only two references on analyzing children's art that pertain to anthropology in that they study how drawings are culturally mediated with respect to the content and form of the drawings, but these studies do not achieve the level of an ethnography nor do they involve an in-depth analysis of content.

METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The methodology of the present study is an attempt to investigate childhood socialization through the use of caretakers' interviews, children's drawings, and behavioral observations about the same. The methodology of the urban study by Kevin Lynch (1977) is combined with mapping methodology from the *Dene Tha' Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study* (1997) done in Chateh by the Arctic Institute, along with some of my own modifications for making these methodologies fit into the framework of this study. Due to the short period that I spent in Chateh and the fact that I had to do the study with the children during school, the use of drawings and behavioral observations seemed to be the best strategy. By taking the position adopted by Lynch and Fulford that drawings would reveal the children's knowledge of their community and their attitudes towards it, and using the technique of asking children questions about their drawings, along with spontaneous verbal associations, an advantage was obtained over simply recording behavioral observations, which would have been less focused.

Sample Selection

The selection of the sample of children to be included in the study was done according to age. It was considered that the most pertinent ages for the study were 8 to 11 years old, because by that time the child would be between childhood and adolescence and would be forming a social identity (Erikson, 1950), would have already internalized social values (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988), would have at least begun to participate in TSAs with their caretakers, would be highly sociable and manageable for the researcher, and would respond to the task of drawing maps well (confirmed in the pilot study). Moreover, since the research had to be carried out in the school, it would be more likely that their attendance would be higher than older children (less of a likelihood to skip school). This age-group corresponded to grades 3 to 6 in school. As I visited the classrooms it became more evident that the use of drawings would work well since that was one of the assignments that the children liked the most. In addition, for the purpose of statistical analysis, the samples needed to be no less than 20-40 each for High and Low, a number which I would be likely to find in the four different grades, which averaged about 20 students per class.

At the onset of fieldwork the sample consisted of 82 children and 64 families. This decreased to 56 children because of 5 children who moved out of the community while the project was taking place, 3 children who were absent when the project was done, 5 children who eliminated themselves by not wanting to draw or quitting during the project, 5 children whose drawings remained incomplete because they were called back to class during the project, and, finally, 8 foster children who were taken out of the study. The reason for the elimination of foster children was because of a lack of a consistent role model in many instances due to their mobility from one home to another, revealed in the caretakers' interviews about these children, making the hypothesis difficult to test in

these cases. In many instances the caretakers of these children did not know much about them and their past history, and these children often received differential treatment compared to the biological children of these families. Nevertheless, I collected drawings and information from all children in these grades and only discriminated for the purpose of analysis.

Participant Observation

Preparation Before the Project

Direct observation was the first method employed as I started to learn more about the field site, finding my way around and getting acquainted with community members as well as spending considerable time in introducing myself and my study to the community and trying to build relationships of trust. Also, I invested some time in visiting the school (since this would be the place where I would conduct the study), planning for practical issues involved in the project, such as visiting the children in the grades selected and observing them in class, getting enrollment lists for these grades with names and phone numbers of caretakers to be interviewed, coordinating with teachers the amount of time that would be required to conduct the project, observing the children during recess and becoming familiar with them at a personal level, visiting the public places where the community members often interact, and trying to find key people who could contribute to my knowledge of the community and hence enhance the study. Furthermore, I took advantage of every opportunity presented to me to be an observer of or a participant in TSAs, which resulted in my going hunting with members of the community on two occasions.

General and Exploratory Questions

During the early period of fieldwork I tried as much as possible to acquire more knowledge on the topic of traditional subsistence activities in order to understand them better and prepare better questions for caretakers' interviews, trying to understand better how conservationism and communitarianism related to TSAs. For this I conducted some informal interviews with a diverse group of community members, asking general questions about TSAs, such as how much reliance on TSAs they think there is nowadays, how these activities have changed over the last 20-50 years, the reasons for engaging in TSAs, how these activities are being practiced (e.g. how much technology is being used), who the real practitioners of TSAs are (so I could differentiate between those who talk about TSAs versus those who actually do them), and how the people share or distribute moose meat. I also engaged in informal conversations about TSAs as well as other topics of interest concerning the community in which I let the conversation follow its own course.

My Role

Since I spent most of the time at the school and my arrival coincided with the beginning of the school year, I was often thought to be a teacher. People were often curious when they saw me walking on the roads, spending time at the school, going to the Band Office, or shopping at the community grocery store, and they would stop and ask me who I was and what I was doing in the community.

Many people would start a conversation with me by asking, "Are you a new teacher?" Then I would explain to them that I was a graduate student at the University of Calgary conducting research with the children at the school in order to find out what they thought of their community and how they used nature, as well as their knowledge of hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and crafts, and their participation in these. The

length of my explanation varied, depending on the time I had available, the person whom I was addressing, their interest in the subject, and my judgement as to whether the person would be a good source for the research. If the person was familiar with anthropology and/or individual anthropologists who had conducted research in the community previously, I went ahead and told them that I was an anthropology student. Like many anthropologists in a new community, I felt some mistrust from a few people (usually the most educated ones or advocates for the community) as well as the distance that exists between residents and newcomers, especially when your role is ambiguous at the beginning and you are questioned as to how you are going to benefit the community. As soon as my face became more familiar and I established some friendships, the guard went down.

As I had expected, the children in the school were the first ones in the community to accept me, and they showed a lot of curiosity about my person, since my accent showed that I was foreign. I told them that I was from Peru and that in my country people speak Spanish. Most children were interested in me because they wanted to learn words or phrases in Spanish, and many of them would ask how to translate into Spanish a specific word or phrase. This was how I started to establish rapport with the children. They too thought that I was a teacher at the beginning, but their perception of me changed quickly as they saw me often on the playground, walking on the road going to the house of the family with whom I stayed, and getting rides with the school bus. Also, the fact that I invited them to call me by my first name changed their attitude toward me and encouraged more friendship. All these things distinguished me from a teacher. Although the children knew that I came to the community with a purpose, since they saw me taking notes while they were in recess or in class, they were still puzzled about my role. I explained to them that I came to study and write about how the children in Chateh lived and what things they liked to do. Therefore, since I was an adult, spent most of my

time in the school, and did some work with them there, they saw me as a combination of teacher and friend.

Interviews

Purpose and Design

As I started conducting the interviews I realized that the independent variable for the study had to be modified to measure the extent of children's exposure to TSAs as opposed to the caretakers' participation in these. Before the interviews there was the underlying assumption in the hypothesis that if a caretaker dedicated a considerable amount of time to TSAs his or her child would have a high exposure to these. In almost all cases this holds true, but in a few cases it did not, so the change to emphasizing the child's exposure was needed. In addition, in the beginning there was the assumption that even if the child did not participate in TSAs as much as the caretaker, the values of communitarianism and conservationism would still be transmitted since the caretaker would have internalized them himself or herself and would have passed them on to the child. However, I learned that experience of TSAs, either directly through participating in them or indirectly through exposure to traditional storytelling or offerings, is essential in most cases to the internalization of traditional values.

The modification relating to the child's exposure as opposed to the caretakers' participation did not change the interviews, since I had included questions that related to degree of participation for the caretakers as well as the child's exposure to TSAs (see appendix 3). Nevertheless, I became more aware of the importance of the exposure, or experience, of the child and put a greater emphasis on this than I had done at the beginning.

The interviews also had the purpose of providing general information on how TSAs are currently practiced by collecting this information from each family. The interviews did not elicit any private or controversial information. Moreover they were fashioned in a semi-structured way so as to allow freedom to the interviewee to express as much as possible, providing me with new information on the subject, since I was still learning about the general aspects of TSAs (one of the reasons why I did not use totally structured interviews). Also, it was thought to be culturally inappropriate to use totally structured interviews with Native Americans (see Arctic Institute's mapping project).

Canvassing Approach

In order to begin the interviews it was suggested to me by a member of the community that I should send a letter to all families in the sample to let them know that I wanted to interview them. I wrote a brief letter describing the purpose of the study and sent it to the families in the sample by way of the children from school, and in addition, I asked the caretakers to reply letting me know the best time for interviewing them (see appendix 2). This strategy built trust since it was sent with the children's school assignments. The letters were sent during the last part of September and the interviews were begun on October 5. The process of receiving the responses from the caretakers was considered somewhat successful but slow and even lasted until the end of October. I noted also that most of the responses came from female caretakers, which made me think that most of my interviewees would be mothers. Nevertheless, I decided to proceed with the interviews in early October since I and other members in the community predicted that not having a response from a family would not necessarily mean not accepting an interview. In different instances children told me that they lost their letter before getting home and would ask me for a new one, since the teachers had offered some rewards for children who brought back their letter.

Before conducting the interview I did two things that were very important. First, I gave the interview questionnaire to two community members to whom I had explained my research and who I thought could give good criticism in terms of the appropriateness of the questions. Their response was that the questions were clear and that the only sensitive questions were I.2 and I.3, which asked if each of the caretakers worked (see appendix 3). Since a considerable amount of the population in Chateh live off government welfare, I agreed that it could be sensitive. I decided to try these questions out as they were in the questionnaire in the first interviews and assess the response by the reaction of the interviewee. The questions did not seem offensive, since interviewees were given a chance to choose between working outside of the house versus working at home. This question was intended to find out the degree to which the caretakers dedicated time to TSAs versus work done for an institution or company and how much reliance on TSAs each family had. Second, I mapped the houses in each area of the community where I would have to conduct interviews in order to plan my days to maximize the interviews due to the constraints of time and transport.

I decided to start the interviews with the people who responded first and visited them at the times they had indicated were appropriate. Most of the time I did not use the telephone to ask if I could go or alert them that I was coming since I thought that would reduce my chances of getting an interview that day and would make the interviewee more hesitant than if I asked in person. I used the telephone on rare occasions where the caretakers had written their phone number and had not specified dates or hours. For the most part I would go to each house in the sample, knock on the door, very briefly introduce myself, mention my project, and ask them if they received the letter sent with their child from school (in case they did not have one, I would have one available to show them). I would usually tell them that I would like to know if I could interview them, and if they agreed I would ask them when a good time would be so they would not

feel obligated to accept an interview at that moment. Many times the person would agree to be interviewed on the spot and would ask me how long the interviews took, and I replied that ideally it would take around 30 minutes. The interviews varied in time, from the shortest of 15-20 minutes to the longest of 1 1/2-2 hours. This depended mainly on the interviewees' interest, time available, and length of their responses. For the interviews that were very short I only asked the first section of the questionnaire, which dealt with the caretakers' degree of participation in TSAs and the exposure of their children to TSAs. The other two sections about the things that the caretakers try to teach and transmit to their children about the community and nature and attitudes towards the community and nature were ignored. The majority of the interviewees were the mother's or female caretakers of the children, although on some occasions I talked to the fathers or male caretakers and on other occasions to both.

There were families where language represented a problem for interviewing, as in the case of interviewing monolingual, Dene Dhah-speaking grandparents when they were the main caretakers of the children, and then I resorted to interviewing a close relative that lived in the same household and knew the child well. It was difficult for me to find somebody in the community to volunteer to come with me for interviews. The active members of the community did not have much time due to their work. Also, I concluded that it would be to my advantage not to have an informant/translator for different reasons: I would not know the quality of their relationship with the interviewees, I did not know how well they would understand the purpose of the project and how well they would translate back what the interviewee said, and also I did not know if the interviewee would feel free to speak with the translator being present and thus inhibiting information that s/he might want to share with me about the community. I was not able to interview a few of the caretakers for several reasons, which involved mainly the time constraints associated with not being able to go back to the houses several times. In these cases I

resorted to different strategies, such as conducting short interviews (coming from the interview questionnaire) with the children to find out their caretakers' participation and their own exposure to TSAs, and/or I inquired from certain community members that I considered to be reliable sources about public knowledge concerning a family's participation in TSAs.

Method of Scoring Independent Variable from Interviews

For rating the responses to the interviews a scale was developed which resulted in four basic criteria: exposure of the child to TSAs, teaching on the part of the caretakers, knowledge on the part of the child, and interest on the part of the child, as measured by questions I. 4c and III. 2b; III. 2 and 2a; III. 3 and 3a; and III. 3b and 3c respectively (see appendix 3). Either a full point or a half point was given for each of the above criteria, adding the points to get a final score on TSAs for each child. The cumulative scores were subdivided into four categories (0-1 = Very Low, 1-2 = Low, 2-3 = High, and 3-4 = Very High). These ratings determined the groups for the group drawings and the two groups for the statistical analysis of the individual integrated drawings (High's and Very High's were lumped together, as were Low's and Very Low's).

Children's Drawings

Methodology

Drawings were included as part of the methodology in order to measure the dependent variables of conservationism and communitarianism. The design for measuring these values consisted of the collection of two sources of data, which included the production of maps of the community both individually and in groups. In order to simulate the original mapping project of the Arctic Institute and modify this for

application to children, I did each exercise gradually and increased its conceptual complexity in stages. Prior to individual integrated drawings of the community (maps) I had the children do individual component drawings of the places where socialization takes place and asked them to show me through an activity the things they do in each place and with whom they interacted in order to prepare them for mapping the community. Component drawings included their house and family, the school, and the place where their caretakers went to provide them with food. Then followed the individual integrated drawings of the community which consisted of each child integrating the places drawn in his/her component drawings and adding to them places in the community that they liked and spent time at and where people in the community get together, as well as places outside of the community which were important to the child and to the people in the community. It was thought that the component drawings would help to make the transition cognitively from drawing each place on different pieces of paper to making a map of the whole community on one paper. Thus, the component drawings were not rated or analyzed. The individual integrated drawings measured the dependent variables through a statistical analysis of the frequency of conservationist and communitarian responses, along with verbal associations to these, and the High and Low TSA children were compared to see if there were significant differences with respect to the dependent variables.

For the group drawings the interactions of the children with each other while doing the maps were the data emphasized and were analyzed according to qualitative variables. Thus, communitarianism was analyzed according to degree of interaction and cooperation shown by High versus Low TSA children, emphasizing the extreme groups. Conservationism was not analyzed in this part of the project, since it would be hard to define conservationist behavior. Thus, it was intended in the design of the drawing methodology that the content of individual integrated drawings be quantitatively

analyzed and be complemented by a qualitative analysis of the behavioral interactions from group drawings.

Scoring of Individual Integrated Drawings

The individual integrated drawings were scored for the dependent variables of conservationism and communitarianism and verbal associations to each as follows. For conservationism, all drawn or written, as opposed to verbalized, natural elements, such as creatures, plants, or geophysical phenomena, or activities involving natural elements which involved a productive use of the environment (including TSAs or the use of nature for pleasure) were scored, along with the children's spontaneous verbal associations, or comments, concerning these elements or activities. For communitarianism, all drawn or written social interactions involving a place, a creature, a thing or an activity that facilitated voluntary affiliation between people outside of nuclear families were scored, along with the verbal associations to these interactions (e.g. whether the activity was liked or captured the interest of the child, as measured by emphasis [e.g. verbal or graphic], elaboration, expressive language, and the extent of participation on the part of the child) (see appendix 4). Although most social elements were scored communitarian or not depending on their verbal association, institutions that provide a community service (indicated by "Institutions Which Provide a Community Service" on List of Place-Names of Chateh [see appendix 5]) were automatically scored as communitarian. For instance, a police station would be scored as communitarian because it provides a community service, but its verbal association would be negative if there were a morbid emphasis on punishment as opposed to protection of the community. Likewise, a graveyard would be scored communitarian, since it serves the purpose of collective mourning. Nevertheless, if a graveyard has a morbid association, it would receive a "-1"

for verbal association. Furthermore, roads could be considered communitarian and positive if they serve to link community members but neutral if they do not (see Table I).

TABLE I

EXAMPLES OF THE FOUR VARIABLES RATED STATISTICALLY IN INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATED DRAWINGS

Conservationism		*Communitarianism*	
Natural Elements	Verbal Assoc.	Social Elements	Verbal Assoc.
Bush	hunts	Youth Center	likes, plays
moose	hunts	Nursing Station	goes when sick
River	swims	Graveyard	visits uncle's grave
3	+3	3	+3

Rater Reliability

Another rater was trained to score the individual integrated drawings, and twenty percent of the drawings were chosen to be scored by her without her knowing either my scores for the children or the children's classification on the independent variable (see appendix 6). Drawings were chosen to represent the whole range of scores on the independent and dependent variables, all the grades, and both sexes. A set of instructions for scoring was developed that gave emphasis to the following criteria: drawn and written, as opposed to verbalized, natural and social elements and explicit (e.g. verbalized), as opposed to implicit (e.g. nonvebalized), associations (see appendix 4).

Statistical Analysis of Individual Integrated Drawings

For the statistical analysis of the dependent variables, group means were obtained, contrasting High and Low TSA children (N's = 27 and 29 respectively). For frequency of natural and social elements, *t*-tests for the differences of the group means were

calculated. For the verbal associations to conservationism and communitarianism, a ratio was calculated for the percentage of "+1" scores versus "0" and "-1" scores, and *t*-tests were computed on the differences between the ratios. Finally, in order to measure the precise strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, correlations between scores on TSAs and the frequency of conservationist and communitarian elements were computed.

Qualitative Analysis of Group Drawings

With respect to the qualitative analysis of group drawings, behavioral observations of the children were recorded in a journal by myself during the sessions and elaborated upon afterwards. Analysis of these observations and of the drawings themselves can be divided into the following schema:

Process:

1- Graphical, meaning how the children divided the drawing spatially

2- Physical, meaning how the children interacted physically

3- Verbal, meaning how the children interacted verbally

4- Linguistic, meaning how the children switched back and forth from Dene Dhah to English

Behavior-- Prosocial vs. Antisocial Behavior:

1- Leadership-- positive vs. negative

2- Consultation vs. conflict

3- Cooperation vs. aggression

4- Altruism vs. selfishness

Content of Drawings:

1-Objectivity/Orientation, meaning correctness of drawings

2- Reoccurring themes (positive or negative) and associations to these themes (positive or negative)

Pilot Study

During the first part of fieldwork I decided to pretest the mapping methodology (drawings) with two different grades not chosen for the study in order to check the following: that the ages selected were adequate for doing the mapping exercise in terms of its complexity, the time needed for the production of integrated and group drawings, the need to simplify the instructions when administering the drawings, and trying to see if the rating scales were adequate for reflecting differences between children on the dependent variables.

I asked teachers to select randomly three children from grade 7 and three children from grade 2. The children were given 20 minutes for each drawing. The results from grade 2 proved that the exercise was too difficult for these children and their drawings were too poor for interpretation, especially with respect to communitarian symbols drawn, so they could not be rated objectively. This raised the question of whether children in grade 3 would have the same difficulty. However, I had to take into account that the children in the pilot study had very little time for each drawing, since both integrated and group drawings were administered during the same session, which caused fatigue, and component drawings were not done as a transition for the integrated drawing of the community.

For grade 7 the research design worked better. The children were able to map their community individually and do a group drawing. Each child's individual drawings reflected differences in terms of what they drew and there appeared to be differences in the frequency of natural and social elements as well as in the verbal associations to these. Since none of the pilot grades drew TSAs in response to my instruction to draw where

their caretakers worked but rather drew places in the community, I had to ask each child if their caretakers ever engaged in hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, or crafts, and if they did these things to provide them with food (I did not interview any of the caretakers for the pilot test and did not know the extent of their involvement in TSAs). I found out that indeed there were caretakers who engaged in TSAs but that the children did not associate these activities with "work", so it was clear to me that the instructions had to be more specific and differentiate between engaging in TSAs for a living versus working for wages. Moreover, it became clear that some caretakers did both.

According to the children's self-report, the child that scored the highest on both dependent variables in grade 7 had caretakers with High TSAs. Similarly, the child in the same grade that scored the lowest had caretakers that did not rely at all on TSAs.

Also, from the pilot study I realized that "roads" can be important communitarian symbols since they connect places and potentially people as well as the community in general. Children tended to use the roads to connect their houses to places where they go or like, such as their extended family's houses or places of communitarian value, such as the Tea Dance grounds. Furthermore, I realized that the pilot drawings lacked activities and interactions between people even though the children were asked in the verbal instructions which I repeated often to emphasize activities in the community.

Thus, during both individual and group drawings, my participation was needed for reminding the children of the instructions on what to draw, and for the group drawings, the children directed themselves more to me than to each other, even though I had hoped for them to de-emphasize my presence. Also, I found that I had to motivate them to draw and continue the project so they would not get distracted and quit. There were instances where I had to stimulate some children to draw (grade 7) by talking to them. This fact made me realize that detailed behavioral rating scales for behavioral interactions would be impossible due to the limitation of time, manpower, and inability

to record due to community sensitivity. I decided then to describe the degree of interaction, the type of interaction (prosocial vs. anti-social), the correctness of the maps, and the associative themes (positive or negative). I thus had to simplify by restricting the behavioral observations to descriptive accounts emphasizing the qualitative aspect of the interactions to complement the statistical analysis of the integrated drawings.

The outcome of the pilot test made me realize that from grades 4 to 6 I would be able to collect sufficient information without many problems. For grade 3 there was an uncertainty on my part as to how much information I would be able to collect due to the result of the pilot test in grade 2. Nevertheless, I decided to take the risk and kept in mind that grade 3 needed to be more stimulated by my giving or eliciting more examples and that I would have to take more time explaining the instructions to them. This decision was made because trying to do the mapping exercise with a higher grade, such as grade 7, would also have had its disadvantages and could have been more difficult, since the children were closer to adolescence, less interested in drawing, and had more behavioral problems, making them harder to control. Finally, absence in school increases as children get older, and there are more drop-outs.

Instructions for the Mapping Exercise

I initiated the project by going to the classroom in each grade with the permission of the teacher and introducing myself, even though most of the children knew me already. I introduced the project and attempted to tell the children what I was doing in their community and what I was interested in doing with them. Then, I talked with them about the Arctic Institute adult mapping project, asked them if they knew what it was about, and told them that I wanted to do maps with them like the adults had done. I reminded them that children there did not do exactly the same things as in other places (for instance in Peru, my country) and I told them that I was interested in getting to know

their community through their drawings ("I want to find out how you live, how people in Chateh live, and the things that they are interested in"). After a brief introduction and answering their questions about my country, I initiated the drawings.

The Setting

The school was the setting where the drawing project took place. I had the children do the component drawings in their classroom in the presence of their teacher, but the individual integrated and group drawings were done in a small room next to the library that was used for psychotherapy by the school psychologist. This room had the advantage of being small and allowing the children privacy while doing the project but also had the disadvantages of being next to the library, which caused some distraction, of being hot, since it was very confined and did not have windows, of having different toys in the room, including a sandbox, play dough, and magazines, which competed with the project, and of having a door leading to the hall, where many children transited and would want to open the door and visit. I dealt with these distractions as well as possible and any interferences caused by them in the children's drawings should be randomly distributed.

Component Drawings

These drawings had the purpose of disinhibiting the child to draw and making easier the production of the individual integrated drawings, which would require the children to include each of the component drawings as well as other places in and outside of the community. Also, it was assumed that this would increase the speed of the children for the integrated drawings, which was important due to the limited time available. Three drawings were asked from each child: their house, their school, and what their caretakers

do for subsistence. Also, the instructions included stimulation for drawing activities as well as places.

For the household drawing I instructed the child as follows: "Draw your house and the people that you live with doing something". I repeated these instructions and tried to clarify them when the children did not understand. Then, I would ask them who they lived with, what they did at home, what the people who lived with them usually did, and after they gave me examples, I would ask them to draw them.

For the drawing of the school I instructed them as follows: "Draw your school and the children at school doing something". I always clarified that they could draw any activity done at school.

The third and most important drawing was that of the caretakers' economic or subsistence activity, for which the instructions were: "Draw what your parents, grandparents, or whoever takes care of you do in order to get food and clothes for you". Then, I proceeded to be more specific and to clarify the instructions by giving them examples, such as: "Some parents go out and work to get money so they can buy food at the store. Other parents go out and hunt and fish to bring food to the family or trap so they can get money to buy things at the store. And mothers or grandmothers sometimes make clothes and shoes with moose hides or the hides and furs of other animals. Also there are parents or grandparents who do both. They work at a job and also hunt, fish, or trap. So, I want you to write on the back of your paper what the people who take care of you do to get food and clothes and then draw what they do and where they do it". The format for this question changed according to the grade and how the children responded to the project. For the younger children I would first give the instruction for this and other drawings as an open-ended question to get answers from the children and write them down on the chalkboard. For the drawing of the subsistence activity I would ask a general question: "What do parents, grandparents, or people who take care of children in Chateh

do to get food and clothes for their families". I let the children give different examples and would write them on the board, and if they did not guess any, I would go ahead and clarify the instructions for the drawing by elaborating (see above). Thus, when I had a number of examples written on the chalkboard, it became a multiple choice question for the children who were having difficulty.

Since the teacher of each grade was present for this part, I would ask his/her help if he/she thought that the instructions were too abstract or that the children did not understand them. In those cases the teachers helped me by phrasing the questions in a different way that would make it clear to the children without violating the spirit of the instructions.

The first class to do the project was grade 4/5, since I was more acquainted with these children and had interviewed most of the caretakers in this grade. The time it took for the drawings was excessive (40 minutes for each component drawing). Two drawings were done in two consecutive periods and the third one was done later in the day. I discovered the need to give other grades a limited time period and be constantly reminding them of the time left for each drawing. I also reminded them that these drawings did not have to be too elaborate and were only drawings that would help them later do a bigger drawing. The rest of the classes drew each component drawing in 20 minutes and the three drawings were spread throughout the day. The paper size for these drawings was 8 1/2" x 11". I asked the children to use colored pencils for their drawings instead of lead pencils so as to avoid the temptation of erasing and losing time. Also, I felt that it would be more interesting for them to use color and that it would provide me with more information.

Individual Integrated Drawings

For individual integrated drawings I asked the teacher to choose random groups of four children at a time from the classes, since s/he did not know how the children were classified with respect to TSAs. I worked with each of these random groups of children for two class periods (80 minutes). The time given for the integrated drawings was the same for all grades. For this drawing I gave the children a bigger piece of paper (11" x17") but still reminded them to draw relatively small in order to be able to do a map and include all of the places that they wanted to draw. I asked them to imagine that they were on top of the hill overlooking Chateh and asked them to draw their community as it would look from there. When the children ran out of space and wanted to continue drawing I usually let them draw on the back of the paper.

I began this phase of the project by showing the children the maps done by the Dene Tha' elders in the Arctic Institute project and told them that through these maps the elders showed where they used to live, where they went hunting, the places where important activities took place, and how things were in the past. I told the children that this was the way that the elders lived before, how they saw their world, and the things that were important to them. I talked to the children about how things have changed for the Dene Tha' and told them that I wanted them to show me what their community is like now, how people live there, what they do, and what and where the children liked doing things.

In this session I gave back the component drawings to the children and told them to look at them. Then, I gave them instructions for the mapping of the community and asked them to include their house, school, and where their parents or whoever takes care of them works or hunts or both, places where people in Chateh get together to do things for fun or for other reasons (gave them examples), and added, "If you want you can draw places outside of Chateh that you like or where people often go". It had become evident

in the pilot study that I needed to stimulate the children of all grades with respect to communitarian symbols, and especially grade 3, since they are younger and more concrete. Thus, when they were not clear, I would talk to them about what people did and asked for examples from the group, and this usually brought out some ideas of what to draw for each child. Also, I made sure that each child drew at least one communitarian symbol in order to be certain that they understood the instructions. I asked them to use colored pencils for drawing but many used lead pencils. Some children were not very productive in their drawings, so I would ask them to write down things on their maps that they did not know how to draw. After each child finished drawing I would ask him/her for his/her verbal associations to the natural and social elements drawn.

For grade 6 I skipped component drawings since the time available did not permit this. In contrast, I asked them to write down on a piece of paper the things that they would draw. After asking them to list their house and school I asked them to choose between listing their caretakers' jobs, or hunting, or both. Then I asked them to include lists of where people in the community get together and where the children specifically liked going. Since I found that this worked well with these children, I applied it to grades 3A and 3B.

For getting the verbal associations on the dependent variables I would ask the children the following questions or would talk to them about what was drawn until I got an association.

For conservationism:

1- Do people go there? Who goes there? Do you go there?

2- What do they do there?

3- What do you find there?

4- Do you like going there?

5- What do you do with the animals that you hunt, fish or trap?

For communitarianism:

1- Where do people in Chateh get together and do things?

2- What do people do there? Do you go there? What do you do there? Why do people go there?

3- Who goes there? (adults vs. children)

4- Is there a place where the whole community gets together?

5- What are the places that you like going to the most in your community?

There was some copying between the children, but I tried to monitor it as much as possible and recorded it in my notes. Also, I asked the children to do their work by themselves since I wanted to know especially about each of them, and I told them that the drawings did not have to be perfect.

Group Drawings

For the group drawings children were selected according to their exposure to TSAs, divided into the categories of Very High, High, Low, and Very Low according to information gathered from caretakers' interviews. The groups varied in size since there were more Low's than High's but their size ranged from 3-5, with an average of 4.

For the group drawings the children were given a larger piece of paper (24" x 36") and had the same instructions as for the individual integrated drawings, with the exception that these drawings required the children to do the map of the community as a group, involving some coordination. Here I told the children that they would work as a group and that in order for them to do a good map they needed to communicate with each other about the places to be drawn so that the places would not be done twice. Before I became less active I helped them write a list of all the places that they wanted to include in the community and also outside of it. Also, in order to get them started, I helped them locate the school and each child's house by placing an "x" on the paper where the group

agreed. Then, I told them not to ask questions of me but of each other and to rely on their group. Also, I had each child choose a different colored pencil so that I could later note what each child had drawn. The time given for the assignment was 80 minutes. During this time the children drew their maps while I wrote notes on the behavior shown and how they organized themselves to do this part of the project. After they had finished their map I would ask them what they drew and wrote down any valuable commentary on their part.

My presence was not ignored by the children and they would usually ask me if they could draw a particular thing or would complain to me about some other child in the group with whom they were not getting along. Sometimes the group as a whole would get distracted and would start talking about topics not related to the project, and intervention on my part was needed for stimulating them to continue drawing. In some groups I had to ask the group to select a leader who would be in charge of helping others in the group and resolving conflict. Although this changed the dynamic of the group somewhat, it nevertheless reduced my intervention overall. Due to the amount of intervention needed at times on my part, I had to make priorities in taking notes on behavioral observations, and I focused on the areas outlined above (e.g. process, behavior, and content of the drawings). The groups usually consisted of both sexes, and there was some conflict in both High's and Low's that was due to gender, which I tried to note and separate out. However, in order to motivate the children to finish the group drawings, I gave them a snack of cookies and juice afterwards, since this task took an extended period of time.

Integration of the Data

Finally, the different sources of data, including field notes, interviews, individual integrated drawings, and group drawings, were integrated in order to give a complete

description of the community and as a basis for interpretation of results. In this endeavor, quantitative and qualitative analyses were combined and supplemented each other in order to provide a more precise understanding of the relation between the independent variable and the dependent variables.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

Now that I have summarized the methods used for collection and analysis of data, I will attempt to summarize my results, including analyses of interviews with caretakers, children's individual integrated drawings, and children's group drawings.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH CARETAKERS

A total of 47 interviews with families were conducted during my fieldwork involving 66 children. The design of the interviews included the exposure of the child to TSAs as well as the participation of the caretakers, since a correlation between the two was expected. Nevertheless, as I conducted the interviews I realized that the exposure of the child was more important, since I was studying what values were actually transmitted. There were a few cases where there was a discrepancy between the exposure of the child and the participation of his/her caretakers. Moreover, sometimes the same family had children who ranged from High to Low exposure, which was explained by differences of sex, the family having foster children, or by the history of the child within the family in terms of having lived with them versus having been separated from them or of not being emotionally close to the caretakers. Thus, in the sample I had two main groups consisting of High TSA caretakers with High TSA children and Low TSA caretakers with Low TSA children. Other groups involved special cases, which were the minority, and contained High TSA caretakers with Low TSA children and Low TSA caretakers with High TSA children. However, the main factor for my independent variable was exposure of the child, and it was this factor that determined the classification of the groups.

Another expectation before conducting the interviews was that if the male caretaker engaged in TSAs the female caretaker would too. This was true most of the time but sometimes it was not. Also, there were a few families where the female caretaker engaged in TSAs more than the male caretaker did, although this example was rare. The interviews also revealed that for the most part gender was an important factor in the socialization of the child. It was mainly the caretaker of the same gender that socialized the child, and thus, the status of that caretaker with respect to TSAs was more important than that of the caretaker of the opposite sex.

For the qualitative comparisons between High and Low TSA families, I will use interviews from 21 High TSA families involving 28 High TSA children and 18 Low TSA families involving 23 Low TSA children. Interviews with 5 families involving 8 foster children were not included, and special cases, including 5 families and 6 children where the families and children differed greatly on TSAs, were analyzed in a separate group. The final sample that was used in the study for the statistical analysis involved 27 High TSA children and 29 Low TSA children. Out of the 27 High TSA children involving 21 families, I was able to interview 19 families involving 24 children. Out of 29 Low TSA children involving 25 families, I was able to interview 18 families involving 22 children. To substitute for a caretaker interview with the 9 uninterviewed families (2 High and 7 Low), involving 10 children (3 High and 7 Low), I interviewed the children themselves and/or other community members who knew their families well.

Analysis of High TSA Caretakers and Children

There were general patterns found in the families whose children were High in their exposure to TSAs. This involved the families' perspectives on TSAs, how they were taught to the child, and how they were incorporated into the lives of the families. The

specific patterns found in the interviews with these families were the following: the belief in the importance of teaching and preserving TSAs for retaining tradition, providing subsistence, reducing alcohol abuse, and keeping children out of trouble; storytelling as a way of teaching survival in the bush and the "right way" of conduct with respect to people and nature; the centrality of knowing Dene Dhah as part of their tradition and cultural identity; the importance of the extended family in the passing on of tradition through TSAs, which creates a strong bond between the nuclear and extended family; the importance of observational learning and freedom for the child to learn when ready and interested; the passing on of the history of the community and family roots through personal accounts; the importance of protecting the natural environment and having a relationship of reciprocity with it; and finally, the teaching of TSAs for the purpose of cultural identity and the learning of traditional values even when TSAs are not routinely practiced by the family.

The continuation of TSAs for these families is of utmost importance. When asked why, different reasons were given. The most frequent reasons dealt with the retention of tradition, such as the following statements: "It's always been a part of our life. It has been passed from generation to generation"; "Because it is part of how [the] people have lived all this time"; "That's what people do all year round". In addition, the same mother said: "People get together to go . . . ice fishing in Habay". Another mother said, "It's keeping the tradition" and mentioned that it was important for the children to know it because "if [the children] don't use their tradition, when they get old they won't know [it]". It is important to note that some of the caretakers emphasize the importance of TSAs in facilitating affiliation between community members and the importance of teaching TSAs for cultural identity. Other statements emphasize the preference for wild meat over store-bought meat: "If they didn't go hunting, I'd miss the moose meat". A father also said that there are people who do not buy store-bought meat because they prefer eating

wild meat, even though they could afford the former. One mother connected TSAs to the past as follows: "Because way back that's how [the] people used to live before all these store[-bought] canned goods, [before] all that came along. That's what our ancestors used to live off [of]. I can remember when I was a little girl. . . . My grandparents went out in the bush . . . in August and [would] come back in September. And all we ever lived off [of] was wild meat, bannock, and tea. It would be an odd time when we would eat an apple". Statements relating TSAs to sustenance were as follows: "It is the livelihood [of the people] and I know they don't waste it. [They] bring everything home"; "Because [the people] live on wild meat". I asked what would happen if TSAs were discontinued and one mother said, "It would be sad. No place to go". The most extreme comment was from a mother who said that if TSAs were not continued people "would starve". TSAs are considered to be a productive activity by the High TSA families: "It would be boring being at home doing nothing. [The people] have done it for a while. They enjoy doing that"; "Way back, [the people] used to hunt only . . . .That is better . . . hunting instead of being at home doing nothing". This is closely related to the idea that TSAs can reduce alcohol abuse and other vices: "I used to try to take young kids with me . . . that might get in trouble and go hunting"; "[The youth] should do mostly hunting instead of running around . . . and drinking". Finally, TSAs are viewed as a communal activity by many High TSA families: "It is a family getting together".

Stories about the bush are considered by these families to be a source for teaching children about tradition, including survival skills as well as proper behavior in life. One mother said that the stories that her son's grandfather tells deal with how to survive in the bush and what to do and not to do. Another mother said that she teaches her children about survival skills in the bush and "how to behave in the bush". She elaborated: "You have to be quiet, especially if you are hunting and [anytime] after the sun goes down. . . . My grandfather always told me stories [about] how people used to behave and how the

children were taught . . . . to be in the bush". Thus, these statements confirm that teaching how to be in the bush is connected to proper behavior and how one ought to live one's life. A grandmother referred to the behavior she tried to teach her granddaughter as "the Indian way . . . respect old people. . . be quiet and nice". One mother said that she tells her children stories about "long ago, when animals used to be humans". The same mother said that the grandfather tells stories to the children when they visit about what happened when people used to live in the bush. Also, the participation of the children in TSAs involves the teaching of the value of sharing. One mother told me that one time her son asked her, when they had gone hunting, why his father was giving away a part of the moose that he had killed, and she explained to him that if a person helps butcher the animal, s/he should be given part of it and also that people in general share moose meat with each other. Another mother told me that when her son goes hunting, "he likes to feed the elders". She also stated that when her son takes some wild meat to the elders they "talk" to him. Finally, one father mentioned that when his son goes duck hunting he brings back the ducks to his grandmother.

Another characteristic of High TSA families is that Dene Dhah is spoken at home by most of them and most of the children are fluent in Dene Dhah. This facilitates the communication between the child and the older generation, such as the grandparents, which permits the passing on of tradition. In some instances, mothers noted in the interviews that the child speaks English to the parents but Dene Dhah to the grandparents. The teaching of Dene Dhah seems to be important to High TSA families, and one father in an interview stated that it was important for him to "stay connected with who you are . . .[and what] your culture is".

The role of the extended family in the teaching of TSAs and passing on traditional knowledge to the children is extensive and prominent. This seems to show how TSAs create a bond that unites the extended and nuclear families, with the child

acquiring knowledge from different generations. For example, I asked a single mother who taught her son to hunt; she mentioned the names of her uncle, first cousins, and her brother-in-law and answered the same for the teaching of any bush-related activity, with the exception of ice fishing, which she taught him. Many of the children have grandparents or other relatives who expose them to TSAs from early in life and who do most of the storytelling. In many of the interviews with these families it was the grandparents who passed on most of the tradition, since some parents claimed not to know as much about it. In addition, many of these grandparents teach morality. One mother said that her father teaches her son when he visits him about "how to live". In another case where the grandparents engage extensively in TSAs with their grandchildren, the mother stated that the grandparents taught her children more than she did in this area. She explained that the grandmother taught her daughter how to do the beadwork of moccasins but that both teach her children to respect others and be nice. Likewise, this mother's father taught her son to hunt, make snares, and build a fire and has also talked to both children about the Tea Dance. Finally, many of the interviews with High TSA families revealed an interest on the part of the children in spending time with elders.

Learning by observation on the part of the children was another pattern shown throughout the interviews. For instance, one mother mentioned that her daughter "watches" her and her mother do moose hides. Another mother said that she thought her two boys knew how to dry meat because they had "watched" her. Also, another mother said that even though her youngest son does not know how to hunt yet, he accompanies his older brother and "watches him hunt". In addition, some mothers described their children trying out a new skill, such as skinning animals, cooking them, or drying meat, without completely knowing how, which can be considered to be learning by trial-and-error. The pattern for socialization is not to impose traditional knowledge on the

children but rather let them learn when ready. An example of this was demonstrated by a grandmother's statement about her granddaughter not being interested at the moment in doing beadwork and that the child's mother was that way when she was a girl but later got interested. Interest on the part of a child seems important for the learning of TSAs. One father said to me that he learned to hunt because of interest: "I learned because I wanted to learn". A similar statement was made by a mother with respect to hunting. However, it should be noted that children's interest is stimulated by exposing them to TSAs and by modeling.

Next, there seems to be value placed by many of the High TSA families on the passing on of history. The history of the community and of their particular families was passed on through accounts by caretakers of their childhood experiences or of their families and how things used to be in the past. Also, storytelling, especially by the grandparents or elders, is a way of communicating about the past. One grandmother said that her granddaughter knew the history of her family and community and that the grandmother's mother, the child's great grandmother ". . . used to tell about long ago, [about] how people used to live". The grandmother concluded, "Now [life] is not so hard".

In general, the teaching of TSAs differed according to sex roles. Caretakers taught going out in the bush for hunting and trapping to boys, while crafts, preparation of the meat, working with moose hides, and related activities were taught more to girls, although these families showed more sex-role flexibility. However, there were some cases where female caretakers had hunted moose and where girls were more interested in hunting than in other TSAs associated with females. Also, some boys learned about how to dry meat and cook bannock (traditional bread).

Respect for the natural environment and the transmission of this to the children was portrayed in many of the interviews with High TSA families. Several mothers

mentioned teaching the offering of tobacco when gathering medicinal plants and when praying. One mother said she tells her children that for certain plants one needs to offer tobacco as a way of thanking nature because " . . . we are taking this and this is what we offer you". Another mother said that she does tobacco offerings at her house with her son sometimes to pray for her family and the community. These responses confirm the existence of a relationship of reciprocity between the High TSA families and the natural environment. Also, with respect to hunting, High TSA caretakers show respect for the animal. One mother said, "You never kill an animal for nothing . . . .You take [only] what you [need]". One father said that he tries to teach his son to shoot animals only if he needs to. The caretakers often describe positive attitudes on the part of the children towards the bush, including not being scared of it, knowing how to protect themselves from the dangers, having knowledge for survival in the bush, and wandering by themselves in the bush of the community or when the family is camping in other areas. With respect to attitudes toward the community, many caretakers indicated that their children liked being close to their extended family and preferred the community over the city but were affected by the social problems of the community, such as alcohol abuse and violence. In spite of these problems, one mother noted that her child once told her that when he grows up he would like to become a doctor and help the community. Caretakers' attitudes toward the bush and the community were similar to those of their children, and many of the caretakers were trying to improve the conditions of the community.

Finally, it was found that even caretakers who did not routinely engage in TSAs made a conscious effort to teach these and/or the related values to their children. Two cases can be noted. First, one father said that although he did not practice TSAs much anymore, he considered it important knowledge for his child, so he had exposed him periodically since age three to the bush and had taught his son the values associated with

TSAs as he grew older for reasons of cultural identity and knowing his tradition. Another case involved a mother who, while not engaging in TSAs associated with females and not exposing her daughters very much to the bush, did expose her children to the elders and to storytelling done by her husband, herself, and the grandparents. In addition, it seems here that many of the values associated with TSAs were transmitted to these children nonverbally by the mother.

Analysis of Low TSA Caretakers and Children

The patterns found from the interviews with families who scored Low on TSAs are as follows: a discrepancy between theory and practice with respect to TSAs; what the families try to teach the children in terms of tradition was vague and not elaborate, even when the family stated that it was important; exaggeration about the child's knowledge of TSAs or lack of awareness of the child's knowledge and attitude towards these was observed; sex-role differences were more marked and there was greater neglect in exposing girls to TSAs; observational learning often did not translate into knowledge; bilingualism as a goal existed, but Dene Dhah was often de-emphasized; often there was not a close relationship or much interaction between the nuclear and extended family; the interviews were often rushed, with less elaboration and motivation on the part of many caretakers.

Many of these families give theoretical importance to TSAs but do not follow up in practice. For instance, one mother seemed to be aware of the values associated with TSAs but did not do much to transmit these to her daughter. In contrast, she teaches her daughter about "going to church", teaches her to pray, and says to her, "If you pray, the Lord will make you healthy". Similarly, another mother, even though she says that she values the practicing of TSAs by the community, associates it with positive values, such

as sharing, and sustains the view that the decline of TSAs is associated with the increase of alcohol abuse, regrets that her children have not been exposed more to TSAs but does not do much to compensate. She describes her teaching of spirituality as follows: "Dene people are very religious. That's the thing I teach [the children] the most. Not so much Roman Catholic . . . but just prayer". Right after that statement she said that her family tries to go to church every Sunday and put great emphasis on her daughter's first communion. This case shows a type of spirituality more linked to Western values and somewhat disconnected to the spirituality linked with TSAs. Furthermore, another case that showed the contradiction between theory and practice with respect to TSAs was a mother who had been raised by one of the dreamers in Chateh and stated in her interview how she regretted not listening to her grandfather's teachings instead of drinking when young. Nevertheless, she does not expose her daughters to TSAs. In addition, two fathers who did not engage in TSAs very much and who did not teach their children about them laughed at times when asked about TSAs, even though they said that they valued them. Another father who connects the importance of TSAs to the abstract value of hunting and trapping as part of the people's treaty rights is vague with respect to the transmission of TSAs to his child. Yet another father described his intentions for the future of building a cabin in the bush and teaching his children about TSAs, but to date he has not taught the children any TSAs. Many of the caretakers said that they intend to teach their children more in the future as they grow older and explained to me that they were too young now for this training. Nevertheless, they had not done much toward preparing the children for this training.

With respect to teaching about the past, most of the caretakers showed vagueness and lack of elaboration. A number of mothers said that they did not know what their children knew about the past. One mother said that if her daughter asked her she would tell her. Moreover, another mother said about her daughter, "she doesn't know much;

she's too young". Some caretakers admitted not teaching the history of the community or telling stories to the children, and while others claimed that they told their children something about the past, most of the time it consisted of very general information about the recent past, such as where people used to live before settling in Chateh. Most of the Low TSA children did not have much knowledge about the past and were not exposed to storytelling. In a couple of interviews caretakers mentioned some storytelling done by the grandparents, but this seems to have been done erratically and was not emphasized. On one occasion a mother said that her daughter's grandmother told her "scary stories", which implied a negative connotation on the part of the mother, but she did not elaborate.

The children's knowledge of TSAs seems to be limited based on the families' responses. Also, many caretakers did not even know the knowledge their children had about TSAs and did not know what the attitudes of the children were towards the bush and the community. When I asked one mother about her daughter's knowledge of the bush and TSAs, she said that she knew "everything", but when I asked her to list some of the things that her daughter knew, she said that she knew how to make a fire (she had previously said that her daughter did not like camping or the bush). This mother had a tendency to exaggerate, did not elaborate, and sometimes contradicted herself. She also said that her daughter knew "everything" with respect to the Tea Dance. In contrast, most of the families talked about the limited knowledge of their children with respect to TSAs. Some would say that their children knew "a little bit", "not much", or others would say that they did not know. Many caretakers responded with "I don't know" or "I'm not sure" with respect to their children's attitudes towards the bush and the community, and some described neutral attitudes, or said that their children did not like the bush. Also, a number of families implied and sometimes said that they liked and appreciated the bush more than their children did. In terms of the children's attitudes toward the community, caretakers indicated that they liked being close to their extended families but were

attracted to the city and sometimes communicated a desire to move because of the social problems. With respect to the caretakers' attitudes toward the community, some of them had a stronger attachment to the extended family and thus the community than their children did, but some expressed a wish to leave the community. In general, the Low TSA families did not seem to be too involved in the teaching of TSAs nor in communicating with their children about related matters.

The connection of the extended family with Low TSA children seems to be weak, and their involvement in teaching TSAs seems less. Many Low TSA children did not have joint activities with the grandparents, and only a few engaged in TSAs with their grandparents. One mother said that her daughter wants her grandmother to tell her stories but she is never home. Another mother said that when her daughter visits the grandparents' house she does not do much with the grandparents but rather plays with the other children in the home. In one interview with the family of a Low TSA child the grandparents even lived in the child's home, but the child spent more time with the next-door neighbors and did not share much with the grandparents, which was typical of Low TSA families.

With the Low TSA families observational learning was mentioned only once, and it did not translate into knowledge. When I asked a mother about the knowledge of her children with respect to TSAs, she said, "they watch but they don't know". The type of learning in these families seems to be more direct by the way the caretakers talk, and somewhat detached from TSAs and traditional knowledge. In addition, even though most Low TSA families had bilingualism as a goal, Dene Dhah was often de-emphasized, even though most of the children either knew how to speak it or understood it. This seemed related to the importance given to formal education by many families. One farther did not even know if his daughter spoke or understood Dene Dhah, and he said, "Nowadays, the English language [can help] her more in school [and] she understands [that]. The social

ways are slowly [dying]; we are losing, . . . slowly losing it. I basically talk to her in English at home".

In Low TSA families girls seem more discriminated against with respect to TSAs. The female roles in TSAs were not mentioned very much, and in the majority of cases the male caretakers engaged more in TSAs than the female caretakers. Fishing was the most common TSA for the girls. Cooking was sometimes mentioned and crafts were not mentioned at all. Also, according to the caretakers, their daughters were less interested in TSAs and going to the bush than their sons. In addition, daughters seemed to be excluded from hunting many times. One father admitted that his daughter does not get to go hunting with him and his sons because she is a girl.

Finally, interviews with the Low TSA caretakers were many times rushed, short, did not include much elaboration, and did not show much motivation or seriousness with respect to TSAs. The lack of elaboration and brevity could relate to the fact that many of the caretakers did not know what their children knew about TSAs and what attitudes they might have. Also, in some interviews the caretaker would sometimes laugh when making comments about TSAs. One mother, in answering my question as to whether TSAs should continue, said, "Yes, because that's the way [our people] grew up; [it] is their culture". She laughed at the end of this statement, which seemed to indicate that she did not entirely identify with her statement. One father when mentioning his wife's role of skinning the animals after he goes hunting laughed, as if he considered the activity somewhat old-fashioned and impractical. Yet another father laughed and made a joke out of not hunting because of being "too lazy". This attitude, which was repeated a number of times in the interviews with the Low TSA families, may explain the discrepancy between their belief that TSAs are beneficial and their low degree of participation in them.

Comparison of High and Low TSA Families

Both High and Low TSA families had in common the importance they theoretically give to TSAs and their belief that they are positive for the community. Nevertheless, they differ somewhat in the reasons for their belief. For the High TSA families, TSAs were more integrated with the people's lives and were viewed as contributing to the community in different ways, including serving subsistence purposes, facilitating the affiliation of community members, carrying on tradition, and reducing alcohol abuse. The Low TSA families seemed to give more importance to TSAs as a practical alternative in case wage work and government assistance fail, and even if they give importance to TSAs for non-material reasons, the value that they attach to them seems more abstract. There was not as much emotional attachment to TSAs on the part of the Low TSA families, and this could be a reason why these caretakers did not practice them much even when knowing how to do them. It could also be a reason why they did not expose their children to them. In the High TSA families there was an emotional attachment to TSAs that resulted in people continuing to practice them even when they said that they did not need to do them for economic reasons.

Also, the amount of teaching that children were exposed to and their knowledge of TSAs differed greatly. The High TSA families showed more interest in teaching and exposing their children to TSAs and, likewise, the children showed more interest in and knowledge of TSAs. Moreover, High TSA caretakers seemed more aware of and confident about what their children knew, their interests, and their attitudes with respect to TSAs. Also, High TSA children seemed to have a more positive attitude towards the bush and the community in general. In addition, caretakers of High TSA children tended to teach their children in very specific and ritualized ways how to respect the natural environment (e.g. tobacco offerings while collecting medicinal plants). This type of

teaching was not done by the Low TSA caretakers, with the exception of one father, who said that he taught this to his daughter.

Furthermore, the role of the extended family in reinforcing TSAs contrasted greatly between the High and Low TSA families. In the High TSA families TSAs served to join the extended and nuclear families in a common activity that permitted different generations to communicate and pass on knowledge. Thus, in these families participating in TSAs brought families closer together. In the Low TSA families the extended families in a few cases transmitted some knowledge to the children about TSAs but it was not done frequently. However, even when there was some interaction, the relationships were not as close and, thus, not as much tradition was passed on. In addition, children with High exposure to TSAs seemed to have more exposure to elders and to storytelling, which is facilitated by participation in TSAs. One mother of a High TSA child mentioned that he liked sharing part of his game with the elders and that they, in turn, would "talk" to him. In contrast, children with Low exposure to TSAs were exposed less to storytelling, since they were less exposed to elders and to the extended family. Finally, speaking Dene Dhah for many of the families of High TSA children was related to TSAs, tradition, cultural identity, and spirituality. In contrast, even though a number of Low TSA children spoke Dene Dhah, it seemed to be detached from the cultural tradition.

In conclusion, differences in exposure of children to TSAs seem to result in different world-views, with different attitudes and values toward the natural environment and the community. These differences should thus be reflected in both the individual and group drawings of children of High and Low exposure to TSAs.

Cases of Discrepancy Between Caretakers and their Children

It was noted that there were a few cases where there was a discrepancy between caretakers' participation in TSAs and the exposure of their children to TSAs. Only one family that scored Low on TSAs had a child with High exposure to TSAs, and this could be explained by the fact that an older brother exposed the child to these activities and stimulated his interest in them. However, four of the cases, the majority, involved High TSA caretakers who had children with Low exposure to TSAs. Moreover, it seems that in these cases the values associated with TSAs had not been transmitted, in contrast to the cases of children with High exposure. The reasons as to why these families did not expose their children directly through participation or indirectly through communication of knowledge can be inferred from the interviews and are associated with the following factors: the children having been left by their parents with relatives to raise; the parents still living with the children but being neglectful and unable to care for them due to alcohol abuse, causing the grandparents to have to take care of the children; the children having been in foster care and returning to the family after a certain period of time, creating a lack of closeness; and the case of some children being taught fewer TSAs due to their gender in situations where the male caretaker engaged more than the female caretaker in TSAs and the exposure of the girls was neglected.

In two cases of High TSA caretakers with Low TSA children the caretakers said in the interview that they did not expose their children because they thought that the children lacked interest. In one of these cases that involved a grandfather and his grandson, the aunt (with whom I had the interview because the grandparents only spoke Dene Dhah) said that the grandfather would teach the child how to hunt if he showed interest. However, earlier she had noted that the child never goes with the grandparents to the bush for hunting or camping. During the interview the aunt said, "I don't think [the

child] understands the old meaning of things in the bush". She told me that once when the grandfather took the child to his cabin, the child did not know what to do. When his grandfather asked him to do something, the child just stood outside of the cabin. Thus, this child had not been exposed to TSAs but was expected to have some knowledge without any stimulation. In this case the child's disinterest seems to be related to emotional factors and possible feelings of rejection by his family, thus not identifying with them. There is also the possibility that the grandfather resented his son putting the burden of raising his own son on the grandparents.

In another case the father said that his youngest son was not interested in the bush and TSAs, in contrast to his older son. I found out that the younger child had been away from the father for a certain time, and I noticed an emotional factor at work here where the father was affectively distant from the child and thus had not exposed him to TSAs. This was probably the reason that the child did not show interest. This case involves a child who had been in foster care due to alcohol abuse and violence in his family. From the last two cases one can deduce that the interest of the child is dependent on the emotional relationship that s/he has with his/her family, and thus, the more the child is exposed, the more interest s/he shows.

With respect to discrepancies in TSAs between caretakers and their children that were due to gender, two cases were noted which included fathers and extended family who were active in TSAs and mothers who were less involved but still participated, though their daughters did not. In one case the mother might not have exposed her daughter to TSAs because of a lack of closeness in the family due to alcohol abuse. In the other case the mother seemed to attach more importance to the values of the dominant white society as taught in school and church than to traditional values. Thus, the cases of discrepancy show that the values of the caretakers and not just their own habits with respect to TSAs, as well as the emotional closeness between the caretakers and their

children, influence not only the exposure of the children to TSAs but also their interest in them.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATED DRAWINGS

Due to the nature of the school setting, selection of a purely random sample would have been disruptive, so a "convenience" sample was taken consisting of all available children from the 3rd to 6th grades of a school with 10 grades. The violation of randomness will affect the generalizations rather than the reliability of the statistical tests used, since the only assumptions underlying these are a normal distribution of scores and homogeneous variances, which were satisfied. Also, the scoring of the variables was shown to be reliable, since the Spearman Ranked Correlation Coefficient (ρ [rho]) for inter-rater reliability was .79, which was significant ($p < .01$).

Moreover, three out of four groups of scores on the dependent variables were highly significant (see Table II and appendix 8). In a comparison of High versus Low TSA children, *t*-scores on the number of conservationist and communitarian elements were 5.4 and 5.7 respectively ($p < .01$, with N's of 27 High and 29 Low). *T*-scores for the differences between High's and Low's on verbal associations to conservationism and communitarianism were 3.8 (significant at the .01 level) and .33, which was not significant. The *t*-score for the difference between High's and Low's on associations to communitarianism was not significant because the task of producing a +1 response on an association to such an abstract variable proved too difficult for children of this age. However, there was a marked difference between the High's and Low's in that High TSA children produced many more associations to communitarianism.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATED DRAWINGS

ρ (rho) = Inter-rater reliability (N= 10)	.79 ($p < .01$)
t-scores (N= 27 High, 29 Low)	
Conservationism -- Frequency	5.4 ($p < .01$)
Communitarianism -- "	5.7 ($p < .01$)
Conservationism -- Associations	3.8 ($p < .01$)
Communitarianism -- "	.33
r = Correlation between TSA score and frequency of:	
Conservationism (N= 56)	.67 ($p < .01$)
Communitarianism (N= 56)	.59 ($p < .01$)

The High TSA children had a higher score on conservationism and communitarianism on their individual integrated drawings because they drew more bush scenes, including hunting grounds inside and outside of the community, and more institutions that provide service to the community or activities that facilitate association between people. Thus, the High children tended to draw more TSAs and often preferred to draw hunting and trapping as means of family sustenance even though their caretakers engaged in both wage work and TSAs. Also, the High TSA children would sometimes draw themselves doing TSAs and contributing to subsistence by hunting the game. In addition, their verbal associations to TSAs described activities that not only contributed to subsistence but also united people and gave communitarian functions to these activities. In contrast, the Low TSA children tended to draw more wage work and towns or cities, and they depicted the community more in terms of material reality than of relationships. Thus, they had lower scores on conservationism and communitarianism. High TSA children usually had a high score on both conservationism and communitarianism. However, there were three High TSA children who had a very high

score on conservationism but a relatively low score on communitarianism. I believe that this contradiction can be explained by the fact that these children are from more traditional families from Third Prairie and Habay Road and therefore do not interact much with the community but rather spend most of their time in the bush or in their own restricted area of the community with their extended family.

Since the correlation between the scores of raters was high and significant and since the statistics used to analyze the differences on the dependent variables between the High and Low TSA groups were shown to be reliable (e.g. assumptions were satisfied), we may conclude that the differences obtained between High and Low TSA children on conservationism and communitarianism are real. The correlations between scores on TSAs and the frequency of conservationist and communitarian elements were $r = .67$ and .59 respectively ($p < .01$). These correlations are highly significant, and TSAs thus account for 45% and 35% of the variance on conservationism and communitarianism, which is extremely high for social science. Therefore, the quantitative results strongly reinforce the findings from the qualitative analyses of interviews with caretakers and children's group drawings, which will be covered in the next section, and this adds validity to our conclusions.

In conclusion, although my sample was not completely random, it represents a significant number of the students from the school in Chateh (e.g. 4 of 10 grades). This fact, along with the facts that the quantitative results were reinforced by qualitative results and both are consistent with the most recent ethnography of the Dene Tha' (Goulet, 1998), suggests that our findings may be generalized somewhat to the community at large, taking into consideration the qualifications listed above.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S GROUP DRAWINGS

In this section a qualitative analysis of group drawings done by children of High and Low exposure to TSAs will be done by focusing on the process by which the children produced their maps of the community and the behavioral interactions observed while they engaged in this activity (see appendix 7). Also, I will analyze the content of important themes drawn or discussed by the children as they were doing their map.

For this part of the project the general division of High versus Low TSA children used in the qualitative analysis of interviews and in the statistical analysis of children's individual integrated drawings was subdivided further as follows: Very High, High, Low, and Very Low. The reason for this further subdivision was to form groups that were as pure as possible and thus more representative of High and Low TSA children, since the children under the category of "High" and "Low" sometimes were borderline and contradictory. Sub-group size in theory consisted of 4 to 5 children. However, in reality it consisted of 3 to 5 children, with one exception of a group with only 2 children because the other two were sent back to class. Moreover, most groups included both sexes.

For the purpose of presenting the data, I will describe patterns that are common to High TSA children but will use examples from mostly Very High groups, since they are clearer. High TSA children included 5 Very High groups (2 Very High groups in grade 6) and 3 High groups (no High group in 3B). Then, I will do the same for the Low TSA children, which included 3 Very Low groups (no Very Low group in grade 6) and 5 Low groups (two Low groups in grade 6). Finally, a summary of the differences between High and Low TSA groups will be included.

Analysis of High TSA Groups

Here I will describe tendencies found among High TSA groups with respect to process, behavior, and content of the drawings by referring to examples in each of these areas from the Very High groups of grades 3B, 3A, 4/5, and 6. These consisted, in order, of 2 boys (originally 4 boys, but 2 were sent back to class), 2 boys and 2 girls, 2 boys and one girl (another boy who was part of the group was absent), and 2 boys and 2 girls. Grade 6 had another Very High group of 3 boys but examples were not used from this group as it did not add anything different from the other Very High group in grade 6, and I decided to use the latter group because it included both girls and boys and was a more representative sample of a High TSA group. Now let us turn to the analysis of the drawings of High TSA groups.

Process

Graphic Space

Most High TSA groups started their maps in the middle of the paper and chose the school to be at the center of their map. In group 4/5VH Willie, the leader, suggested putting Habay at the center of the map, but the group decided, nevertheless, to put the school in the center. For the leader in this group hunting is an essential part of life, and that may be the reason why he wished to draw Habay in the middle. Nevertheless, all High TSA groups drew the school first. This could be due to several reasons, including being at school when doing the maps, the school being a place that all of the children had in common, and the school being located in the central part of the community. The school would usually be drawn by one child, who would draw the school in the middle of the map, with the rest of the group either discussing the places nearby the school and other areas of the community or drawing around the school and adding to the school

drawing such things as the playground. In group 4/5VH, Dennis drew the school and Pamela and Willie told him what to add (see pg. 216). In group 6VH, Sarah did the school and the rest of the group added to her drawing (see pg. 215). In group 3BVH, Jamie did the school and Gary did the roads nearby. In group 3AVH, only Julie drew the school. Usually the child who drew the school would draw the overall structure of the map by doing the main roads. Then the other children would join in on drawing the different places in the community. In group 6VH, Sarah (the leader) drew the school and the main structure of the community, including the roads. As she did the roads she talked to the group, pointing out where the other areas of the community were as well as the location of places outside of the community, and the rest of the group listened and followed her lead. A similar pattern was shown by group 3BVH. In conclusion, the High TSA groups showed considerable graphic interaction.

Physical Space

The sharing of physical space was considerable in most High TSA groups, and it reflected graphic interaction, since the children had to move from their original position in order to coordinate and share in the drawing of different places. In group 4/5VH, Pamela was asked by Dennis to move and sit next to him and Willie so that they could all do the map together (since she was facing them from the opposite side of the table it made her have a different view of the map). In group 3AVH, Julie moved to Lewis' side to draw Habay Rd. Conflict with respect to space was noticed in one group. This interaction was between Julie and Henry in group 3AVH, where Julie asked Henry to move so that she could draw her house and where she hit Henry because he was criticizing what she had drawn.

Verbal

There was frequent verbal interaction between children of High TSA groups, and it was used mainly to communicate with each other about how to do the map and in finding the location of different places, which involved consultation with one another. Also, some children participated in the drawings more verbally than graphically (e.g., see Eric and Roy in group 6VH and Jamie in group 3BVH). Verbal interaction between the children of High TSA groups also involved stimulation of others, comments about their map and about each others' drawings, the use of humor, conversations on different topics, and sometimes stories and fantasies. In general, verbal interactions were positive in High TSA groups, reflecting values of cooperation, virtue, and their optimism towards life in spite of the problems in the community.

Linguistic

Both Dene Dhah and English were used in six out of eight High TSA groups, with only groups 3BVH and 4/5H using English exclusively. Dene Dhah was used frequently in the High groups' discussions about the location of places in the community, especially when they began to plan the drawing (as in group 4/5VH and group 6VH). In group 6VH, Sarah spoke Dene Dhah when she drew the roads for the main structure of the map and pointed out the location of different areas. In group 4/5VH, Dene Dhah was used when the children discussed the different areas of the community before they started drawing the map. Also, in the latter group it was used for discussing the drawing of the church and Habay by Willie and Dennis (possibly due to the fact that these places have spiritual and traditional value). In 3AVH, Dene Dhah was also used often for discussing the location of places. Only one time was it used for criticism (in 3AVH, where Henry, a hyperactive child, criticized Julie's drawing).

Behavior

Leadership

Leaders emerged in seven High TSA groups. In four it occurred naturally and in three I had to ask the children to choose a leader so that they would not always come to me for help, thus reducing the group interaction (e.g., in grades 6H and 3AVH).

Different types of leadership were observed in the High TSA groups, but they had the following characteristics in common: assertion without being authoritarian (not dominating or bossing others, nor imposing themselves or their ideas on others), facilitation of the participation of group members, and frequent and positive cooperative interaction with most members of the group. In group 6VH, Sarah was chosen to be the leader by the whole group. Her leadership consisted of non-verbal cues and by providing an example. She initiated the map, made the basic structure (which was made by light gray marks), and talked to the other children about what she was doing as she drew. She showed interest in the map and by doing this stimulated indirectly other children to participate. She gave freedom of action to other children and did not impose herself (for instance, she did not pressure Eric to continue participating when he got distracted and quit drawing). In 4/5VH, Willie became the natural leader of the group in the process of doing the map, since he interacted the most with other children, helped Pamela with locating places, corrected her when she made a mistake, and was always checking what the others in the group drew and evaluating the map as they drew. Through his behavior he stimulated others and facilitated positive interaction. In group 3AVH, there was no real leader and the group seemed to have more conflict, even though Lewis was formally chosen to be the leader. In 3BVH, where only two children remained after two children had to be sent back to class due to acting out, both children were leaders, but in different senses. Gary was more of a leader in the graphic production of the map, since he appeared to have more artistic talent and better orientation than Jamie and stimulated

Jamie to draw. Jamie, on the other hand, participated more verbally, and showed leadership through having "visions" about where the animals should be drawn on the map (see "vision quest" in the theory section).

Consultation vs. Conflict

The children of most High TSA groups consulted with each other at the beginning of the drawing and as they drew. This consultation took the form of asking for help about the location of certain places, talking to each other about what they were drawing, and correcting together the mistakes that they noticed. For example, after Dennis drew the school in group 4/5VH, the group had a dialogue about how to do the school playground and where the park should be in relation to other places before drawing them. In group 6VH, Roy asked the group where the bridge was and Eric responded by drawing it. In another example, in group 3AVH, where Julie was doing the road leading from the school and did not know where the bridge was, she asked Lewis where it was, and he drew it. Similarly, in group 3BVH Gary asked help from Jamie in finding the location of the Band Office, and Jamie showed him. The children of High TSA groups listened to each other and responded to each other either by drawing or verbally. For example, Diana (in group 3AVH), while doing a road, said, "This road goes to the Trailer Court" (letting her group know what she was doing). The children of High TSA groups took each other's suggestions most of the time. When Pamela, in group 4/5VH, did her house in a place that Willie thought was wrong, they discussed it, reached an agreement on where the location should be, and she drew it.

High TSA groups usually had ways of solving or preventing potential conflict. In group 3BVH, Gary and Jamie both had drawn T'n'T (a convenience store), and Jamie did not agree with Gary about the location. However, Jamie let Gary finish drawing the community, and Jamie said that he would draw the "bush". Another time after both had

drawn Jamie's house and the Trailer Court, Gary being right again about the location, Jamie let Gary continue to draw and he participated verbally through pretending to have dreams or visions about where the animals should be located on the map, with Gary taking Jamie's suggestions about the latter. In another example, in group 4/5VH, Willie pointed out Pamela's mistakes. He said to her, "You see, you are not talking". In doing this he was reminding her of the need to follow instructions and consult before drawing, thus stimulating her to discuss the places that she wanted to draw.

Conflict in the High TSA groups, although mild, seemed to arise due to sex differences. This seemed to be the case for 3AVH. Here the girls were criticized by the boys for their use of color, and Lewis started tracing over the girls' drawings. Also, these girls were criticized by Henry (who was hyperactive and a source of conflict for this group) about how they drew things. Julie on one occasion told Henry that she would not draw the road that led to his house. In spite of the conflict in this group, which I solved by asking the girls to change colors, Lewis and Diana consulted with each other about the location of different places and drew together at times (e.g. Diana drew the Youth Center and Lewis the road to the Youth Center). Moreover, in group 4/5VH, Pamela was the only girl and was corrected several times by Willie, who was concerned with the objectivity of the map, so she felt criticized and complained of that. Nevertheless, Willie always gave her a reason for correcting her and thus solved the conflict somewhat.

Cooperation vs. Aggression

Cooperation in the High TSA groups was prominent and took different forms. In general, these children helped each other while doing their maps. In group 4/5VH, Willie helped Pamela on several occasions by finding the location of places that she wanted to draw, spelling for her, and sometimes drawing for her. Sometimes children drew together, as with Diana and Julie, who drew the school playground together in group

3AVH. These children also stimulated each other to do the map together. In group 3BVH, Gary used humor instead of criticism to stimulate Jamie to draw the community with him, since Jamie was only doing the bush outside of the community. Gary said, "Don't just do the bushes. . . not everybody needs fresh air!", and both of them started laughing. Later, when Jamie stopped drawing with him, Gary said, "Jamie, what about what Kim told you?". He was reminding him that in my instructions I had asked them to draw the map as a group. In addition, many children in High TSA groups accepted suggestions from other children and usually were not frustrated when they said that they would draw a place and another child drew it before them.

Content

Objectivity and Orientation

Most High TSA groups placed importance on having a fairly realistic map of their community. In group 4/5VH, this caused the children to draw a new map. Willie was the most concerned with the objectivity of the map, Pamela was not, and that was why she made more mistakes. In group 6VH, Lisa corrected Roy when he drew the river going to the Assembly Ground, and Lisa said, "Hey, the river doesn't go to the Assembly Ground". Then Lisa corrected the direction of the river. Also, Roy corrected Sarah with respect to the location of one of the other reserves. Finally, Gary, in group 3BVH, corrected Jamie about the location of various places. In addition, the High TSA groups tended to not look at the list that we did together, which was to remind them of what they would draw.

Most of the High TSA groups showed confidence in drawing the map. For example, when I asked group 4/5VH to refer to their component drawings, Willie said, "We know what the community looks like". Also, the maps of the High TSA groups included hunting areas both near and distant from the community (reflecting the greater

role of TSAs in their lives). Finally, in group 6VH the children connected Chateh in their map to the other two Dene Tha' reserves of Meander and Bushe and said that the community also included these reserves (see pg. 215). Thus, High TSA groups expressed their sense of identity as Dene Tha' in their conception of community.

Themes Portrayed in the Drawings

The theme of life versus death was one that appeared in the conversation of High TSA groups. For example, in group 4/5VH Pamela stopped drawing for a while and was half lying on the table. I asked someone from the group to "help" her draw. Willie said to me, "She could die or live". Pamela replied, "I could die" and laughed. Then Willie was feeling hot, and I told him to take his sweater off. He did and Pamela noted that Willie had a hole in his shirt. Willie said to her that he had been shot with a .22 but was still alive. Then Willie started talking about a movie that he had seen called "My Boyfriend is Still Alive". The children probably showed concern with this theme since it represents the reality of their community. Nevertheless, their fantasies usually had a positive outcome. Though Willie said he had been shot, he was still alive. Their fantasies reveal the dilemma that members in the community face, which is related to alcohol and the choice between life versus death. Similar fantasies were revealed by the children of group 3AVH. Here the children again told stories that dealt with life versus death. In one of these, Henry said that a boy was lost in the bush, got scared because he saw a moose and a bear, ran back to the community, and fell into the river (see pg. 217). I asked what happened to the boy, and Diana said that he was saved. Once again the children chose a positive outcome. Finally, car accidents were drawn and the children's associations were of people driving drunk, which sometimes reflects the state of their community.

George Fulford (1994), in his study of drawings of Mashkeko Cree children, found these same themes to be important, and he noticed that the children seemed to

identify with good ninja turtles in combat against evil beings, which seemed to represent the social problems of this Cree community, such as alcohol abuse, family violence, and gambling. I found similar patterns in the group drawings of children from Chateh, and the theme of life versus death also seemed to be associated with social problems in the community, with the High TSA groups opting for life.

In conclusion, one of the most interesting fantasies of the children of High TSA groups was that of a vision quest. In group 3BVH Jamie engaged in a fantasy with Gary in which he showed a precocious knowledge of the spirituality associated with TSAs (see pg. 218). After Gary had asked Jamie to draw ducks, Jamie assumed a yoga position and pretended that he was meditating. All of a sudden Jamie came out of a "trance" and said to Gary, "There needs to be a moose right here". Gary smiled and drew the moose on the map. Then Jamie had a "vision" of a wolf, and Gary drew the wolf where Jamie indicated. Gary contrasted himself to Jamie and said to me, "Kim, you have one kid that knows lots [and] one kid who tells [reveals] lots". It seems that Jamie was imitating the elders when they have a vision of a moose that is to be hunted and was describing, in his fantasy, the type of vision quest that children have traditionally been encouraged to make in this community. This fantasy, more than any of the fantasies of the children of High TSA groups, shows the relation of TSAs, traditional knowledge, and spirituality. Now we will turn to analysis of the drawings of Low TSA groups.

Analysis of Low TSA Groups

As with the High TSA groups, I will emphasize here four specific groups that reflect the most common tendencies with respect to process, behavior, and content in the group drawings of children with Low exposure to TSAs. These groups are 3B Very Low, 3A Low, 4/5 Very Low, and 6 Low, consisting of 3 girls, 4 girls, 3 boys and one girl, and

3 girls respectively. Two Low groups were selected because in grade 6 there was no Very Low group and because in grade 3A the Low group was more representative than the Very Low in terms of the general characteristics of children with Low exposure to TSAs. The fact that there were proportionately more girls in Low TSA groups is probably explained by the fact that TSAs are taught less to girls, especially among Low TSA families. Moreover, I should note that the descriptions of the drawings of Low TSA groups are somewhat shorter than with the High TSA groups because the Low TSA groups usually spent less time doing their maps, since they engaged mostly in parallel activity, with little interaction, and their interaction on many occasions led to disagreement and disharmony, which in turn often led to disinterest and quitting the project. In what follows I will describe the main tendencies observed in the drawings of Low TSA groups (see appendix 7).

Process

Graphic Space

The maps done by the Low TSA groups at first sight appear to be visually integrated. However, the graphic process involved in their maps was a type of parallel drawing in which most children drew on the section of paper nearest to them. In group 6L Beth drew the school, Ingrid did the school parking lot, and Linda did the pizza parlor (Fiona's Lunch Box), all of which are located in the Townsite (center of community). Then they connected each other's drawings with roads, which each of them drew on her section (see pg. 220). Similarly, in group 4/5VL each child drew separately on his/her corner of the paper. Justin drew the school on his side, Neil drew the Youth Center, Tracy did her house, and Kyle did his house. As they continued drawing, their drawings overlapped more, but each child mainly drew the places located in the area next to him/her. In 3AL and 3BVL the children drew their houses first, followed by the roads and

other places in the community, and the children of these two groups followed the Low TSA group pattern of drawing mostly in their own sections (see pgs. 222 and 223). The main interaction and integration in their drawings was in the production of roads. A child would continue a road where another left off. Nevertheless, most of the roads in the Low TSA groups consisted of two main thoroughfares that connected the community in a weak manner.

Physical Space

There was not much physical interaction in the Low TSA groups, since most of the children were somewhat distanced from each other because of staying in their seats. In group 4/5VL Kyle and Tracy wrestled once over an eraser, since they wanted to use it at the same time. Also, in two Low TSA groups some members made facial gestures to others in the group in order to distract them and get attention. In group 3AL Nancy moved behind Brenda and put her arms around her to draw the store. Another time Nancy, in order to draw a moose, moved Brenda aside even though she looked somewhat upset. A dramatic example of how a Low TSA child separated herself from the rest of her group was seen in group 3BL, and it is possible to verify this graphically (see pg. 224). Here Rose, after having been insulted by Jesse (a boy) for making an accidental mark on the map, drew two lines on the corner of the paper next to her to mark the boundaries between her drawing and that of the other children.

Verbal

Verbal interaction was not any more prominent than graphical interaction with the Low TSA groups. There was some consultation in Low TSA groups which involved members sometimes telling the group what they were going to draw and some coordination between members about the location of particular places. Nevertheless,

many of the verbal interactions in these groups were negative, such as criticisms of each other, complaints, and an insult on one occasion. In some groups a negative story or fantasy was related, causing contaging. Thus, the children of Low TSA groups often addressed the social problems of the community with destructive fantasies, such as a wish to blow up the community or by insinuating a wish to try some vices by talking about them often and laughing about it, and this behavior was often imitated within the groups.

Linguistic

Six Low TSA groups used both English and Dene Dhah, while two groups (4/5VL and 3BL) used only English. On a number of occasions Dene Dhah was used to discuss the location of different places and to coordinate within the groups on how to draw these. In group 3AL Nancy and Brenda discussed in Dene Dhah how to do the main roads of the map. Similarly, group 3BVL discussed in Dene Dhah the location of the bush in different parts of the community. After talking in Dene Dhah, Sandra and Sally drew the bush in two areas of the community in the same way. In group 6L Dene Dhah was used in the same way, but in this case it excluded one member of the group, Linda, who did not speak Dene Dhah. She asked her group to speak English but they used Dene Dhah again on another occasion. In two more instances Dene Dhah was used in the Low TSA groups, when criticizing and when expressing anger at other children.

Behavior

Leadership

The leaders in the Low TSA groups tended to be authoritarian, reflected in their use of excessive assertion, which often turned into dominance, imposing their ways of doing things on others, which seemed to reveal insecurity on the part of these children. In

group 6L Beth was chosen to be the leader by the others in the group. Nevertheless, she did not facilitate group interaction and even disrupted the group. She tended to criticize rather than help. For instance, in most of her interactions with Linda she criticized her and did not help her when she needed it. When they started drawing Beth said to Linda that the Lunch Box Linda drew was "too big" and erased it. When Linda did it again Beth told her that it was "too far" from the school, which Beth had drawn. Ingrid, although not the official leader, helped Linda draw and showed her how to draw trees on the map. Beth drew independently from the group and she did the last part of the map by herself, since she did not help or stimulate her group, which got confused and stopped drawing. In 4/5VL there were no real leaders, but there were two dominant children, Tracy and Kyle, in the group who tried to do what they wanted and conflicted with each other because each wanted to do something different. In group 3AL Nancy was chosen to be the leader and she also seemed to be dominant. However, Nancy mostly drew independently from the others in the group, sometimes showing impatience but helping at other times. For example, at the beginning of the map Brenda was drawing her house and her group told her that she did it too big. Brenda felt criticized, became upset, and stopped drawing. Nancy became impatient and said, "I'll just do it big", finishing Brenda's house. In group 3BVL there were no real leaders, but Sally and Sandra interacted the most and were dominant, with Corina not interacting much.

Consultation vs. Conflict

Overall consultation was limited in the Low TSA groups, since the children drew separately from each other for the most part. In group 4/5VL the children did not communicate with each other for the most part and, at the beginning of the exercise, Tracy and Kyle started drawing before I had finished the instructions. Tracy and Kyle showed constant conflict with each other. They disagreed on the location of Habay, and

Kyle drew it on his side of the paper. Then Tracy wanted to color the water in the river of Habay blue, while Kyle wanted to color it black. They got mad at each other, started to color on top of each other's colors, and Kyle decided to leave the group (see pg. 221). Neil and Justin did not get involved but rather watched. Neil had been the first one to consult at the beginning of the exercise by asking who was going to draw what, but Kyle and Tracy were already drawing and he was ignored. In 3AL consultation did not take place, with the exception of drawing the major roads of the community. In this group there was a conflict between Christine and Rebecca, each of whom wanted to draw the school. Rebecca complained that Christine said to her, "No, I'll do the school". Christine did not elaborate on the school (drew only a circle), and it was later done by Nancy. During the project Rebecca mentioned some places and would ask the group for the location of these. Christine and Nancy, instead of showing her, drew them. Only one time Nancy helped Rebecca find something on the map and let her draw it (Youth Center). At the end of the project Rebecca got into an argument with Christine, and Rebecca covered her ears (they spoke Dene Dhah). Nancy got involved, said something in Dene Dhah to Christine, and they left the room together.

In grade 3BVL Sally asked the group about where Habay was and was ignored. Sally and Sandra consulted with each other most of the time but Corina was not involved. In group 6L Ingrid became frustrated with Linda and Beth, since the lack of consultation on their part caused them to make the same mistakes of their first map on the second. Due to the frustration Ingrid stopped drawing, and later both Ingrid and Linda got confused over the map, since it was Beth who mainly drew it.

Cooperation vs. Aggression

Since Low TSA groups engaged more in parallel activity, cooperation was less. When children in these groups interacted it was either weak or negative. Where children

cooperated with each other, it was usually between two children. The most common type of cooperation involved children helping other children to locate places that they wanted to draw. For instance, Justin helped Neil when he asked help to find the Youth Center in group 4/5VL. Also, Justin helped Tracy unite the community river with the river in Habay that Kyle drew. Moreover, some cooperation took place in Low TSA groups when the children consulted with each other about the structure of their maps, the roads, and the location of different areas in the community. This was the case in group 3BVL, 3AL, and 6L.

Mutual criticism of what was drawn inhibited interaction, cooperation, and enthusiasm about doing the map. In grade 3BVL, when Corina was not participating very much, Sandra said to her, "Corina, don't be a queen". Sandra criticized Corina for not drawing and called her "lazy". She did not stimulate Corina to draw and her comments made Corina more defensive. Sandra got frustrated with the group and, therefore, said that she had finished drawing. In another example Rebecca, in group 3AL, criticized Brenda and Christine for drawing too many birds and "ugly" trees on the map. This made Brenda cry but she was ignored by the group.

Altruism vs. Selfishness

Selfishness was frequently observed in the Low TSA groups. For instance, in group 6L Beth complained that the paper was too far away from her compared to the other children in the group, although it was the same distance. Also, after Ingrid and Linda stopped drawing because of confusion, Beth continued drawing on her own while the others just looked on. In contrast to Beth, Ingrid showed altruistic behavior when sharing her candy with the whole group while doing the map. In group 4/5VL Tracy would tell other children to draw a place that she suggested but would then draw it herself. She did this with Neil, and he said, "You should let me draw it". Nevertheless,

Tracy did not let him draw the place that they talked about. Similarly, in group 3AL Rebecca showed some selfishness by not letting Christine color the tree that she drew, since Rebecca wanted to color it. Finally, in group 4/5VL Kyle drew himself on top of the police station and wrote, "I rule the world", providing a dramatic example of the self-centeredness that was to some extent observed in the Low TSA groups (see pg. 221).

Content

Objectivity and Orientation

Most of the Low TSA groups followed the list that I made with them and read it often. Thus, they were somewhat conventional in their style of doing the maps. These children showed concern for the objective correctness of places in their map and thus interpreted the concept of community literally, more in terms of things than people. However, the frequent impulse to use erasers showed some insecurity in drawing and a lack of planning. The content of the drawings in Low TSA groups did not include TSAs, and few natural elements were included. Some social elements were present but the Tea Dance grounds (ceremonial place) were usually not included.

Themes Portrayed in the Drawings

Some of the fantasies that the children had while drawing and some of their commentaries will be described in order to show their imaginative life. For example, Kyle, in group 4/5VL, drew Habay and a lake and river with explosives. He started talking to the group about making an explosion in the water. Justin was listening to Kyle and said to him that the bomb could also blow up the Youth Center (which Neil had drawn). Then Tracy added that the bomb could also blow up T'n'T (a convenience store that sells gasoline). Then both Tracy and Justin said that it could also blow up the gas station next to the store and cause a "big explosion". Tracy said, "The Earth could

explode". I asked them if they wanted their community to explode. Neil said, "No" but the rest of the group said, "Yes". Then Neil said, "Yes". I said, "If your community explodes where would you live?" Neil said, "High Level". With this example we can see how one child's negative fantasy influenced the rest of the group. In Kyle's individual drawing, where he also drew explosives, he associated the explosives with a "Simpson's" episode. Also, he colored a house with red, representing blood, where he said a crime had occurred. Nevertheless, this incident with Kyle involves a degree of destructiveness which no other Low TSA child ever expressed and which makes Kyle an exception and not the rule for children with Low TSA exposure, showing that Kyle, in addition to being Low on TSAs, had serious emotional problems. The interesting thing about this example is that the children in the group followed Kyle in his destructive fantasies, whereas the High TSA groups tended to channel negative fantasies better.

A story from the same group was told by Neil. He drew himself in school and told the group that he had run away from school and was going to the store but that the supervisor chased him and returned him to school. The children laughed. Then Neil drew the supervisor saying, "Neil, come back to school", and Justin drew Neil's footprints (see pg. 221). This story reflects the real life not only of Neil but of many other children in the community who spend their time at the store or walking around the community.

In group 6L Linda, one of the girls who was not very involved with the drawing, started asking me questions about the vices present in the community. She asked me if I drank beer or smoked and smiled. I responded "No" to both. Then Beth asked me if I sniffed, and the whole group laughed. By asking these questions they were probably trying to embarrass me. However, the questions also seemed to show their curiosity and ambivalent feelings towards these activities, since they seemed to have been exposed to them previously. Also, another possible reason that they had been more exposed to vices was that they had less exposure to TSAs, which are usually associated with virtuous

behavior. Thus, the Low TSA groups tended to emphasize the negative aspects of the community in their fantasies.

Summary of the Differences Between High and Low TSA Groups

At first sight the maps do not show many differences between High and Low TSA groups. Maps of High TSA groups showed more natural elements and hunting areas around and near the community. Also, the maps of High TSA groups were more accurate and more integrated than the maps of Low TSA groups. In addition, it was noted that the High TSA groups were more creative and self-confident while doing the project than the Low TSA groups, since the former did not rely as much on the list that I helped them make, whereas the latter checked off the list as they drew and did not add to the list. However, since there were more differences in the individual integrated drawings, it appears that doing the maps in groups tended to compensate somewhat for individual inadequacies.

Nevertheless, the most important differences came from the group process and behavior observed on the part of the children while doing the maps rather than from the maps themselves. High TSA groups had a tendency to consult more and planned the mapping project more. Most of them started drawing from the center of the paper and spread outwards. Also, since I usually had the children use different colors, it is possible to observe more overlapping in the case of the High TSA groups (see appendix 7). In contrast, Low TSA groups seemed more impatient and did not consult much with each other. These groups also showed more parallel activity, and interaction was not as great.

Leadership in High TSA groups was less authoritarian than in the Low TSA groups. In the former there was usually a natural leader who was the most cooperative, who helped others, and who facilitated interaction between the other children in the

group. In the latter the leader many times was critical of others. Criticism in Low TSA groups was frequent and probably occurred more often than facilitation. This is why there was more conflict in these groups, often causing the disinterest of children in participating. In the High TSA groups criticism and complaints were not used often. Instead, humor and reminding each other of the instructions were used as techniques to stimulate others to participate more in the maps and cooperate with each other while avoiding conflict (e.g., contrast Gary in 3BVH with Sandra in 3BVL). The High TSA groups usually corrected each other by giving reasons for doing so, and thus the interaction was not affected. For instance, in the interaction between Pamela and Willie in group 4/5VH, even though they disagreed often about the location of places, they negotiated through dialogue and achieved a compromise. Willie usually corrected Pamela by explaining to her what she did wrong and by showing her the way it should be, and both would correct the mistake. However, in the Low TSA groups it was noted above that many times correcting another child in the group took the form of criticism and/or correcting the mistake for the other child without consultation. For example, in group 6L Beth criticized Lisa for drawing some places in the wrong location and proceeded to erase them and draw them herself without consulting or permitting Lisa to participate in correcting the mistake, thus inhibiting interaction and cooperation in the group.

Finally, both High and Low TSA groups dealt with the social problems of their community through fantasies and stories. All of the children seemed to be aware of the problem of alcohol and its related violence and destruction, which have recently increased in the community. Nevertheless, the High TSA groups dealt with these fears with fantasies which transformed negative into positive (e.g., Willie's comment about getting shot but still being alive; also Diana's association that the child in the river was helped by another boy). In contrast, the Low TSA groups dealt with their fears through fantasies of negative and destructive escapes (e.g., group 4/5VL's fantasy of blowing up

the community and moving to High Level). Furthermore, in spite of all the social problems, it is still possible for a child with High exposure to TSAs (Jamie, of 3BVH) to fantasize a vision quest in the best of Dene Tha' tradition.

In conclusion, differences between High and Low TSA groups were prominent if one takes into account the group process and behavioral interactions displayed by the children while doing the maps. These differences complement the differences found in the statistical analysis of the individual maps of the children of High and Low exposure to TSAs.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

In order to know what implications the findings may have beyond the community of Chateh, I will attempt to compare Chateh to Subarctic communities studied by other recent ethnographers (Goulet, 1998; Fulford, 1994; Ridington, 1992; Hamer, 1980; Tanner, 1979). On the basis of ethnographic work done with the Beaver in the 60s and 70s and with the Cree in the 70s and 90s, Chateh, as of the late 1990s, would be less traditional than the communities studied by Robin Ridington and Adrian Tanner but perhaps comparable to the community studied by George Fulford, which is contemporary. Although the extent to which the Dene Tha' engage in TSAs is less than the Beaver of the 60s and 70s (Ridington, 1992) and the Mistassini Cree of the 70s (Tanner, 1979), the Dene Tha' have retained some traditional values and their language is still spoken by most of the community, in contrast to communities such as the Potowatomi of the 70s, as described by John Hamer in his study on alcohol abuse (Hamer, 1980).

Thus, with respect to the extent to which tradition has been retained, Chateh could be considered above average with respect to contemporary Subarctic communities.

However, the rate of change in Chateh may have been faster than in most communities since the Dene Tha' were still semi-nomadic up through the 1930s. The recent and rapid economic development in the Dene Tha' area due to oil and gas exploration seems to be associated with an increasing rate of social deterioration. Nevertheless, since Chateh is similar in some respects to the Subarctic communities studied by the recent ethnographers mentioned above, since their findings are consistent with the findings of this study in that considerable retention of tradition is possible even within the context of significant socio-economic change, and since Chateh is in some ways typical of contemporary Subarctic communities, we may conclude that this study could have implications for other contemporary Subarctic communities, such as the Mashkeko Cree community described by Fulford. This is perhaps reinforced by the existence of similar culturally salient ambivalences, such as themes of good versus evil and life versus death, in the two communities. In the next chapter, I will make an attempt, based on the results of this study as compared to those on other Subarctic populations and to the study of feuding in tribal societies, to make some suggestions as to how problems such as alcohol abuse and domestic violence might be dealt with.

Chapter V

FURTHER INTERPRETATIONS OF RESULTS IN LIGHT OF CULTURALLY SALIENT AMBIVALENCES

INTRODUCTION

I mentioned in the theoretical section the fact that some ethnographers of Subarctic hunter-gatherer societies have commented on the presence of ambivalence in the data from field observations, projective expressions, and folk stories (Tanner, 1979; Ridington, 1992; Goulet, 1998). I would like to speculate about the evidence of this in my data on the Dene Tha' of Chateh. Before reviewing the different themes of ambivalence from my data, I will provide a theoretical introduction to the topic of ambivalence.

Jean Briggs, in her classic work on the Inuit, described the extreme ambivalence of this population in an article entitled "Living Dangerously: The Contradictory Foundations of Value in Canadian Inuit Society" (1982). Here Briggs noted that she had been forced to reinterpret her data from an emphasis on suppression of anger to a position of ambivalence towards anger. In other words, although the Inuit have a marked tendency to suppress anger socially, they can at times, like most hunter-gatherer societies, show extreme anger in the form of violence and killing. Briggs also points out that even with respect to the world of animals, the Inuit can show extreme ambivalence, described as follows:

> Children not only 'adopt' and cuddle puppies, they also kill superfluous newborn pups with gusto, dashing them against boulders, dropping them off cliffs, or throwing them out to sea. And the wounded gull chicks to whom . . . endearments [are] murmured [are] shot, for sport, by the same women who [coo] at them sympathetically as they [fall] (1982: 116).

With respect to the natural environment, the Inuit show enjoyment and excitement while killing an animal, an expression of aggression, but as a people they identify with animals and attribute souls to them. The aggression involved in killing animals is compensated by honoring the animal through rituals and gratifying its needs (such as seals being offered a drink of fresh water after they have been killed). Aggression as a nurturant act is also expressed in human relationships. Briggs describes how mothers sometimes neglect or mistreat their children in order to make them more self-sufficient and also how they may give rough physical affection by slapping, squeezing, or biting the child to the point of making them cry, acts which make children have ambivalent feelings towards affection, both wanting and fearing it. Thus, Briggs notes that in Inuit society "not only do the behavioral values conflict, but the feelings underlying each value are themselves in conflict" (1982: 114). Therefore, she notes that opposing behaviors, such as violence versus non-violence and autonomy versus nurturance, are valued in different contexts in Inuit society. However, in this article Briggs does not speculate on the importance of geographical and historical factors in determining ambivalent values.

The most creative exploration of this idea has been by Christopher Boehm in a series of articles (see Boehm 1989, 1993, 1996). In "Ambivalence and Compromise in Human Nature" (1989), Boehm states the hypothesis that human nature is characterized by ambivalence, originally associated with environmental and social dilemmas relevant to reproductive success. He has relied on ideas put forth originally by psychologist Donald Campbell, who, in an important article in 1965 entitled "Ethnocentric and Other Altruistic Motives", claimed that from the viewpoint of natural selection "the presence of opposing value tendencies may have survival value in 'multi-contingent environments'" (in Boehm, 1989: 931). Thus, Campbell claimed that in human pre-history ambivalence was adaptive in order to deal flexibly with an ever-changing environment. He went on to state that this genetically inherited ambivalence tends to resolve itself culturally in a

compromise as a response to environmental dilemmas. Boehm has adapted these ideas to the study of egalitarian societies and he also used ambivalence to explain feuding in tribal societies.

Boehm combined these ideas with Malinowski's "satisfaction quests" (1939) in order to develop his ambivalence model as an alternative way of explaining the interrelation and coexistence of competing genotypic tendencies in human nature, shown most vividly in solving problems that are expressed as dilemmas relevant to reproductive success. In "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis" (1939), Malinowski postulated a number of "satisfaction quests" by which biological and derived needs sought their satisfaction through culture. The most important of these for the theory of ambivalence are the quests for subsistence, safety, and growth/education, which, Malinowski noted, compete with one another and which make compromise necessary. Thus, Boehm integrated the ideas of Malinowski and Campbell to create an ambivalence model with which to study crises in human societies related to subsistence or politics, and he even claimed that this could serve as a new approach to the study of human nature, based on the idea that ambivalence is universal to all societies, both present and past.

In his analysis of feuding in the tribal system of eighteenth and nineteenth century Montenegro and Albania, Boehm found evidence of ambivalence associated with revenge killings. In favor of following the impulse were feelings such as sorrow over loss, anger, and fear of personal dishonor, which together produced a wish to kill. But these feelings were counteracted by three different types of inhibitions. The first inhibition towards the act of killing involved the fear of getting killed, or of retaliation, which Boehm notes often inhibited homicide. A second inhibition consisted of a sense of ethnic bonding, since revenge killing was most often directed towards known subjects, which in Montenegro and Albania often involved members of the same tribe or ethnically

related neighbors. Boehm notes that this ambivalence enabled third parties many times to pacify "intracommunity feuding very fast" (1989: 928). Lastly, the need to tend to subsistence needs, such as harvests, sometimes provided an additional inhibition towards revenge killings. Boehm notes that even the traditional cultural values of Montenegro and Albania were in contradiction with each other. On the one hand revenge killings for honor were culturally approved. On the other hand killing within the same ethnic group was discouraged. Boehm describes the important role of values in both creating and revealing ambivalence as follows:

> Cultural . . .values . . . may reflect, suppress, support, or modify the various genotypic tendencies that structure ambivalence. . . .Within the same cultural tradition different values can compete sharply with one another, thereby helping to create ambivalence, and . . . in the decision process competing values often are compromised in various directions as ambivalences are resolved (1989: 931).

Thus, through the study of values, Boehm believes that anthropologists can infer the salient ambivalences in a culture.

Boehm has also speculated that ambivalence is related to the presence of both needs for domination and counter-domination in human nature. In "Egalitarian Behavior and Reverse Dominance Hierarchy" (1993), Boehm tried to explain why egalitarian, hunter-gatherer societies deviate from the pattern of hierarchy observed in African great apes and in middle-level human societies and states. His explanation for this phenomenon is what he calls "reverse dominance hierarchy", a process by which the followers control the leaders in egalitarian societies. This hypothesis was the result of a survey of forty-eight egalitarian societies and was explained in terms of the male-dominance theory of evolution, which supports the idea that humans, and especially males, have an inborn tendency towards hierarchy that is inherited from the great apes. Boehm's hypothesis has been criticized by anthropologists such as Susan Kent, who

"disagree[s] with the view that there is an innate behavioral trait of dominance that is expressed only [through] males" (1993: 243).

In "Emergency Decisions, Cultural-Selection Mechanics, and Group Selection" (1996), Boehm applies the ambivalence model, based on emergency ecological or political decisions, to the analysis of ethnographic descriptions from three different semi-egalitarian societies. Here he argues that group selection temporarily reinforced egalitarianism in pre-historic times and offers these contemporary examples of tribal societies as approximate examples of how this supposedly worked. Although his hypothesis about group selection as an instrument to reinforce egalitarianism has not been thoroughly studied, his analysis of ambivalence and compromise based on competing environmental needs is an important idea for future research in this area. Boehm's ideas on egalitarianism as it relates to the issues of domination and counter-domination follow the hypothesis that there may be a tendency on the part of humans to avoid domination as well as to dominate. However, consistent with the male-dominance theory of evolution, Boehm implies that the former is weaker and more attributable to cultural choice than to genetic predisposition.

An alternative hypothesis about egalitarianism and group selection has been forwarded by anthropologist Bruce Knauft (1991) and others in both cultural and biological terms. On the cultural level, Knauft claims that the phenomenon of symbolic, or cultural, transmission made possible group selection during the period of egalitarianism and that this altered the course of human evolution. On the biological level, Knauft cites research undertaken on bonobos, the so-called pygmy chimpanzees, who are "female-based". Thus, Knauft notes that this "strong affiliation among females and between males and females, but not among males . . . poses a significant anomaly for Pan-based models of male-collective intergroup aggression in hominid evolution" (1991: 396). Furthermore, Knauft notes that "bonobos may exhibit important similarities with

simple human societies in harboring both strong conflict-mediation skills and the potential for rare but . . . extreme violence" (1991: 396). Even in the case of chimpanzees, who demonstrate the male-dominance model, Knauft cites the research of Robert Whallon, who claims that due to an environment of low resource density and predictability, "the late Paleolithic saw the culmination of an evolutionary trend toward the 'replacement of ape-like systems of interpersonal dominance . . . by systems of at least relatively egalitarian . . . relations . . . among individuals both within and between local groups' " (in Knauft, 1991: 397). Finally, Knauft proposes an ambivalence model based on "a series of 'universal dilemmas'—a distinctive set of *competing* behavioral impetuses . . . . The primary competition is . . . . between Darwinian propensities toward maximal biogenetic propagation and cultural propensities toward ideational transmission" (1991: 416, emphasis in original). Frans de Waal has expressed this as follows:

> Most likely . . . the common ancestor of humans and apes already had a dominance orientation *and* leveling tendencies. Knauft is no doubt correct, however, that humans took the leveling tendency a giant step further by means of cultural norms and institutions (1996: 241, emphasis in original).

The role of egalitarianism in human evolution relates to the concept of group selection, which, although controversial in the past, has recently gained more acceptance. David Wilson, in "Hunting, Sharing, and Multilevel Selection" (1998), uses hunter-gatherer societies to demonstrate his argument that food sharing can only be explained by the simultaneous presence of individual and group selection. Thus, Wilson argues that individual and group selection are "frameworks [that] merely view the process of multilevel selection from different perspectives" (1998: 73).

In conclusion, the ideas of Boehm, Knauft, and Wilson could be integrated to develop an ambivalence theory for the investigation of Subarctic peoples and

hunter-gatherer societies in general. Boehm's emphasis on ambivalence as a mode of adaptation for the group resolution of emergency environmental decisions, reflecting behavioral flexibility in genotypic tendencies, could be combined with Knauft's non-linear concept of evolution and his emphasis on culture as a reinforcer of inherent leveling tendencies in humans. Wilson's theory of multi-level selection, as applied to hunter-gatherer societies, could reinforce the anthropological models of Boehm and Knauft. Flexibility and the capacity for behavioral adaptation found by researchers in hunter-gatherer societies is also found in primates, especially bonobos, and is also consistent with the theory of multi-level selection. All of these phenomena can be explained by the ambivalence theory, and it could provide a powerful new model for the investigation of hunter-gatherer societies. This approach, as indicated by other researchers, would allow us to integrate knowledge from evolutionary biology, primatology, anthropology, and psychoanalytic theory and would permit us to include but go beyond previous attempts, such as that of Briggs, to explore the motivational basis for behavior in Arctic and Subarctic societies in particular and hunter-gatherer societies in general. Finally, before I make an attempt to list and interpret the themes of ambivalence found in my own data, I would like to speculate on the role of females in hunter-gatherer societies, since this not only is related to evidence for the ambivalence theory but is also connected to some implications for practical solutions of social problems among the Dene Tha'.

THE ROLE OF FEMALES IN FORAGING SOCIETIES

Implicit in the discussion of the ambivalence theory is the idea that egalitarian societies may have placed more emphasis on gathering than hunting. Bonobos, whose social behavior seems to be closer to that of humans than that of the other great apes,

emphasize gathering more than hunting (de Waal, 1996). Nancy Tanner (1988) has labeled this "the gathering hypothesis" and claims that females have always played a dominant role in gathering, since they were more restricted territorially than males due to the tasks associated with rearing offspring. Tanner concludes that the first cultural transmission was the teaching of subsistence activities by females to their offspring and emphasized that the first step towards becoming human was "gathering plants with tools" (1988: 136). Thus, many researchers of hunter-gatherer societies have felt the need to give gathering a more prominent place in the hunter-gatherer equation. For example, Lee and Leacock (1982), pioneers in hunter-gatherer research, have suggested "foraging" to refer to both hunting and gathering.

Eleanor Leacock (1992), in analyzing the role of women in egalitarian societies, noted some time ago the need for a non-linear concept of social evolution by which hunter-gatherer societies can be accounted for in their own terms. Thus, she concludes that the social organization of hunter-gatherer societies was healthier than the alienation of the modern industrialized world, with its increasing social problems. Finally, Morton Fried, in *The Evolution of Political Society*, noted, as far back as 1967, the inadequacies of stratified society as follows:

> [The stratified society] builds within itself great pressures for its own dissolution and for a return to a simpler kind of organization . . . lacking differential access to basic resources . . . . On the other side, the stratified community, to maintain itself, must evolve more powerful institutions of political control than ever were called upon [before] (1967: 225).

CULTURALLY SALIENT AMBIVALENCES OF THE DENE THA' OF CHATEH

The culturally salient ambivalences of the Dene Tha' of Chateh which were discerned from the data collected were of three types, those relating to Malinowski's

hunger/subsistence quest, safety quest, and growth/education quest. These ambivalences were expressed by the Dene Tha' in themes related respectively to traditional versus modern subsistence, cooperation and harmony versus aggression and hostility (jealousy), and traditional versus modern teaching and learning. Statements by caretakers in interviews, children's comments, fantasies, or spontaneous stories in group drawings collected during my fieldwork, and the Dene Tha' traditional stories compiled in *Wolverine Myths and Visions* (Moore and Wheelock, 1990) seem to portray recurring themes associated with these culturally salient ambivalences and also reveal a connection and continuity between the past and the present. In what follows I will review each of the culturally salient ambivalences noted for the Dene Tha' of Chateh, providing an example from each of the three sources of data just mentioned and comparing the examples to each other.

Throughout the data collected the main theme of traditional versus modern was revealed in different areas of Dene Tha' life, such as the economy, education, language, beliefs, and value system. One of the most important ambivalences was related to subsistence. Although currently most of the Dene Tha' engage in some sort of labor outside of their traditional subsistence activities due to the sedentary lifestyle of a settlement, there is a dilemma in many households with respect to the choices made concerning the degree of participation in traditional subsistence activities and also the extent to which these are passed on to their children. In the interviews that I conducted many caretakers revealed insecurity with respect to wage work due to the scarcity of jobs on or near the Reserve, with respect to their dependence on an externally controlled economy, and with respect to their relative disadvantage in terms of education for acquiring such jobs. Many of the interviewees showed hesitancy in terms of giving up traditional subsistence activities completely for wage labor, revealing the importance TSAs still have for supplementing wage work and/or government aid. Many stated that if

they lost their jobs or an economic crisis took place causing government aid to disappear or be considerably reduced, the people would need to rely more extensively on traditional subsistence activities. Examples of caretakers' statements are as follows: "That will be the [people's] survival in the future"; "What if the government went broke tomorrow? . . . I think that for survival purposes [the people] need to go back to it"; "When the elders are all gone who is going to teach [the children] when there is no store . . . . It's a scary feeling . . . . Everybody will go hungry"; "[The people] will starve". Thus, traditional subsistence activities are still regarded as a survival strategy, and therefore, people show ambivalence towards TSAs in terms of how choices made in the present might affect their future. Many interviewees seemed to feel ambivalent towards being dependent on the dominant white society, and TSAs provide some autonomy for them. Thus, survival is still a concern in modern times, as it was in the past, and the people feel ambivalent over how to satisfy their needs. Although the people are still conscious of the hardships of the past, they are very aware of the social problems associated with wage work and government aid. One grandmother noted that current times are "easier" in terms of involving less hardships but are associated with less "seriousness", causing people to "die from alcohol and give bad examples". Thus, the people note that both traditional and modern lifestyles have disadvantages, and they seem ambivalent towards both alternatives.

Although the adult caretakers expressed more ambivalence toward the social and economic system than toward nature, the children's ambivalence was somewhat more "archaic", reflecting mixed feelings about nature itself in their drawings of the community. Of particular significance were comments made by two boys about the community drawing of group 3AH (see pg. 219). One of the boys said that he had drawn the other boy from the group, who went to the bush in the back of his house and died because "he's got no food". Also, he mentioned that the people he had drawn in the bush

had died because it was "too cold". The other boy in the group gave an opposite explanation and said that the people who walked into the bush had died because they "ate too much" and said that "if you eat too much snow, your lungs freeze". The comment made by the second child shows a resemblance to Adrian Tanner's (1979) description of the "Eat All" feast of the Mistassini Cree, which seemed to be a way of mastering anxiety over famine during the pre-contact and early-contact periods. Although the relation of gluttony in the story of the second child to freezing, combined with the fact that the people who died were walking back from High Level (where alcohol is purchased), could represent this child's possible concern about alcohol-related deaths, at another level this story could be related to Subarctic people's traditional anxieties over famine and could thus represent a "memory" from the collective unconscious about the environmental dangers of historic times.

Themes of ambivalence related to subsistence and the natural environment are also represented in traditional Dene Tha' stories, such as "The Man Who Sought a Wife". This story contains themes of starvation, the hardship of the people, and an ambivalent attitude toward animals, who either are monsters who eat people or rescuers of people in distress. In Dene Tha' tradition the character of Wolverine created hunting technology, such as flint arrow-points, knives, and fire strikers, and thus "helped make people human" (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: 43). Moreover, Wolverine is often the animal helper of Yamonhdeyi, the Dene Tha' culture hero, who in this story created their hunting technology. Nevertheless, Wolverine is sometimes a dangerous figure who steals from the people and brings them hardships. Throughout this story Yamonhdeyi is hunting and interacting with animals, who either threaten his life or protect him. Thus, we can see how survival is an important recurring theme in Dene Tha' history and that nature has been seen as both a source of subsistence and of danger.

Ambivalences related to the safety quest on the part of the Dene Tha' overlap somewhat with ambivalences related to subsistence. These themes involve protection and social control and the related themes of life versus death, moderation versus intoxication, and peace versus jealousy (e.g. reciprocity versus feuding). With respect to modern, conscious attitudes towards nature, caretakers in the interviews did not show much ambivalence; they either liked it or not. The same response was given when caretakers were asked about their children's attitude toward nature, but there seemed to be a tendency for High TSA children to feel safer in nature, to know how to protect themselves from danger in the bush, and to like the bush, many times wandering in it by themselves, all in contrast to Low TSA children. In fact, I noticed that many of the High children when doing their individual integrated drawings asked if they could first draw the bush, or in other examples they would emphasize the bush as much as they did the community by drawing a full page for the bush and hunting grounds and using the back of the page for the community. In group 4/5VH one of the children wanted to draw Habay, a place where people go hunting and fishing, at the center of the group map.

Caretakers and their children expressed much more ambivalence toward the community than toward nature. Many caretakers began describing their and their children's feelings toward the community with "I/they like it" or "I/they don't mind it", followed by a "but", or "except", which involved many times statements about problems stemming from alcohol, which made people feel unsafe and revealed deterioration in the relationships between people in the community. Ambivalence towards the community seems to be reflected by the fact that many people move away and return, sometimes repeatedly. On the one hand, many stay to be near family and/or because they do not have the money to move, but, on the other hand, their staying does not mean that they are completely content with the community. One mother showed both ambivalence and flexibility in her statement as follows:

> I have mixed feelings [towards the community]. I feel frustrated because I try to better the community. I think people have too much negativity. I try to get people involved but they do not cooperate. [But] I like the community because it is quiet, there is no time pressure, and I know all the people. [However] if I found a job in the city I would go. . . . I can live in either place.

In the children's group drawings examples of ambivalence towards the natural and social environment with respect to safety and the well-being of the individual versus that of the group were observed. In the 3AVH group drawing a child related to me a story (already mentioned on page 110) about his drawing, said that a boy was lost in the bush and saw animals such as a moose and a bear, got scared, and ran back to the community, where he fell into the river. A girl in the group continued the story by stating that this boy was saved by another boy. One can speculate that this story shows the first child's attempts to master the natural environment by imagining being in the bush alone and encountering animals. Also, the second child's adding the part about the boy being saved reflects a communitarian impulse to help others, which can involve, at times, a risk to the safety of the individual.

One can compare to some extent the above children's story to that of "The Man Who Sought a Wife" in terms of the ambivalence concerning the food versus safety quests, since Yamonhdeyi is confronted with dangers in nature but is able to resolve them with his knowledge of the environment through being able to communicate with animals and being able to transform himself into an animal. In this traditional story he kills the monster animals, such as an eagle and a mastodon, who eat people. Through animism, Yamonhdeyi is able to engage in a relationship of reciprocity whereby he is helped by different animals, such as a boy eagle, a bird, and a mouse, to defeat the monsters (e.g. dangers in the environment). In addition, he is able to turn into an animal (in this case a "fish") to escape even the dangers from other human beings.

In a previous chapter I mentioned the theme of life versus death as being a recurring one in the children's group drawings and associated comments and stories. Here I want to relate this theme to the current social problems in the community and the children's perspectives on these but also connect it to the idea that life versus death may involve a theme from historic times, as has been indirectly touched upon in the literature review of Subarctic hunter-gatherers in the discussion of the relationship between hunters and animals, the process of transformation included in vision quests and hunting itself, and the ambivalent relationship between hunters and their natural environment.

The theme of life versus death emerged first in interviews with caretakers, where some noted the children's alcohol-related loss of a parent and others noted the children's ambivalence towards the community, mostly caused by the current social problems. One father said that his child's attitude towards the community was negative because of all the family funerals that they had attended in past months. In the children's group drawings the theme of life versus death was expressed graphically and verbally on many occasions. Some children drew car accidents associated with drinking and the graveyard was drawn and mentioned often. One girl in group 4/5VH, when drawing the graveyard, sang "never sleep again", and the other children in her group repeated with her the phrase two times. In an example noted earlier as representative of the theme of life versus death in group 4/5VH a child said he had been shot but was still alive, a story that seemed related to the children's concern about alcohol-related deaths. However, it could be that some of the people's traditional anxieties over survival in a harsh environment are being intensified by current social problems. In the story "Wolverine Steals a Child", the theme of life versus death is emphasized when a child who was raised by Wolverine is killed by twin giant monsters but is reborn through his father's prayers. Also, as stated above, the literature on Subarctic hunters refers to the theme of life versus death as a frequent transformational process involving birth and rebirth.

Ambivalence towards the community on the part of both caretakers and children is related to the current state of social relationships between the people. In many interviews with caretakers mistrust was revealed between the people in the community, inhibiting the social interaction between members of the community outside of extended families. Although some caretakers said that people in the community still shared with each other, opinions varied about the degree of sharing, and some mentioned selfishness. Some noted that jealousy and gossip were prominent, and many mentioned not visiting others because of this. Also, the limited visiting of some of the caretakers interviewed related to the fear of encountering situations where people are intoxicated. In addition, some comments were made about "bad" medicine going around the community as an explanation for the recent tragic deaths and misfortunes, and a few of the caretakers mentioned jealousy and disharmony between people following the sending of bad medicine to others. Thus, one could relate this to the traditional medicine fights described as a characteristic of Subarctic peoples in the past. However, today it seems that mutual resentment between the people gets intertwined with alcohol abuse, the violence derived from this, and the disruption in social relationships in the community caused by this. The fact that people now live close to each other on a reserve is a condition that seems to worsen the situation. Many people show their dislike of this by building fences around their houses, blocking their road entrances, and putting signs on their doors prohibiting intoxicated people from knocking. In addition, the economic situation of families varies since jobs in the community are limited, which also seems to create some jealousy. Thus, jealousy in the community seems to arise from a group of diverse circumstances, deriving originally from the fact that some families are better off than others. One caretaker described the community as a "big feuding family". Also, other caretakers mentioned the word "feuding" to describe relationships in the

community. On one occasion I visited a house were a young male had been stabbed and the father told me that he was considering getting revenge on the person who did this.

In the children's group drawings feuding and recent tragedies in the community were related in a comment about a haunted house by a child in group 4/5VL, superstitions related to bad medicine going around the community in the case of group 6H, and in the statement of one girl in group 4/5H that she had ribbons sewed underneath her shirt to protect her against bad spirits. Ambivalence towards ethnic bonding is also demonstrated in two traditional stories. In "The Young Man Who Sought a Wife" Yamonhdeyi is given an old man's daughter to marry so he will hunt for the old man's family, but the old man tries to trick him. The old man's daughter was already married and her husband, a monster-human, was killing people somewhere else. The jealousy of Yamonhdeyi's hunting success by the old man is reflected in the story by the following statement: "My daughter, . . . he is taking away everything: our land —everything we depend on. Yes, it is all gone". This jealousy produces a "medicine fight" in which the old man instructs his daughter to transform herself into a bear to kill Yamonhdeyi. Nevertheless, Yamonhdeyi kills the daughter. In the story both sides are helped by animals. The story shows how the jealousy of the old man and attempts to trick Yamonhdeyi cursed him in the end. In "Wolverine Steals a Child" guilt and ambivalence over "blood feud" is expressed by the events of the story— the jealousy of a mother towards her daughter with respect to the son-in-law, leading the mother to kill her daughter, the son-in-law killing his mother-in-law for revenge, the grandson being stolen and raised by Wolverine, the grandson helping his father kill Wolverine, and the twin giants killing the grandson. The story shows how the father killing the grandmother and the grandson killing Wolverine brought bad luck, causing the grandson to be killed by the twin giant monsters, who represented Wolverine. The negative side of the ambivalence in this story towards ethnic bonding is represented by the blood feuding, which results in a

curse which takes the grandson's life. Also, ambivalence towards Wolverine is involved, since he raised the grandson but also destroyed him. Thus, this story contains two levels of ambivalence, one involving the security associated with ethnic bonding versus the negative consequences of jealousy and feuding and the other associated with the natural environment, since it protects human beings but also can destroy them.

Ambivalence related to the educational/growth quest was revealed as a dilemma over how to integrate traditional and modern knowledge and ways of learning. Some of the caretakers in the interviews showed ambivalence in the area of traditional education through TSAs versus modern education. One father said that it was important for him to teach his child hunting and how to survive in the bush because he wanted the child to know his tradition for "identity" purposes and values, but he did not want his son to get "too hung up" on this since he wanted him to be able to live in two different worlds for practical reasons, offering him more opportunities in the future. This case shows an attempt to achieve a compromise by maintaining tradition internally but adopting modern ways of life externally. In addition, many caretakers felt ambivalence with respect to the primary language to be taught. On the one hand, they recognized the importance of English for educational and occupational purposes, but they also saw the need for bilingualism and biculturalism.

In the group drawings traditional versus modern ways of knowing and learning were revealed in the interaction of the children with each other in mapping their community. For instance, in group 4/5VH the interaction between Willie and Pamela involved negotiation and reaching consensus about the location of places on the map rather than a directive from one child to another. Most of the time Willie proved himself right in terms of having better knowledge of the location of places but nevertheless engaged in an exchange and negotiation process with Pamela. Thus, this interaction reflected teaching through consensus formation in a traditional manner, involving

reciprocity through children respecting each other's opinions. A compromise of the dilemma concerning how to integrate the different types of knowledge was shown in the interaction of Gary and Jamie in grade 3BVH, where, in order to prevent conflict between the two children over the location of places, Jamie participated by contributing revealed knowledge for the production of the map through a simulated vision quest, while Gary, who had more objective knowledge, accepted Jamie's knowledge as valid and integrated it with his own (pgs. 106, 107, 108, 111). Thus, these two children achieved a compromise between two different types of knowledge that are used by the Dene Tha'. Although objective knowledge is more compatible with Western ways of knowing and revelation is more compatible with native ways of knowing, the compromise by these two children reflects the goal of the Dene Tha' as a people to be able to participate in both worlds.

In traditional stories of the Dene Tha', the teaching of TSAs is always associated with the values that are part of these activities. In "The Young Man Who Sought a Wife" Yamonhdeyi is helped by a boy eagle who warns him that his mother will kill him and teaches him how to know when the mother eagle is going to return. The boy eagle said that when she comes "it rains a little". The boy eagle helps Yamonhdeyi kill the mother eagle. Yamonhdeyi reciprocates by telling the boy eagle that "a person should not eat human beings . . . . You should live on rabbits, fish, grouse, and ducks ---not people. I' ll teach you how to fish" (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: 46). In "Wolverine Steals a Child", Wolverine raised the child on milk but he also endangers him, since Wolverine was not a "proper person" but rather an animal person, did things that were bad, and went against Dene values (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: 16). The teaching of mastery is involved in the story since the boy is able to kill Wolverine only because he had learned everything that Wolverine had to teach. Also, the boy's father teaches him about the dangers in nature, such as Wolverine and the Siamese twin giants. Nevertheless, the boy did not obey the

father's instructions and warnings the first time, when he was told not to call his father if he heard a noise and to be quiet, which caused him to be kidnapped by Wolverine. Then later, when the father told his son not to walk too far away from him when hunting, he did so and got killed by the twin giants.

Also, ambivalence towards the community in terms of the moral values that are taught was revealed. In the caretakers' interviews there was concern shown by some that their children would become influenced negatively by their social environment and peers. Some caretakers said they took their children as often as possible to the bush and did TSAs to avoid the children getting into trouble and to reinforce positive values. Also, many expressed a preference for their children to even stay at home rather than socializing in the community. As one mother stated, "some of the kids are bad over here and their father doesn't want them to be bad . . . . so every time he goes hunting he asks the children to go with him". Another mother contrasted her children with other children on the Reserve as follows: "My kids like . . . hunting. They always want to go hunting and other people . . ., other kids . . ., they do other kind of stuff. . . . . Like some kids are always drinking and stuff like that".

In the group drawings fantasies concerning vices were reflected in some of the children's comments. In group 3AVH I told the children to draw together a map of their community, to try not to ask me questions, and to pretend that I was not there. One boy said, smiling, "All right, let's party!" to the group. The other children laughed but looked at him as if he had said something wrong, and the boy told me, "I'm just joking". I had the impression that the children associated the word "party" with alcohol. In another example mentioned previously the girls in group 6VL asked me if I smoke, drank alcohol, or sniffed, channeling their curiosity about these activities by asking these questions but at the same time showing their knowledge of the bad consequences of these activities by their laughing and being shy and hesitant when asking the questions. In

group 3AH a boy drew children outside of the Youth Center, mentioned that they were smoking, and smiled. In group 3AVL a girl told me about a friend of hers borrowing her hair spray and not returning it and said that people in the community "drink it", meaning inhale it. Also, during the drawing project with this group a girl and a boy talked to each other about "stealing" some of the cookies that I gave to the groups as they drew their maps but then laughed, since they knew I was listening. All these examples show that the children are very aware of their social environment and some of the vices present and show some confusion towards these expressed as curiosity but also awareness of the negative effects.

Ambivalence also exists on the Reserve over the values of communitarianism versus selfish individualism. In caretakers' interviews most agreed that sharing of moose meat and other bush products was widespread in the community. Nevertheless, many stated that the amount of sharing over the years has reduced considerably due to alcohol abuse and jealousy between the people. Also, sharing seems to be more restricted to certain members of the extended family and close friends. One grandmother stated that people sometimes ask for money if they are asked to help someone and that people sometimes steal from one another, and she considered these behaviors to be caused by drinking. Moreover, one father said that some people share for self-glorification. Finally, one mother felt that "there is no community, no sharing".

In the group drawings examples of sharing and selfishness were present in the interactions and comments of the children. The value of reciprocity in children's group drawings was reflected in many instances. One story by a boy and a girl has already been mentioned involving a boy being saved by another boy from drowning in the river in group 3AVH. In group 3BL a similar story was told by a girl who said that a man was drowning in the river and a boy attempted to pull him out but could not because the boy was too small. These examples show the children's concern for mutual aid. In the

behavior observed on the part of the children in group drawings I noticed that many of those who engaged in selfish behavior, such as wanting to have more space for drawing, not letting others draw, not communicating with others by drawing individually, and being dominant and critical of others while doing the maps, seemed to be expressing their own insecurity and false autonomy. In contrast, the children who shared space and interacted to exchange ideas usually seemed to be more confident about their participation in the project.

In the traditional story "The Man Who Sought a Wife" reciprocal exchange between human beings and animals is portrayed numerous times. Yamonhdeyi, the culture hero in the story, is helped by different animals (e.g. a boy eagle, a mouse, and a bird) to overcome dangers presented to him by other humans and animals. For instance, Yamonhdeyi asked the help of a mouse to kill a monster and said to him, "Go to the monster and gnaw an opening over its heart . . . and one day I'll help you in return" (Moore and Wheelock, 1990: 46). Thus, Yamonhdeyi was able to shoot his arrow into the monster's heart, showing the relation of reciprocity between human beings and the natural environment.

By reviewing the culturally salient ambivalences from the data collected in interviews with caretakers and children's drawings and comparing them to traditional stories of the Dene Tha', the continuity between historic and contemporary ambivalences has been described. The implications of these ambivalences will be examined as they affect alcohol abuse, the role of women in improving social conditions in Chateh, and the systematic training of selected youths in traditional knowledge.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Alcohol and Its Relation to Culturally Salient Ambivalences in Chateh

The main social problems in Chateh seem to be related to the conflict between traditional and modern lifestyles and values, and this is nowhere more truly seen than in the problem of alcohol abuse. John Hamer, commenting on the Potowatomi culture, stated that "the style of living on the reserve and coping with a dominant white society has produced cultural confusion, intergenerational jealousy and anxieties, and a continuous round of heavy drinking" (1980: 302). Although the Dene Tha' have retained more of their traditional culture than the Potowatomi, the situation described in the Potowatomi culture fits the current condition of Chateh. Alcohol abuse seems to have worsened social relations by allowing for the opportunity of excessive self-assertion (false autonomy) and increasing jealousy, feuding, and retaliation. In some of my interviews I noticed the dependence that people expressed on the dominant white society in economic terms and their sense of uneasiness with respect to this due to a loss of autonomy. John Honigmann (1981) has noted that alcohol abuse is a way of resisting the complete superiority, values, and assimilation of the dominant white society and thus preserving some sense of autonomy. In the children's group drawings I found that insecurity shown while doing the maps turned into false autonomy, expressed as dominant, selfish, and/or isolated behavior. It could be that insecurity also leads to false autonomy in adults when intoxicated, resulting in excessive self-assertion and aggression. John Hamer and Jack Steinbring (1980) found an inverse correlation between economic security and excessive assertiveness when intoxicated in native cultures where traditional forms of achieving status have waned and the loss of status has been compensated by alcohol. Thus, in native societies which have kept much of their traditional culture

"sufficient opportunities [are present] for real rather than the make-believe status assertiveness of the drinking milieu" (Hamer and Steinbring, 1980: 306). Furthermore, Jean-Guy Goulet (1998) notes that the current social conditions of the Dene Tha', characterized by living on a reserve and a combination of TSAs, wage work, and government aid, are very different from the hunter-gatherer mode of production that created the value of individual autonomy within communitarianism, implying that the individual autonomy of today is not as well channeled as in the past.

Moreover, alcohol abuse has taken the lives of many people and created sorrow in others who themselves sometimes find refuge in alcohol. As a consequence, alcohol has isolated people in the community in a social sense and has caused an ever-increasing spiral of destruction and self-destruction. However, ironically, it has created a new type of communitarianism, since in the drinking party the sharing of alcohol can be seen as an extension of the value of reciprocity involved in the redistribution of game meat, simulating the bond of the hunting party (Hamer and Steinbring, 1980).

The problem of alcohol also reflects ambivalence associated with the value of respecting personal autonomy and the violation of this when drunk. Goulet notes that the Dene Tha' "alternate between two conflicting visions of life: one according to which they profess the highest regard for one another's autonomy, the other according to which they become one another's victims or fiercest aggressors" (1998: 112). Thus, "under the cover of drunkenness, individuals find the socially accepted conditions in which to engage in acts of aggression that allow them to infringe, within limits, on one another's autonomy in a socially expected and permissive way" (Goulet, 1998: 111). Moreover, Goulet has noted that aggression when drunk is usually not random and he points out that "alcohol in itself does not automatically lead to violent behavior; rather, under the cover of drunkenness, Dene Tha' choose the appropriate moment to retaliate against what they see as legitimate targets for violence" (1998: 117). Furthermore, aggression and retaliation in

the Dene Tha' is not only expressed overtly through intoxication but also covertly "through the use of a [medicine] power" (Goulet, 1998: 128).

In trying to understand alcohol abuse at a deeper level, it might be useful to compare modern ambivalences to historic ones. Hamer and Steinbring refer to Burridge's description of the native value system as being characterized historically by "binary opposites" found before European contact (e.g. either/or positions with respect to "friendship, proportionate reciprocity, emotional affect, feasting, and utility" [1981: 10]). The authors apply this concept to the social problem of drinking in native society, characterized by a pattern of behavior which exhibits conviviality at first but later turns into aggression. Thus, they conclude that the negative pole of the binary opposites is expressed when intoxicated. Based on the discussion above of themes of ambivalence in Chateh, we can apply the above analysis of Hamer and Steinbring to this community in the sense that the typical ambivalence towards others (e.g. ethnic bonding and sharing versus feuding, medicine fights, and jealousy) gets split during intoxication, with the negative side becoming predominant. Here we can modify Christopher Boehm's suggestions, based on his study of ethnic feuding in Albania, for maintaining the positive side of the ambivalence as follows: (1) through systematic education increase public awareness of historical and contemporary origins of ambivalence (e.g. in subsistence struggles, as reflected in traditional stories, currently in incorporation into the dominant white society, unemployment, and changes in sex roles with females working outside of the home); (2) the use of awareness of ambivalence in facilitating internalization of cultural values, especially in the youth (e.g. reinforcing the positive side of the ambivalence, such as the reciprocity associated with ethnic bonding); (3) teaching the children more about the negative effects of alcohol and other vices and eliminating mixed messages about role models; (4) sanctioning on the part of the community of the negative side of the ambivalence by making a conscious choice of not accepting to

interact with delinquent individuals until they decide to receive help from institutions such as the Family and Community Wellness Office, other rehabilitation centers, or from the elders in the form of spiritual healing through ritual, as has been done before (see Goulet, 1998); and (5) creating new types of entertainment and activities for healthy socializing on the part of community members (e.g., sports and games in which all members of the community could participate).

The Role of Women in Improving Social Conditions in Chateh

The majority of the interviews that I conducted in Chateh involved female caretakers, which was related to various reasons: females were more available since they were more often at home, were often considered by the caretakers to be the appropriate ones since they spend more time with the children, and also the fact that the interviewer was a female sometimes inhibited the communication with male caretakers. Thus, through the interviews, I was able to find out more about female perspectives on the community and about many of these caretakers' concerns for the welfare of the community in general and their children's future in particular.

Many of the female caretakers who worked in the community seemed to be very involved in trying to do something about the social problems, especially those women working in institutions for healing, education, and administration. Interest in this area can be explained due to the fact that women are often the victims of aggression related to alcohol. It has been mentioned in the literature that spouse abuse in native societies is probably related to the increase of economic status in females, making them more independent (Hamer and Steinbring, 1980). Many female caretakers were careful not to expose their children to situations where alcohol abuse could occur and tried to select places and groups where their children could interact and visit safely. With this

consciousness also came the decision by many female caretakers not to drink, since they realized how their actions could influence their children. Most children in Chateh are very aware of alcohol abuse and of the behavior that is associated with it. Some children mentioned to me that if a drunk person knocked at their door when they were alone they would not open the door but would call a relative or the police. On the other hand, one child told me about being grounded by his teacher for pretending to be drunk with a friend in the school yard by picking up empty beer cans and acting like they were drinking. In conclusion, children in the community are exposed at an early age to the behavior associated with alcohol abuse and sometimes end up engaging in the activity themselves, in spite of ambivalent attitudes toward it.

The Nursing Station and the Family and Community Wellness Office in Chateh have demonstrated the most support with respect to health emergencies and social problems in the community, and these centers both have a high number of females on their staff. The Nursing Station recently started putting out a newsletter to diffuse information and to inform the community about important issues related to health and healing. Also, the presence of these centers has been very visible in supporting families who have been victims of alcohol-related deaths recently. Finally, these centers are well represented at important community gatherings, such as the Winter offering ceremony, which was not attended by many community members last time.

Thus, in the context of health care female participation is present through different institutions providing services to the community, but participation by females in other spheres, such as the political and spiritual, remains low. With respect to the spiritual sphere, it has been noted that Dene Tha' prophets have predicted the emergence of female prophets (Goulet, 1998). Thus, the role of females in religious ceremonies should be enhanced and they should receive instruction for this purpose. Jean-Guy Goulet (1998) noted that in the early 1980s a woman dreamer from Meander began training

twelve girls in drumming. Examples like this should be stimulated, since female participation could help in improving the future of the community, with both sexes working together. Eleanor Leacock, in her article "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution" (1992), noted that the role of females in hunter-gatherer and horticultural societies was an important one, involving participation in economic and political as well as social matters, "often through councils that mediated their reciprocal relations with men" (1992: 161). She outlined the historical process by which production for consumption was replaced with production for commodity exchange, a process which "[undermined] the collectivity of the joint households", limiting the role of women and resulting in "their childbearing ability [becoming] the basis for their oppression as private dispensers of services in individual households" (Leacock, 1992: 161). From my interviews I found that many of the women who did not work outside the home live isolated lives, dedicating their time to rearing their young children and watching TV. Even though they showed concern and a willingness to do something about the problems facing the community, they were not able to participate at the level of action in this goal. Thus, the public roles of females must be reconstituted, as they were in the past, the isolation of women needs to be overcome, and women should be permitted to participate along with men in choosing the future of their community. The Women's Association of Chateh is a start in this direction, but much more should be done in this area (see Goulet, 1998).

The Systematic Training of Selected Youths in Traditional Knowledge

In the Dene Tha' Language and Culture Program the school in Chateh has started formally teaching the children of the community about their tradition. Although this program will help avoid the total loss of traditional knowledge, I would like to suggest

that this setting be used to select children who show special ability and interest for more intensive training by elders in order to help form future spiritual leaders for the community. The reason for this suggestion is because the time that is given to the Dene class is very limited (four periods a week of 40 minutes each). Additional time could be used by selected children in individual or small group sessions with elders to study more intensively traditional spirituality and values.

In the group drawings of the community I noticed that certain children emerged as leaders in the traditional Dene Tha' sense of the word, integrating their groups either by acting as examples or by negotiating between other parties, thus stimulating cooperative and collaborative interaction within the groups (e.g. Sarah in group 6VH, Willie in group 4/5VH, and Jamie in group 3BVH). Thus, if these children were able to facilitate positive and cooperative interaction in group drawings, the same children might someday be able to do likewise in community matters. Also, just as some young adults who abuse alcohol are rehabilitated by the elders by inviting them to become drummers, the teaching of traditional knowledge at a younger age could perhaps help certain children with pre-delinquent tendencies. In these ways perhaps the preoccupation of the elders that traditional knowledge will not be available to help solve the social problems of the present and future could be addressed.

A Note on the Future of Negotiation by the Community of Chateh with Industry

Over time the oil and gas industry has begun to consult more with members of the community, especially with trappers about development plans that will affect their harvest and about the need to respect grave sites and spiritual grounds. This has been facilitated by the *Dene Tha' Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study* (1997), done by the Arctic Institute in Chateh, and the trappers are now formally represented by the

Trapper Liaison Worker, who mediates between the two parties. During the period of my fieldwork (fall, 1998) the Dene Tha' took another step towards the beginning of negotiation between the community and the oil and gas companies in that many of the latter agreed to a schedule of fees for development to be given to the trappers quarterly, starting with the year of 1997, since the companies agreed to pay retroactively.

In spite of this new achievement, two problems could emerge. One problem is that a certain portion of the money paid in fees will inevitably be spent on alcohol consumption, risking greater social disruption. Jean-Guy Goulet (1998) noted that drinking in Chateh depended on the influx of cash. He mentioned the example of money coming from firefighting and said that a part of this money was used for drinking, with the rest going for gifts to the firefighters' families and some shared with members of the extended families. The second problem could be associated with the sacrifice of future TSAs in exchange for the fees in the present. Thus, the benefits have to be weighed against possible disadvantages. In conclusion, consultation in the sense of having decision-making power in the development projects, or even the right to refuse a project, still remains to be achieved.

FINAL INTEGRATION OF RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

With respect to a final integration of my results, significant differences on three of four dependent variables in the quantitative analysis of individual integrated drawings, along with marked differences between High and Low TSA children on the number of associations to communitarianism, were reinforced by qualitative differences found between High and Low TSA children in the group drawings and between the families of High and Low TSA children in the interviews with caretakers. Thus, this study suggests

that there are real differences between the High and Low TSA children and their families, and this difference was dramatically expressed by the findings on communitarianism. The fact that highly significant differences were obtained on the frequency of such an abstract variable as communitarianism with young children, whose conscious knowledge of the concept was limited, shows the ongoing importance of this concept for the Dene Tha' of Chateh and, through comparison with other recent studies, for Subarctic peoples in general. Thus, the findings of other recent ethnographers (Goulet, 1998; Fulford, 1995; Ridington, 1992; Tanner, 1979) on the relative preservation of traditional values in spite of modernization have been reinforced by this study. Also, as I have discussed earlier in this chapter, the findings on ambivalence have been reinforced here as well. Further research on ambivalence as it applies to the Dene Tha' of Chateh and to Subarctic peoples in general is indicated. For this purpose, it might be possible to follow the methodology reviewed by Christopher Boehm's article on emergency decisions in which Mervyn Meggitt, in his study entitled *Blood is their Argument* (1977), used interviews with participants in the collective decision-making process of the Mae Enga of New Guinea in order to determine how their culturally salient ambivalences were synthesized in a compromise solution of an important practical dilemma. This same procedure could perhaps be followed in a future study of the Dene Tha'. More specifically, interviews could be done with representative participants in a decision-making process involving a social dilemma, such as alcohol abuse and domestic violence, and the process by which culturally salient ambivalences are synthesized into compromise solutions could be objectively analyzed.

In his article on emergency decisions, Boehm (1996) lists two main criteria for the selection of the dilemma on which to focus: (1) a problem which represents a threat to the reproductive success of the community and (2) a problem which is severe enough to be defined as an emergency. It seems that the problem of alcohol abuse and domestic

violence in Chateh satisfies both of these criteria and, if Boehm's hypothesis is correct, these conditions could create pressure for a consensus process involving the synthesis of contradictory values into a compromise solution. The report of the Women's Association of Chateh to the Canadian government on alcohol abuse (see Goulet, 1998) could be updated based on the emergency situation in the community involving a recent dramatic increase in the number of deaths due to alcohol. If for some reason the Women's Association cannot be reconvened for this purpose, participants in the writing of the previous report could be interviewed and the results analyzed ethnographically for culturally salient ambivalences, patterns of conflict resolution, and new compromise solutions for the emergency situation of the community. Action research of this nature could integrate the findings of this study, including the results on ambivalence, the need for an increasing role for women, and the dilemma between modernization and tradition, into a proposal that could address urgent needs of the community, and the recommendations emerging from this follow-up study could be carried out by such agencies as the Family and Community Wellness Office and the Nursing Station through adult education and crisis intervention. In terms of the previous studies facilitated either directly or indirectly by the Arctic Institute, including the *Dene Tha' Traditional Land-Use Study* and my own study, this follow-up study would involve an exercise in cognitive, as opposed to geographical, mapping, and as such it would represent a logical extension of past research into the area of urgent social problems.

Finally, studies such as the one I have proposed could be carried out with other Subarctic populations in areas related to the conflict between tradition and modernization, which seems to be the main dilemma in these societies. In this way not only our knowledge of Subarctic peoples will be advanced but, if Boehm's hypothesis is correct, our understanding of human nature in general may be increased, since the

ambivalence which is so dramatically expressed in Subarctic societies was probably universal in our collective pre-history.

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Appendix 1. Letter of Consent for Interviews with Caretakers

Consent for Interviews

Research Project: Children's Maps
Investigator: Kim Harvey-Trigoso
Funding Agency: The University of Calgary

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please ask. Please take the time to read this form carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The purpose of this study is to find out how parents' participation in traditional subsistence activities such as fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, or crafts affects the attitude of children towards their community and nature. This study is associated with the project of the Arctic Institute of the University of Calgary in which adults in Chateh mapped their traditional lands so that they might be consulted on the industrial development of the area. I propose to carry out a "mapping" (drawing) project done by children ages 8-11 (grades 3-6) in their school in order to study how values toward the community and nature are passed on from parents to children. In order to do this, I need to conduct 30-minute interviews with the children's parents in order to understand what and how children are taught about these subjects. In the interviews with parents I will be talking to them about the extent of their involvement in traditional subsistence activities and the types of values that they try to teach their children about community life and about caring for the Earth.

Participation in this interview cannot have any negative consequences for you or your family and, on the contrary, could possibly help you, your family, and the community to become more aware of what and how you are teaching your children so that they, in turn, can better teach their children. Finally, a tape recorder will be used for the interviews if you agree, but all personal information, such as drawings and interviews, will be kept confidential by substituting pseudonyms for names.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask

for clarification or new information throughout your participation. If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact:

Dr. Usher Fleising
(403) 220-6516

If you have any questions concerning your participation in this project, you may also contact the Office of the Vice-President (Research) and ask for Karen McDermid, 220-3381.

Participant	Date
Investigator/Witness (optional)	Date

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Appendix 2. Letter of Request for Interviews

September 21, 1998

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I am a Master's student in anthropology from the University of Calgary and would be interested in having a 30-minute talk with you to discuss your child. This interview would be done in the month of October. The reason for my study is to find out how the parents' or guardians' work might affect what they teach their children about the community and nature.

The idea for this study came from the project on mapping Dene Tha' lands done by the adults of Chateh with the Arctic Institute at the University of Calgary. This project showed that the adults of Chateh are concerned about passing on traditional values and attitudes about nature to the children of the community. I would like to find out how this takes place and what the children are learning about these subjects. This study has been approved by the Chief and Council and by the school.

I would like to thank each of you for taking the time to read this letter and for helping with this study, since your help will hopefully allow me to give some things back to the community about subjects that are important to you.

Sincerely yours,

Kim Harvey-Trigoso

If you agree to talk with me about your child, please answer the following:

This is in regard to (name of child): _____

The best times for me to talk with you are (please give days of week and times of day):

_____

Appendix 3. Questions for Interviews

I. About the significant adults:

1. Who lives in your home?

    a) What is your relation to _____ (the child in question)?

    b) Are there any other adults that help in taking care of _____?

    c) What is their relation to _____ ?

2. Do you work outside of the home? If so, in what?

3. What does your partner do for a living?

4. Do you or any of the adults that live in your home ever participate in fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, processing game/plants, or crafts related to TSAs even part of the time?

    a) Where does this take place?

    b) How do you do these things? (ways of doing these activities)

    c) Who do you do these things with?

    d) How much time is given to this?

        Days of the week--- weekends vs. weekdays

        None of the time (0)

        Some of the time (1 or 2 days a week --- e.g., weekends)

        A lot of the time (3 days a week --- more than weekends)

        All of the time (5 days or more a week)

    e) What is the reason that your family does these things? (e.g. subsistence, recreation, etc.)

    f) Who do you share the game or plants with?

    g) How often do you eat wild meat?

II. About the child:

1. Where does _____ spend most of his/her free time? (e.g. time after school and when not sleeping, eating, or doing chores at home)

a) Who does _____ spend most of his/her time with?

b) What does _____ usually do in his/her free time?

c) Which of these activities does _____ like the most?

d) Which of these activities does _____ like the least?

III. Interaction of child with significant others and the socialization process:

1. What types of activities does _____ do in his/her free time with adults?

a) What types of activities does _____ do in his/her free time with other children?

2. What do you and the other important adults in _____'s life try to teach him/her about his/her community (e.g. people and places)?

a) What do you and the other important adults in _____'s life try to teach him/her about the bush/plants and animals? How do you try to teach these things?

b) Does _____ ever participate in fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, processing game/plants, or crafts related to TSAs with any of the important adults in his/her life?

3. How much does _____ know about his/her community (e.g. people and places, or people and their relationships and places and their interrelationships)

a) How much does _____ know about the bush/plants and animals? (e.g. about how to fish, hunt, trap, gather, process game/plants, or crafts).

b) How much importance does the community (people and places) have for _____?

c) How much importance does the bush/plants and animals have for _____? How does s/he show this?

4. How do you and the important adults in _____ 's life feel about the community?

    a) Are _____'s feelings about his/her community (people and places) different from those of the important adults in his/her life? If so, how?

    b) How do you and the important adults in _____'s life feel about the bush/plants and animals?

    c) Are _____'s feelings about the bush/plants and animals different from those of the important adults in his/her life? If so, how?

5. Do you visit other people in the community?

    a) Do you think people in the community still share?

    b) What would make Chateh a better community?

6. Do you think people in the community respect nature? If so, how?

7. Do you feel it is important for the community to continue TSAs? Why?

    a) Do you think the next generation will continue TSAs?

Appendix 4. Scoring Manual for Individual Integrated Drawings

Definitions of Dependent Variables:

Conservationism- all natural elements or activities involving natural elements, such as creatures, plants, or geophysical phenomena, which involve a productive use of the environment (including TSAs or the use of nature for pleasure)

Communitarianism- any place, creature, thing or activity that facilitates voluntary association outside of nuclear families

General Criteria:

1- Count drawn or written, as opposed to verbalized, natural or social elements.
2- Count explicit (e.g. verbalized), as opposed to implicit (e.g. nonverbalized), associations.

For Conservationism, "productive" in the definition is operationalized as "providing benefit or pleasure"; score negatively if drawing includes degradation of the environment or waste of natural resources.

For Communitarianism, operationalize as follows:
If response fits criteria for communitarianism, count it unless child denies or de-emphasizes communitarian function; let the scoring of the association be determined by how closely the child matches the true communitarian function *combined* with the child's attitude towards it (e.g., expression of liking or interest). "Emphasis" operationalized as verbal repetition or graphic prominence (e.g., center versus periphery, large versus small, etc). In general, interest is indicated verbally by any expression of motivation or deviation from neutrality (e.g., "like", "nice", "fun", etc). Institutions that provide a community service are automatically scored as communitarian, and if they have an association, it is scored according to the above criteria.

For Both Conservationism and Communitarianism, association given either +1, -1, or 0 (positive, negative, or neutral/mixed). If no association is given, the association is scored "0".

Communitarianism-- Special Cases:

Institutions that might not be voluntary, such as police station, court, fire station, nursing station, and graveyard, are counted as communitarian in spite of not being voluntary. If the true

communitarian function (protection-healing-mourning) is recognized, as opposed to a morbid emphasis on punishment in the case of police station and court, destruction in the case of the fire station, physical trauma in the case of the nursing station, or death in the case of the graveyard, the association is scored as a "+1". For institutions that involve recreation, emphasis or a statement of liking or interest must be made to receive a "+1" on the association.

General Criteria-- Special Cases-- Verbalized Associations:

If one aspect of the verbalized association is drawn or written *and* if the association is *directly* related to what is drawn or written, count the whole verbalized association.

Doubtful or Implied Criteria: Do not count.

Copied Drawings or Ideas: Do not count.

Repetitions: For repeated generic elements or activities count each if spatially separate and/or if activities are semi-independent (e.g., involve different people, etc.).

Appendix 5. List of Place-Names of Chateh and Surrounding Areas Mentioned in Individual Integrated Drawings

Areas of Chateh:

Third Prairie-- Most traditional people live there and dedicate a lot of their time to hunting. Geographically, it is the area farthest away from the Townsite (center of town). Houses are dispersed.
Second Prairie-- Traditional families live there. Houses are dispersed.
First Prairie-- " " " " . Closer to Townsite.
Habay Rd.-- " " " " .
Townsite-- old and new parts of community, a mixture of traditional and non-traditional families. The Band is building new houses in this area. More residential, is the center of the community, with the school and public buildings located there.
Trailer Court (TC)-- newest part of community, a lot of young families live there, residential.

Important Places of Chateh:

Institutions Which Provide a Community Service (Automatically Communitarian):

Arena-- (between Townsite and Trailer Court) a place that serves for community events, such as social gatherings, e.g. Halloween dances (negative at times, since people sometimes go to these intoxicated). Many children are present at these events and play there. Also, in winter, people play ice hockey and skate.

Assembly ground-- (Trailer Court) a fairly new place that serves for social gatherings and events, especially the Tea Dance. Every year the elders of the community try to have an offering ceremony there for the children going back to school so that they have a good year. This offering also has the purpose of praying for a good winter and the well-being of the community as a whole. This year's ceremony was delayed due to the loss of some community members and of one of the spiritual leaders. The event happened in Third Prairie's Tea Dance ground. Only High School students and a few community members attended.

Band Office-- (between Townsite and Trailer Court) administrative building where all community issues are addressed (economic, political, social). Chief and Council (Band administrators) meet with the Chief (who lives in High Level) to discuss diverse issues.

Offices for gas, oil and forestry are located here and deal with issues that pertain to community involvement in these industrial activities. Also, issues of housing, welfare, and employment are addressed here. Many people who are unemployed spend time there; also teenagers pass through.

Child Welfare Services Office-- empty trailer where the Government is supposed to provide services for children, such as for foster children, child abuse, etc.

Church-- (between Townsite and Trailer Court) For a long time the community has not had a Catholic priest to direct mass. Instead a Catholic couple from Edmonton is in charge of the services. The building of the church used to be the residential school but has been remodeled.

Courthouse-- (Townsite; next to the school) There are court sessions once in a while. Children sometimes spend time at the entrance and ride their bicycles.

Day Care-- (Townsite) new. Its purpose is to provide care for toddlers so parents can work.

Elders' Home-- (Townsite) rest home for elders.

Family and Community Wellness Office-- (in the Band Office building) provides counseling to community members, as well as social assistance. This office attempts to provide programs to deal with major social problems faced in the community, such as alcohol and family abuse.

Fire Station-- (Townsite)

Graveyards-- There are two. One in First Prairie and another one in Third Prairie.

Nursing Station-- provides community with heath services and also runs programs for educating the community about disease (e.g. AIDS, diabetes, etc.). A doctor from High Level comes once a week for appointments and community members are transported daily by a private taxi cab that works in coordination with the Nursing Station to take patients to High Level Hospital. Also, this institution runs a monthly newsletter concerning topics of interest for the community with commentaries and opinions of community members on certain issues. Some people go there to socialize as well.

Old Band Office (Radio)-- Every Wednesday the community bingo is transmitted on TV and radio from here. Community members watch this a lot. Also, many community members listen to the radio, which provides them with local news, announcements, messages from one community member to another, traditional music, and mainstream American music (in conjunction with another radio station elsewhere).

Playgrounds-- There are three in the community. They are located at the school, Trailer Court and Third Prairie.

Police Station-- only paved parking lot in the community. Some children play in the parking lot.

School-- (Townsite) Now it is managed by the Band. It offers education for all grades up to grade 10. On Wednesday nights the school has "Gym Night", when many teenagers and children congregate in the school gym to play sports, such as volleyball and basketball.

Tea Dance grounds-- in Townsite, Second Prairie and Third Prairie. Tea Dances and offerings take place here.

Youth Center-- (Townsite) A non-profit organization manages this place for the purpose of providing a healthy and entertaining place for children to socialize and participate in recreational activities. Open every weekday from 3:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M. Many children go there.

Other Institutions and Places of Chateh

ATCO-- (Townsite) a private family-owned business that uses graders for maintaining unpaved roads in good condition and does construction work in community.

Bigway Foods (referred to as "the store")-- (Townsite) a Band-owned food store where people in the community buy their groceries. Also provides diverse services, such as selling water (everybody in Chateh buys water because one cannot drink water from tap), post office, mail boxes, laundry, cafeteria, gasoline, and benches outside where people often sit and talk. This is the place in the community where people get to see each other the most since everybody goes there for different reasons. Children are often found there buying a snack, socializing at the cafeteria, or playing in the aisles.

Jason's Video Rentals (referred to as the "pool hall" or "video store")-- (Townsite) a pool hall, video rental store, and a place where many teenagers spend time.

Fiona's Lunch Box-- (Townsite; in front of school) fast food place where one can order pizza to take out. Many teenagers and children spend time socializing outside of establishment. Also, sometimes students spend time there during school.

River-- cuts across Townsite and goes to Third Prairie. In Trailer Court it ends in a pond. Children play there and cross river when is frozen.

Shop-- (between Townsite and Trailer Court) carpentry work and community work (construction).

T'n'T-- (in front of school and next to Lunch Box) a convenience store owned by a community member where people get snacks and buy gasoline. Children and teenagers spend time outside on stairs.

"29 Baseline"-- (towards Habay) bush in the community where people go hunting.

Important Places Outside of Chateh:

Institutions Which Provide a Community Service (Automatically Communitarian)

High Level -- the hospital, school playground, and swimming pool.

Other Places Outside of Chateh

Bistcho Lake-- (in traditional lands) People in the community go ice fishing there. There are cabins and traplines of community members. And there is a retreat that belongs to the community where High School students are taught by their Dene teacher and a few adult volunteers from the community about Dene Tha' tradition (e.g., ice fishing and winter survival skills).

Bushe River-- another Dene Tha' Reserve that is on the outskirts of High Level. People in Chateh visit relatives there and vice versa. Many people in Chateh apply to the Band Office to get their houses built there since they prefer it to Chateh (closer to High Level and people think there are less problems there).

Chinchaga River-- (towards High Level) People go swimming in summer and also hunt from canoes.

Chiquile-- place where people go to trap.

Edmonton-- Many people in the community go there for vacationing, visit relatives, or move there to try to find jobs, and a few try to go to the University. Many of the children in Chateh are fascinated with Edmonton Mall and parents take them usually during summer break.

Grand Prairie-- (four hours from Chateh) Some people in the community have relatives living there and visit, go shopping there, go to Junior College, and the ones who do not like living on reserve move there.

Habay-- (in traditional lands) a very important place historically and currently for the Dene Tha'. People go duck hunting, fishing, ice fishing, camping, organize summer sports (e.g. canoeing competitions). Many families go in summer for weeks and get together and socialize more than in community. Before the Reserve was founded some people used to live there, but after the floods occurred, everybody moved into Chateh. Community members say that everybody "moves" to Habay in summer.

High Level (Caesar's, IGA food store)-- People in Chateh go often to High Level since it is the nearest town with all services. People go shopping for food, clothes, gasoline; to the hospital; for recreation they go to Caesar's to bowl and to play video games, which many children in the community like (also adults in the community go to get alcohol, which makes the place unpopular with many parents).

Manning-- (six hours from Chateh) People in Chateh go there for hunting moose. They go to Forestry Rd. and stay there for a couple of days and camp.

Meander River-- another Reserve of the Dene Tha'.

Peace River-- (six hours from Chateh) People go shopping, visit relatives, move there.

Rainbow Lake-- (40 minutes from Chateh) People go to the bush nearby and hunt near Mobil Oil Road for moose. Some people have cabins in that area and some have traplines. People also go to the town of Rainbow, which is populated mainly by white people working with the oil and gas industry. Some teachers in Chateh live there. Also, many community members want to send their children to the school in Rainbow, since they think the education is better and their children will not have bad influences.

Zama Lake-- (passing Habay; in traditional lands) People go camping there and hunting for moose on the dirt roads made by the oil and gas companies and in the bush left around the area.

Appendix 6. Individual Integrated Drawings, Verbal Associations, and Scoring (From Highest to Lowest Dependent Variable Scores) Used for Inter-Rater Reliability

High TSA Children

Sarah (grade 6) (First Prairie)

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Hunting-- 29 baseline and tu' Lo'nh (end of water)-- My uncle
4- Assembly ground and Tea Dance or Youth Center
5- A friend's house and Edmonton or High Level

Drew:

Her house	
Friend's houses	She likes visiting friends.
Grandparent's house	
People's houses	
Cousin's house	visits
Aunt's house	visits with little cousin
Grandmother's house	visits; they "cook together".
Roads/bridges/shortcuts	
Assembly ground	
Arena	In summer people roller blade, and in winter people skate.
Shop	People go there to get trucks fixed. Men hang around there.
Band Office	"meetings"
Youth Center	She goes there sometimes.
Teachers' houses	
Elders' Home	
Bush, community ("29 baseline")	She goes hunting there.
Police Station	"Kids go for tours".
Police houses	
Lunch Box	People buy. She goes there with friends.
T'n'T	She buys ice cream; people buy things.
School, "Gym Night"	"Teenagers go to school at night for Gym night".
Her teepee	She plucks ducks with grandma, "cook there". She knows some about "how to make dry meat".
Old cabin next to her house	her grandma's dad's cabin from 1954

Tea Dance ground (Third Prairie)	"put tobacco in fire"; "pray for no sickness"
New sewer	
Nursing Station	
Court	
Store	She used to go there with grandma, but her grandma does not work there anymore. People buy.
Cabin--- great-uncle	She goes with great-uncle. She shoots targets; she goes hunting. Says her great-uncle puts backpack on her back and they go different ways in the bush. She is not scared of the bush, and knows dangerous animals (e.g. bears, wolves). She hunts ducks and rabbits. One time she killed five rabbits. She uses .22. Great-uncle traps muskrat, wolves, and hunts moose.
"Moose", "ducks", "deer", "chicken", "rabbits"	wrote names of animals in locations where people and her family hunt them
Bush outside of community (Habay and Zama)	People hunt.
Chinchaga River	She goes swimming there.
River, Habay	She wrote "fishing".
Church	People go there on Sundays and pray. She goes there.
Sewer	

She said she forgot to draw the pool hall (people play pool).
Most of her time is spent at home or going to the cabin with her great-uncle.
I asked her why she hunts. She replied, "for fur, money, to eat".

Sarah (grade 6)

Communitarianism

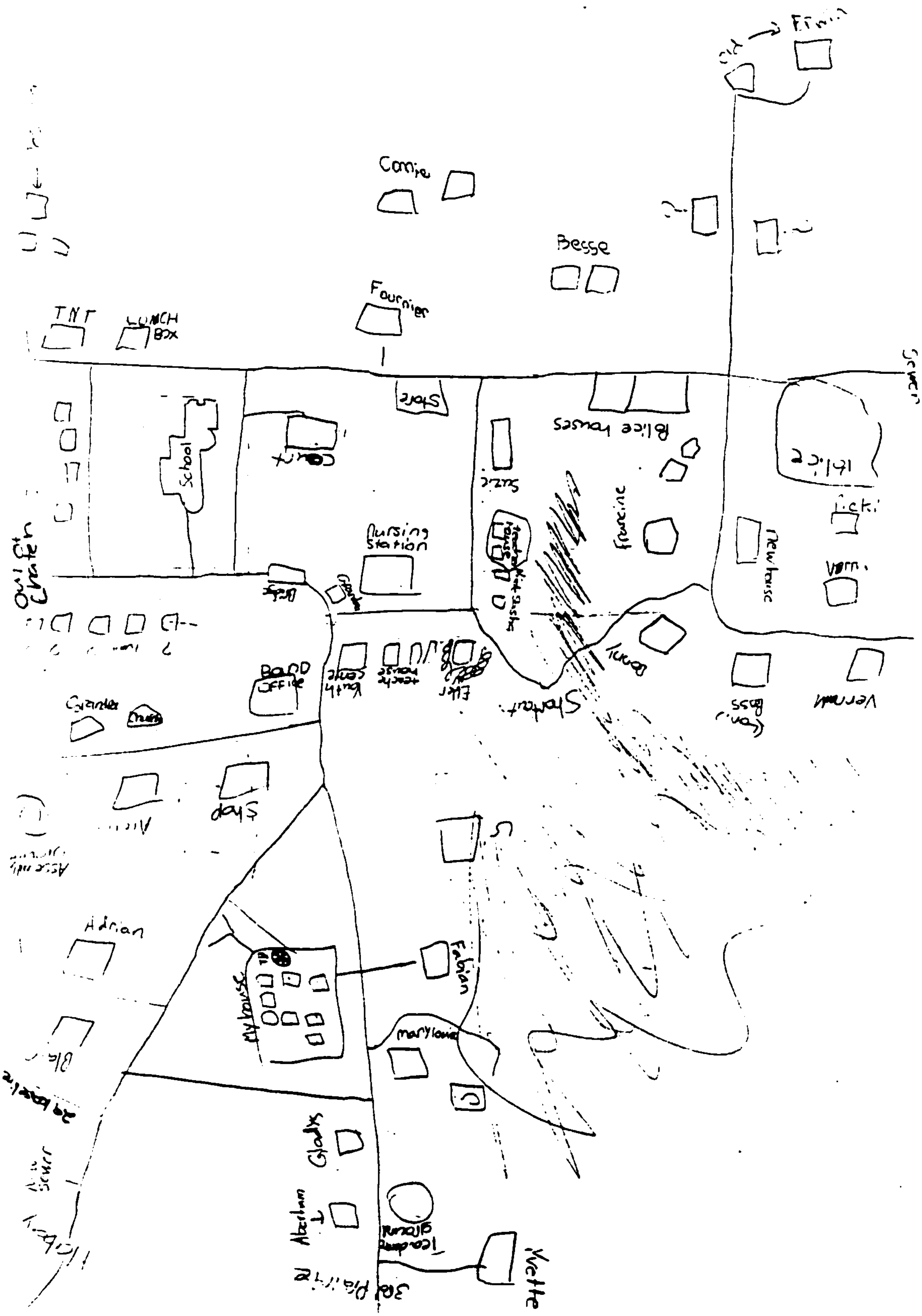
Social Elements	Assoc.
Roads/houses-- likes to visit	+1
Assembly ground	0
Tea Dance ground-- pray	+1
Arena-- people skate	0
Arena-- people roller blade	0
Shop-- men get together	0
Band Office-- meetings	+1
Youth Center	0
Elders' Home	0
Police-- tours	+1
School-- Gym night	+1
Teepee-- plucks ducks with grandma	+1
Nursing Station	0
Cabin, great-uncle-- hunts (interest)	+1
Grandma's house-- cook together	0
Church-- people pray	+1
16	8 = 24

Conservationism

Natural Elements	Assoc.
River, Habay--"fishing"	+1
River, Chinchaga-- swim	+1
Bush, 29 Baseline-- hunts	+1
Chicken-- hunts	+1
Ducks "	+1
Moose "	+1
Deer "	+1
Rabbits "	+1
Bush, outside of comm.-- hunting	+1
Teepee--ducks-- cooking	+1
Trapping-- uncle-- wolf	+1
" " muskrat	+1
Cabin-- bear	0
13	12 = 25

* Total score = 49

* Here scores on dependent variables are totaled for the sake of easy comparison but for the statistical analysis they were not.



Sarah (front side of page)

Sarah (back side of page)

Gary (grade 3B) (Trailer Court)

Component drawings:
1- House-- (absent)
2- School-- children playing in playground, school-bus parked next to school, school building, satellite dish.
3- Subsistence Activity-- Assoc.-- Gary and his father duck hunting.

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Hunting
4- Fishing, Assembly ground
5- Playground

Drew:

His house	
School	
Stage next to Assembly	"People sing". "Long time ago me and my friends used to clean that place".
Truck	"carries pop". "It's going to Bigway food store".
Grandma's house ("G")	He likes going to visit.
Cousin's house ("S")	" " .
Store	He likes going there.
Assembly ground	"Everybody goes". "People bring bikes to ride around". "Old people are not bored, kids are bored". Gary likes Tea Dances, but sometimes he gets bored and asks his mom if he can go to the playground.
People in Assembly (dots)	There are three drummers on stage. "They just do drums, and if you want to dance, you just dance".
Fire, Assembly	"for praying"; they "pray to God".
Church	"People sing and pray. When it's over they have tea and they go home". He likes going to the coffee room because "there are chalkboards for kids to draw".
Police Station	"Sometimes when something goes wrong we go there"; "when we hear shotguns we call the police".
Fences in police station	so no one goes in, and so horses won't get in
Horses in Trailer Court	He is scared of them when there are many. Shoots at the horses with BB gun because they eat grass from his yard. Says that his dad told him to aim at their butt and to be careful with the eyes. I asked him if he thought that hurt the horses and he said, "No, it's just like a mosquito bite".

Graveyard	"Everybody goes when somebody dies". "They pray and put flowers".
Playground, Trailer Court	Kids go to play there. He goes there.
School playground	He likes it; kids play.
Rock next to church	
River, community	"Now it's frozen, so they go sliding and skating".
Band Office ("B"--yellow)	Mom works there.
Arena ("A"--blue)	People skate and play hockey.
Radio station (Bingo)	"When people win they go there".
River, Habay	"We go fishing in summer time". "We throw small fish away, back into the river because they are too small". They eat big fish, he said. Gary likes fishing a lot and eating fish. He caught a jack fish one time. Says he uses fake frogs made of wood. In summer Gary and his father fish and mom cooks in bush.
Ducks, bush, ponds, Habay	"I like hunting ducks with my BB gun". "I don't like to be alone in those little bushes, it's dangerous". He said there are spiders. He goes hunting with his father and uncles. Says he shot a rabbit this fall on a hunting trip.
T'n'T	He goes there to buy ice cream.
Lunch Box	His family orders pizza. He said about the last two places: "During recess kids go there without permission".
Roads/bridges	
School bus/trucks/cars	
People's houses	

Gary (grade 3B)

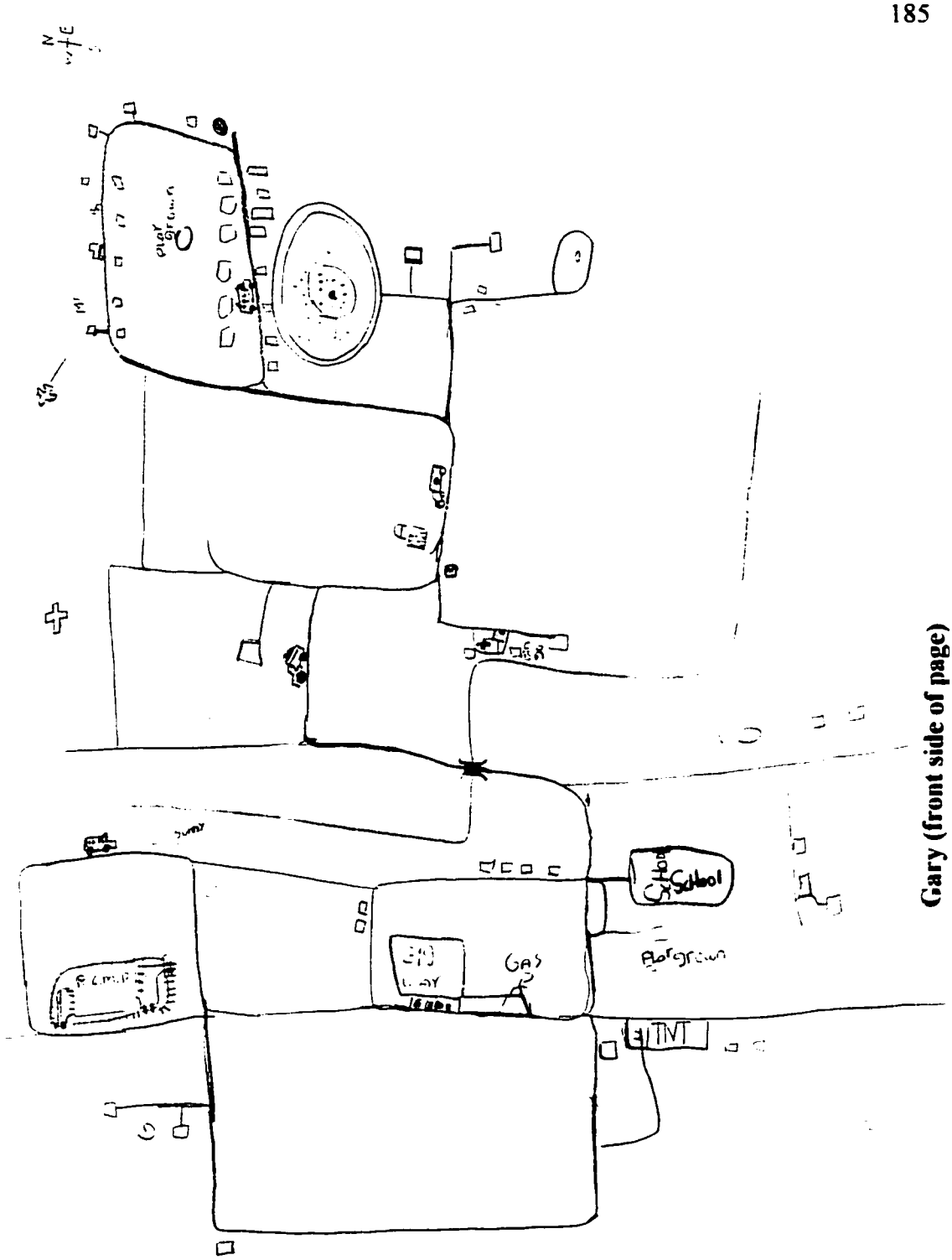
Communitarianism

Social Elements	Assoc.
Assembly-- dance, pray	+1
Roads/houses-- likes to visit	+1
Church-- pray	+1
Police Station-- aid	+1
Graveyard-- pray, visit	+1
Playground, TC	0
River-- skating	0
Band Office	0
River-- sliding	0
Arena-- skating	0
Arena-- play hockey	0
School playground-- likes	+1
Radio station (Bingo)	0
Bush, Habay-- hunting with extended family	+1
14	7 = 21

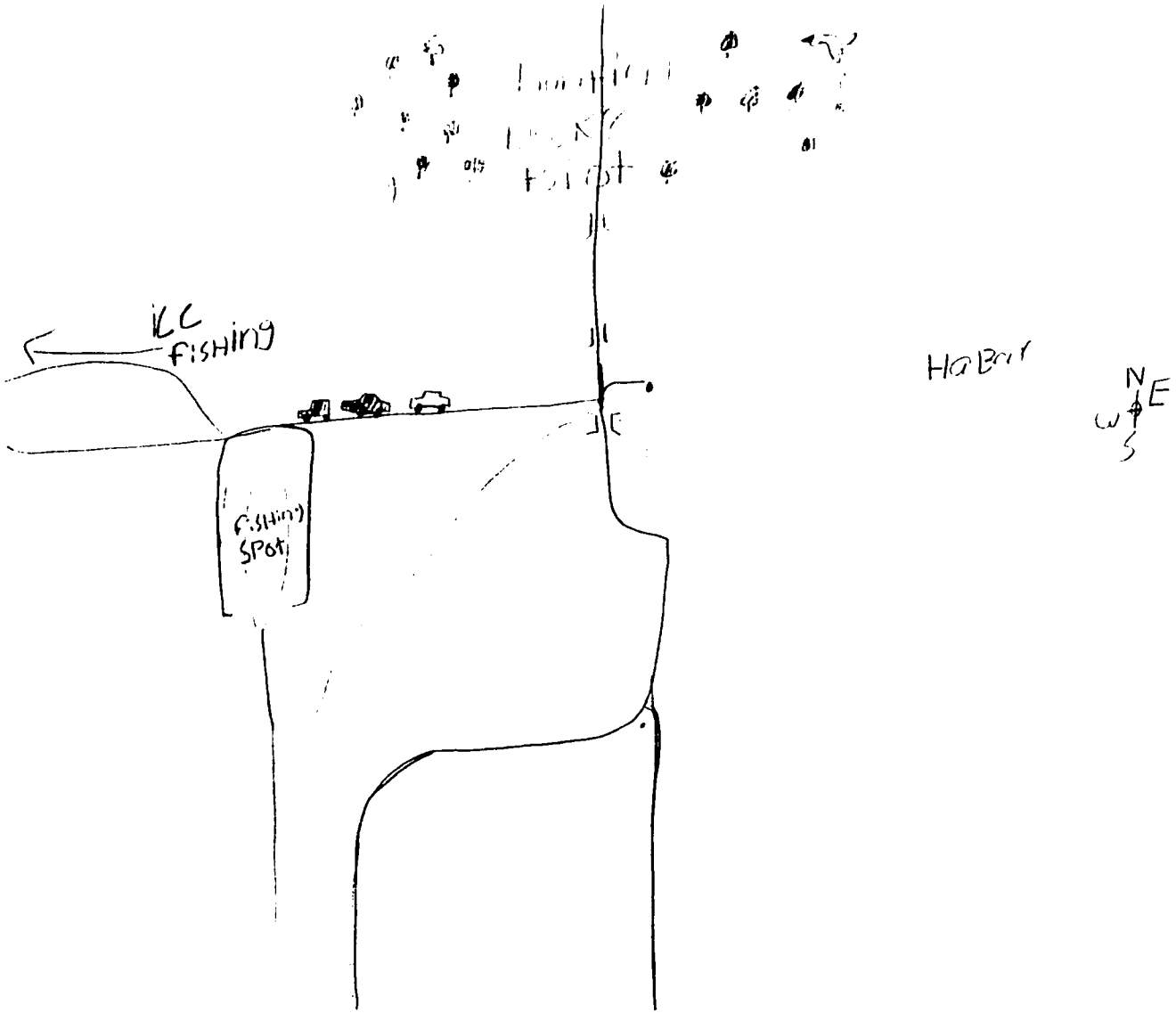
Conservationism

Natural Elements	Assoc.
Rock	0
River, community-- sliding	+1
River, community-- skating	+1
River, Habay-- fishing	+1
Ponds-- hunting	+1
Trees/bush-- hunting	+1
Ducks-- hunting	+1
Horse	0
8	6 = 14

Total score = 35



Gary (front side of page)



Gary (back side of page)

Jamie (grade 3B) (Trailer Court)

Component drawings:
1- House-- his house, person, igloo, sun. Assoc.-- He is going to play in igloo with toys, cards; he invites friends over. His family is watching TV.
2- School-- Assoc.-- kids lining up to get inside of school.
3- Subsistence Activity-- Assoc.-- Jamie and grandfather trapping wolf; mom works at the Band Office. Jamie says she always saves candies for him.

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Work and hunt
4- Playground
5- They give candies at the Band Office; High Level Park

Drew:

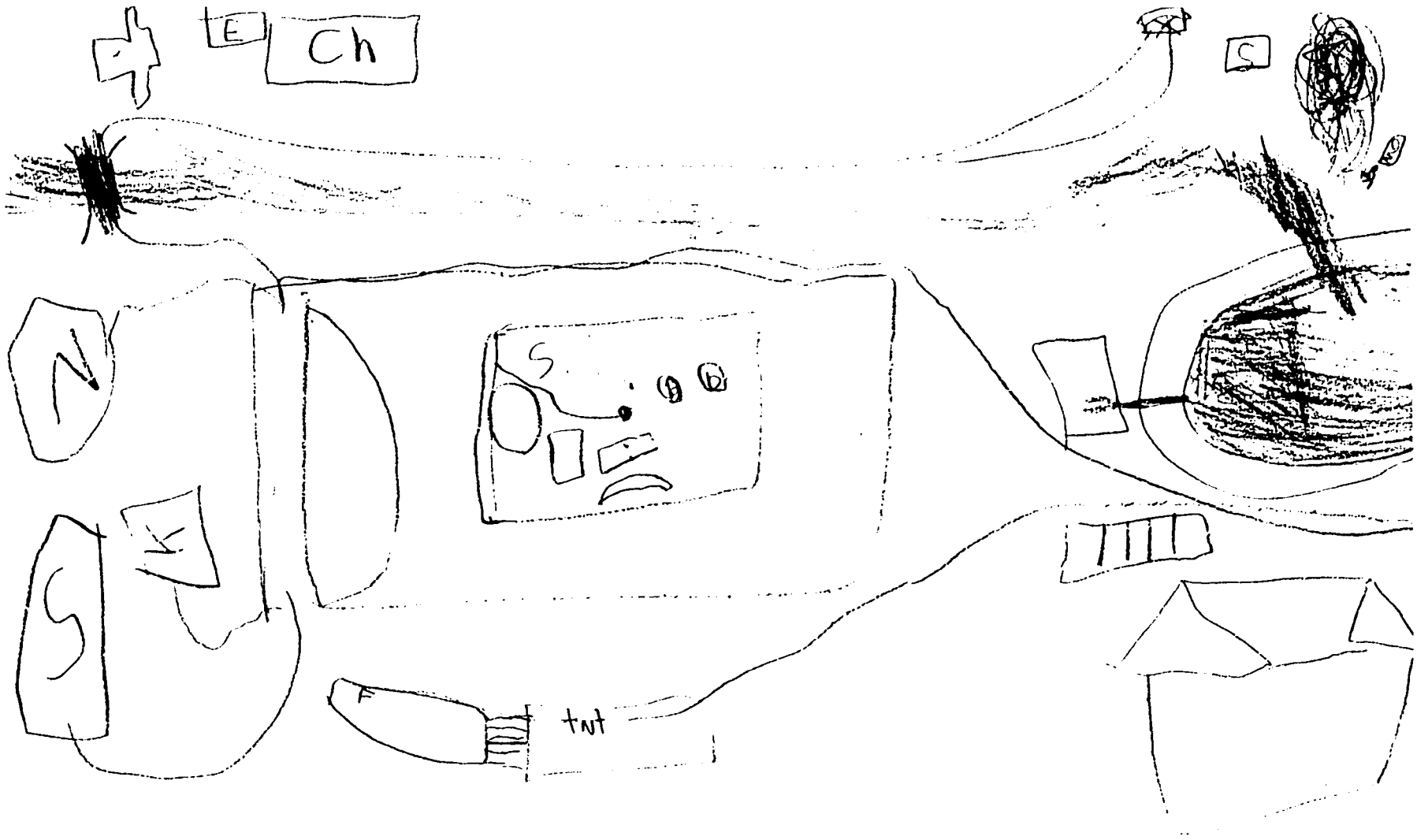
His house	
School ("S")	
School playground	He likes it.
"Big Pond"	"There are ducks, squirrels, seagulls . . .". He swims there, floats in water. "Do you hunt there?" "No, . . . it is nature". Says that other people do not go there, only him and his friend.
High Level Park	He likes it. He goes with his mom and stepfather.
Arena (not drawn)	He likes going there; he skates.
Stage next to Assembly ("S")	People sing, "the old community", for New Year's Eve.
Church ("Ch"), "E's" house	"People pray". He goes and likes it. He visits person who conducts mass.
Bush	He goes with stepfather and with friends also. With stepfather sets traps, and with friends has picnics.
T'n'T	buys things
Lunch Box ("F")	" "
Nursing Station ("N")	He likes it; they give stickers.
Court ("K")	"People that shoot cops" go there.
Band Office ("B")	He likes it, gets candies for free.
Wolf	trapping
Roads/bridge	
River, community	

He said he likes everything he drew . He said that community is boring.
I asked him why people hunt/trap. He said, "Because they need food". Jamie said he gives cookies to Larry (a poor person in the community).

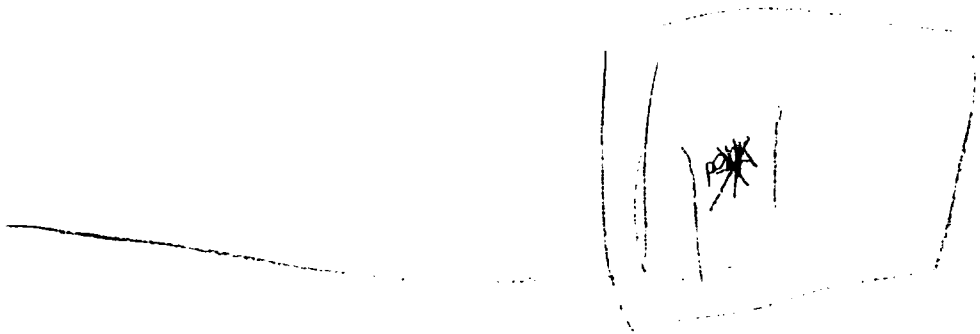
Jamie (grade 3B)

Communitarianism		*Conservationism*	
Social Elements	Assoc.	Natural Elements	Assoc.
School playground-- likes	+1	River-- pond (interest-- preservation)	+1
Pond, friend-- swims	+1	Wolf-- stepfather traps	+1
Park, High Level-- likes	+1	Bush, friends-- picnic	+1
Stage-- people sing	+1	Bush-- trapping	+1
Church-- pray	+1	Pond-- ducks (verbal)	+1
Roads/houses-- visits	0	Pond-- squirrels (verbal)	+1
Nursing Station	0	Pond-- seagulls (verbal)	+1
Court-- justice	+1	7	7 = 14
Band Office	0		
10	6 = 16		

Total score = 30



Jamie (front side of page)



Jamie (back side of page)

Willie (grade 4/5) (Townsite)

Component drawings:
1- House-- Assoc.-- mom inside house; Willie shooting pop cans with gun outside.
2- School-- school building and playground. Assoc.-- kids playing baseball, soccer, basketball, and twirling on the tire swing.
3- Subsistence Activity-- wrote: "hunting" on back. Himself and his grandfather hunting rabbits in the bush.

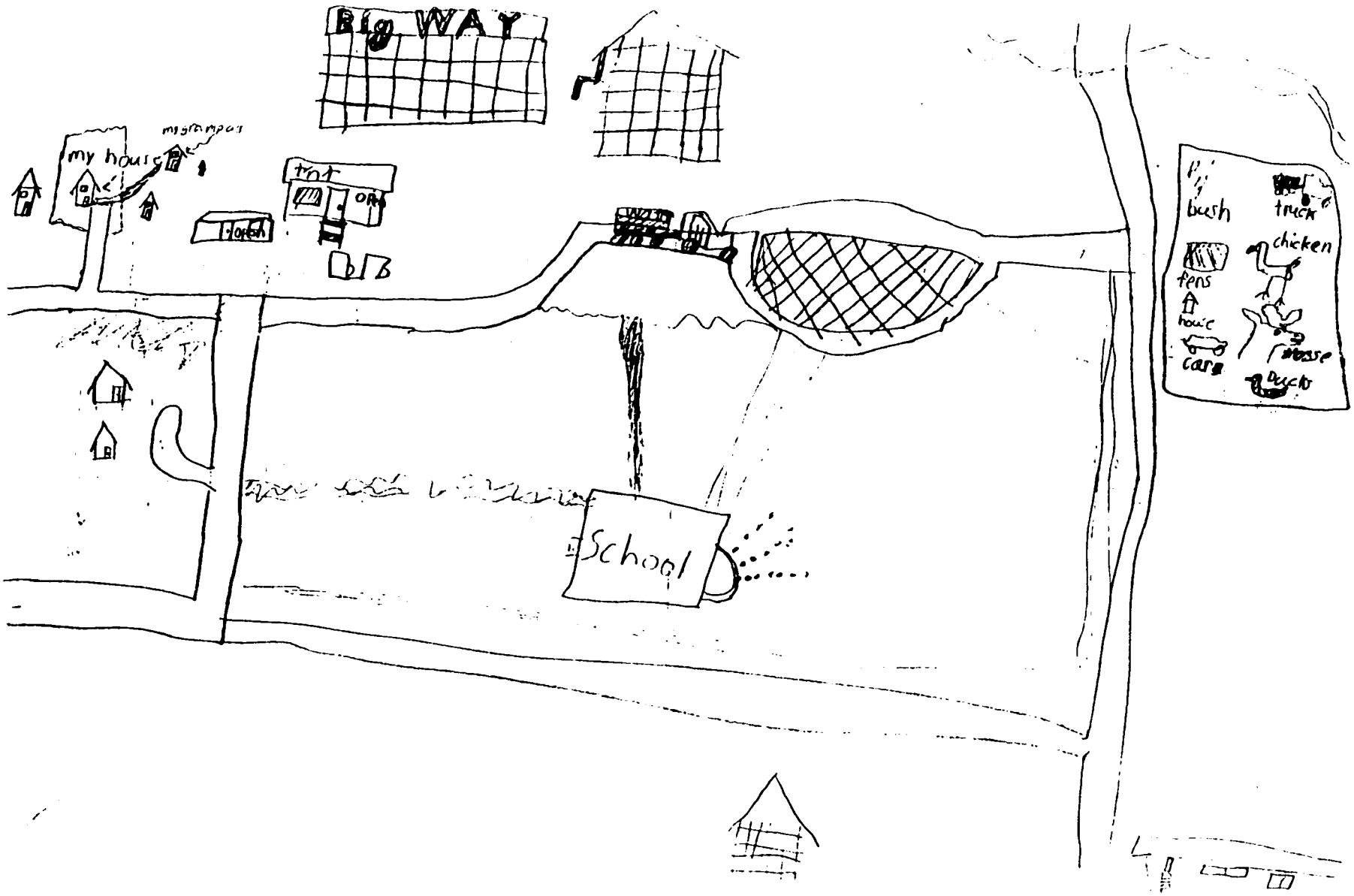
Integrated drawing:

Drew:	
His house	
Grandfather's house	
People's houses	
A house	turns water on/off
Fences	
Truck stop	water place
Store	"A lot of people go there"; they buy groceries.
T'n'T	He goes there and buys things. His mom buys gas there.
Jason's Video Rentals	Willie works there.
School, children	They are lining up, going inside.
Water truck	It takes water with human waste to the sewer.
Road/bridges/shortcut	
Field	"Children always go home that way"; they walk.
Hill	
River, community	"Sometimes people swim", "I don't go".
Cars	
Tea Dance ground (Third Prairie)	"People dance, pray, feed the fire". They "pray to God".
Pond, community	dirty water
Pond, outside of community	
Bush, towards Habay	People hunt. They hunt "to eat not for fun. You are not killing animal for nothing".
Moose	People hunt.
Rabbit	" " .
Duck	" " .
Chicken	" " .
Mud	

Willie (grade 4/5)

Communitarianism		*Conservationism*	
Social Elements	Assoc.	Natural Elements	Assoc.
Tea Dance-- pray, dance	+1	Field-- children walk	+1
Roads/houses	0	Bush, Habay-- hunting	+1
Field-- children walking home	0	Moose-- hunts	+1
		Rabbit "	+1
		Duck "	+1
		Chicken "	+1
		Mud	0
		Pond, community	0
		Pond, Habay	0
		Hill	0
River-- people swim	0	River-- people swim	+1
4	1 = 5	11	7 = 18

Total score = 23



Willie (front side of page)

Willie (back side of page)

Julie (grade 3A) (Third Prairie)

Component drawings:
1- House-- her house, car, herself, sister, and mom.
2- School-- children in classroom.
3- Subsistence Activity-- half of page-- Julie and stepfather hunting ducks. Assoc.-- "Hunting in Habay". Other half-- Julie and her mother buying fruit at the store.

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Hunting and store
4- Youth Center
5- Playground (High Level)

Drew:

Her house	
Habay, bush, herself, sister and brother	"playing tag" at Habay
Moose	The children saw a moose.
"Fishing", boat	Her family goes fishing and hunting at Habay.
High Level playground, children	She plays hide-and-seek, tag.
River, rocks, community	People put rocks and walk on them in river. Some people go swimming there.
Church	Julie goes with grandpa sometimes; people "pray to God".
Bush next to her house	She plays tag with her family; people "go hunting".
Store, people	Kids buy pop and candy; people buy.
Youth Center, people	She goes sometimes, plays with computer, watches movies, stays upstairs.
School playground, children	
Roads/bridge	

Julie (grade 3A)

Communitarianism

Social Elements	Assoc.
Roads/houses	0
High Level playground	+1
Youth Center-- plays	+1
River, comm.-- people swim	0
Church-- pray	+1
School playground	0
River, comm.-- people cross river	0
7	3 = 10

Conservationism

Natural Elements	Assoc.
Rocks-- cross river	+1
River-- swim	+1
"Fishing"	+1
Bush, Habay-- play	+1
Bush, comm.-- hunt	+1
Moose	0
6	5 = 11

Total score = 21

Julie

Low TSA Children

Tracy (grade 4/5) (Trailer Court)

Component drawings:
1- House-- her house, neighbor's house, people outside, her father, her mother, teepees, dogs. Assoc.-- cousins in the front, friends playing behind the house (baseball), father is cooking on the fire.
2- School-- school building and playground. Assoc.-- Children are in classes doing work.
3- Subsistence Activity-- split page in four. Assoc.-- grandfather hunting (died last year), herself cleaning the house, father working, and stepmother cooking grandfather's game.

Integrated drawing: (copied)

Drew:	
Church (copied)	"They put bread in your mouth", "pray".
One grave	People who knew him go there, she does not go.
Roads/6 bridges/trails (secret trails)	Only she and her friends know of these trails.
Elders' Home	People work, do puzzles, said that "elders cannot stay by themselves".
School	
Store, people	buy groceries. People talk, elders talk to each other, and her little brother asks for money.
Police Station (copied)	She goes there and asks for candy or cereal boxes.
Sewer	
Hunting area, animals	wrote: "hunting". Grandfather used to hunt, she does not know where (she does not go). Said it was "far in the bush".
Lunch Box	They sell pizza. Who goes there? "people who work there".
T'n'T	Little kids buy candies, adults buy snuff.
Teachers' houses	
Band Office	
Gas Utility	father's work
Grandfather's house	
Cousin's house	
People's houses	
River, community	People go swimming in summer (she does not). In winter people go sliding and ice skating.

Tracy (grade 4/5)

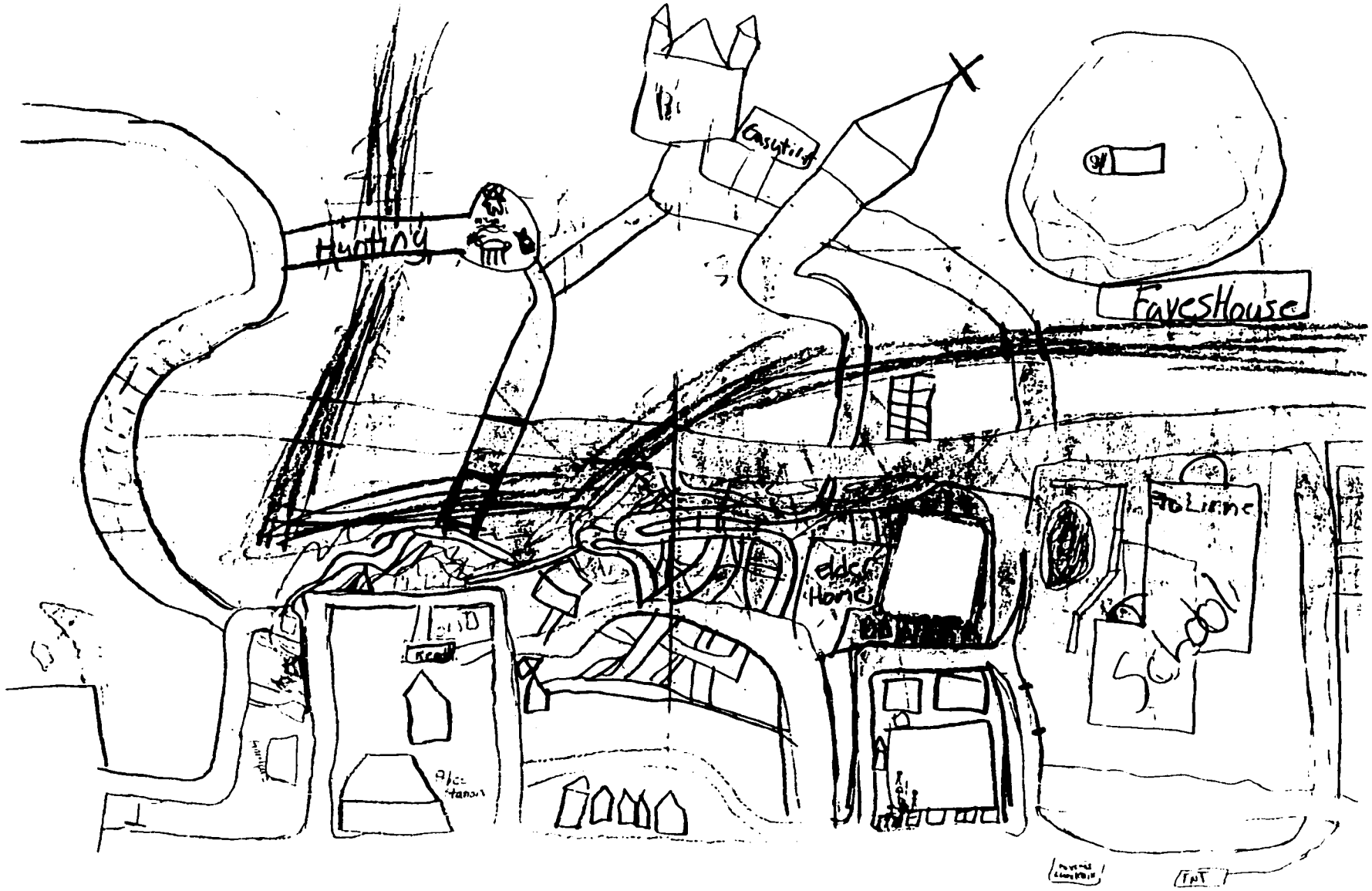
Communitarianism

Social Elements	Assoc.
Roads/houses	0
Elders' Home	+1
River-- people swim	0
" sliding	0
" skating	0
Grave	0
Store-- people talk	0
Band Office	0
8	1 = 9

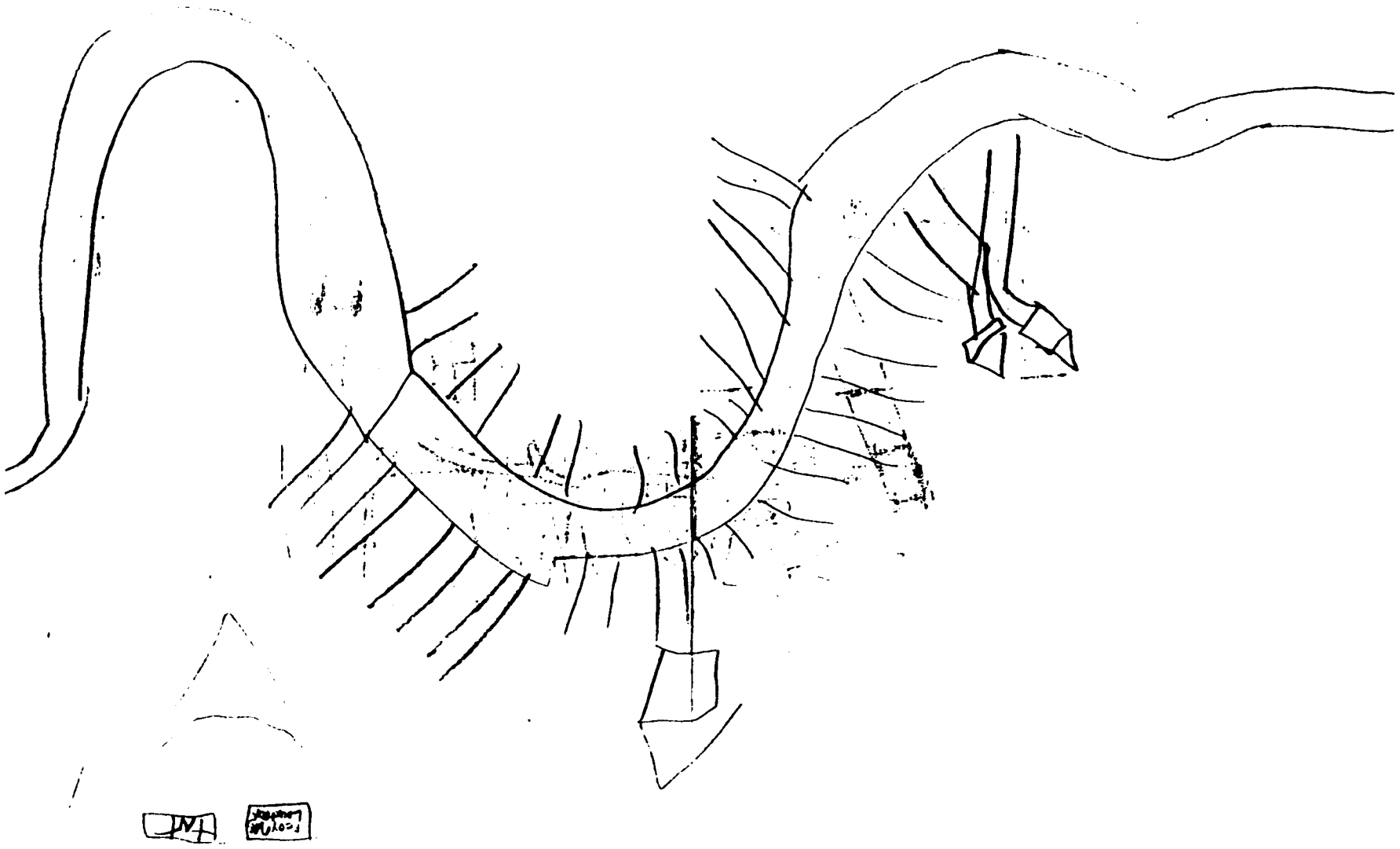
Conservationism

Natural Elements	Assoc.
Bush-- grandpa hunts	+1
Animals-- hunting	+1
River-- swimming	+1
River-- sliding	+1
River-- skating	+1
5	5 = 10

Total score = 19



Tracy (front side of page)



Tracy (back side of page)

Sandra (grade 3B) (Townsite)

Component drawings:
1- House-- her house, step-grandma's house; uncle's house, grandma's house, aunt's house, children outside; mountains/hills, trees, roads, sun, clouds.
Assoc.-- Sandra, friend, sister, and brother playing outside.
2- School-- school building, bus, children inside, snow, sun, clouds.
3- Subsistence Activity-- Assoc.-- Her mother works at the Elders' Home; father builds houses. Father is with his friends.

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Work
4- Park
5- To my friend's house

Drew:

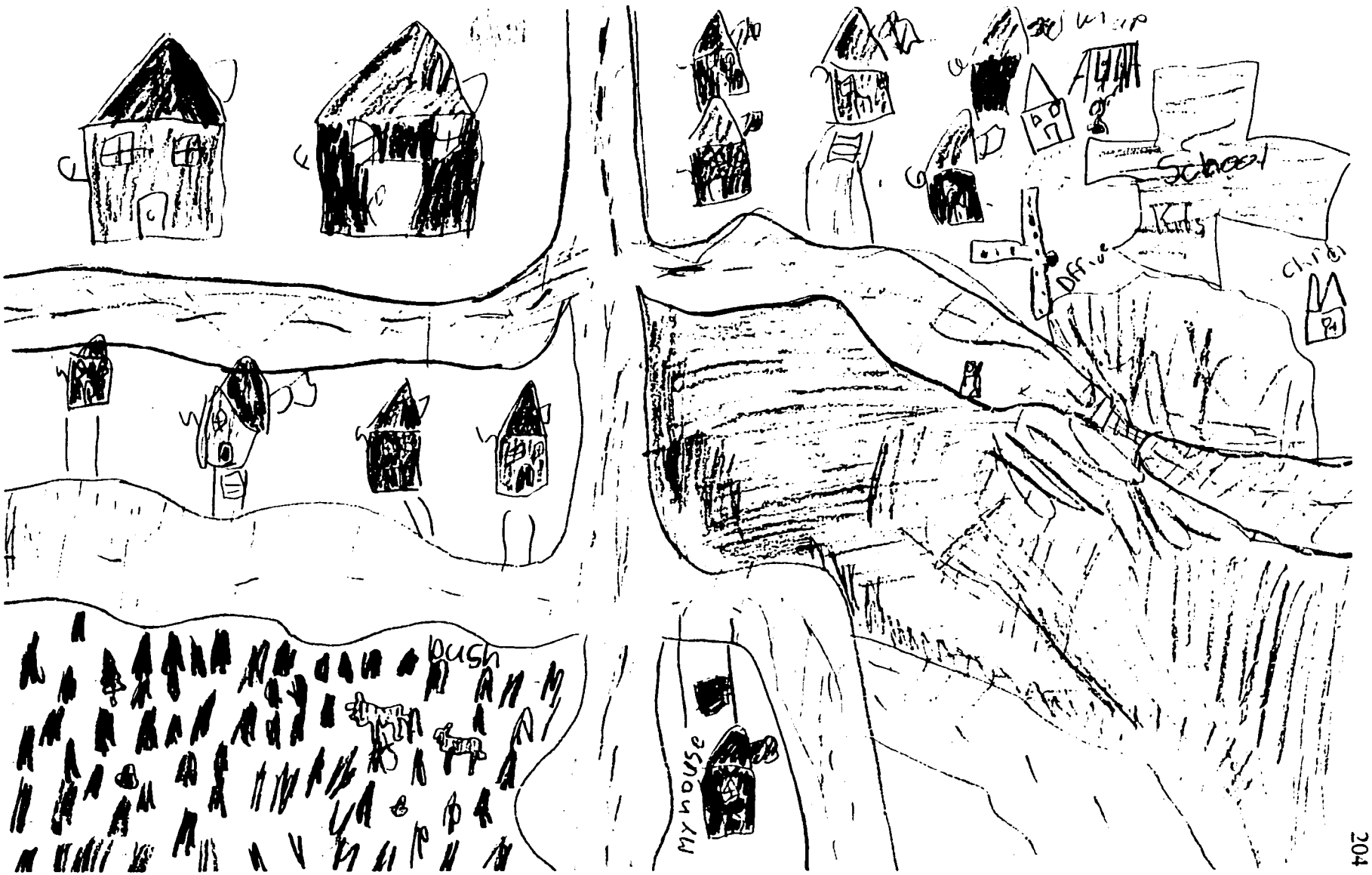
Her house	
Grandma's ("G")	She goes to grandma's at bingo time and plays with cousin (cousin lives with her grandmother).
Roads	
People's houses	She likes visiting.
Aunt's house ("A")	She visits her cousins.
School playground	
River, community	People sit and watch the ducks. (Drew a person later. Ducks were not drawn). She does not swim there. "It's dangerous". She said there is plastic under the water.
Bush, community	"People don't go there because there are wolves"; she says they eat people. She does not go there.
Moose	
Coyote/wolf	
Sun	
Grass	
Church	(copied)
Band Office	"
Arena	"

She likes going to High Level and Rainbow-- visits her school teacher, plays, and visits with family, cousins, and uncles.
Fishing, hunting? She does not go, says she is scared. They go to dad's cabin. Dad kills rabbits. Cabin burned down. Uncle built new one (past Rainbow). She likes going to cabin in the summer; she used to hunt rabbits. They go on road and set rabbit snares. She says that she knows how to set them (I think she may be exaggerating somewhat).

Sandra (grade 3B)

Communitarianism		*Conservationism*	
Social Elements	Assoc.	Natural Elements	Assoc.
School playground	0	River, comm-- watch ducks	+1
Roads/houses-- likes to visit	+1	Ducks (verbal)	+1
Grandma's house -- plays with cousin	0	Bush, community	-1
River -- people watch ducks	0	Bush, Rainbow-- hunt rabbits	0
4	1= 5	Moose	0
		Coyote/wolf-- eat people	-1
		Sun	0
		Grass	0
		8	0 = 8

Total score = 13



Sandra

Carl (grade 3A) (Trailer Court)

Component drawings:
1- House-- his house; mom, dad, himself, sister, and brother outside; grandmother inside. Assoc.-- playing hide-and-seek.
2- School-- classroom. A boy sitting at desk and Carl holding a lit match next to gas.
3- Subsistence Activity-- person hunting ducks, bush. Assoc.-- Carl hunts at Habay; sister takes him and then he walks there.

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Hunting-- Carl and his father at Zama
4- People visiting
5- Going to gym, playing ball

Drew:

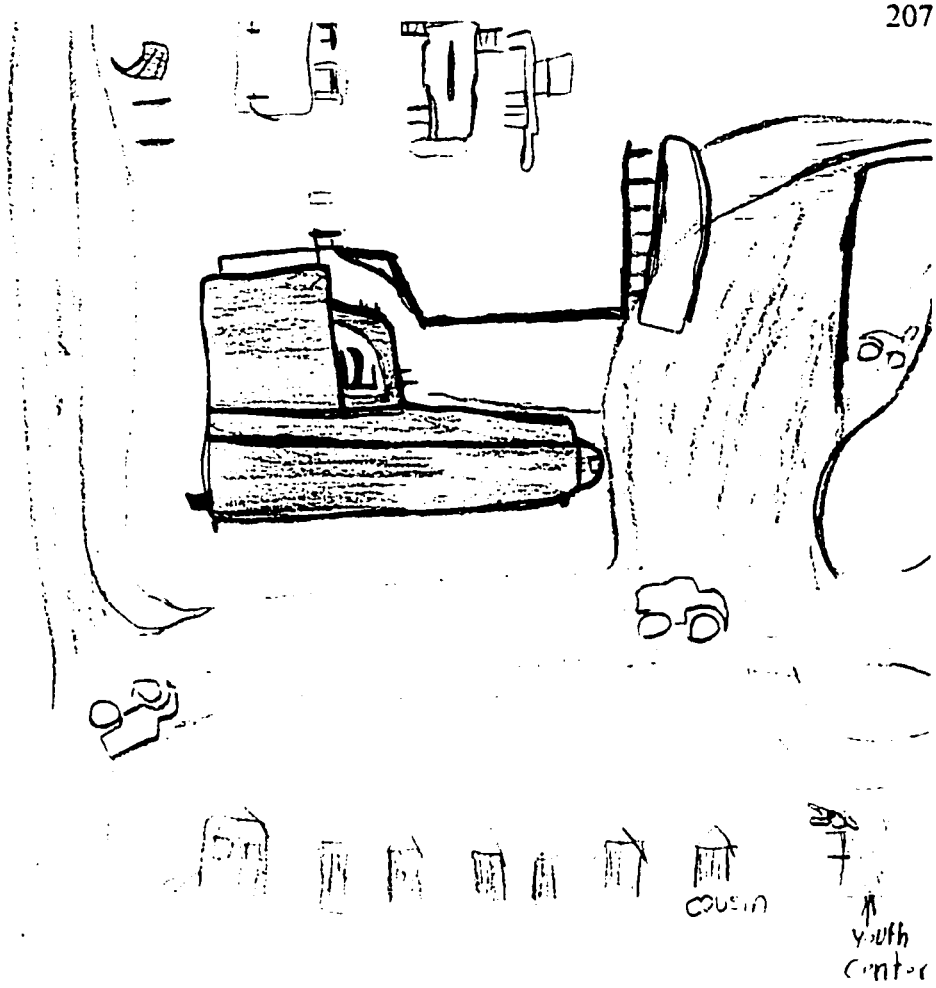
School	He said the way he drew school it looked like a gun.
Cousin's house	He plays games with cousin.
River, community	He plays with little boats, swims in summer, plays with cousin there.
Bush, community	He plays hide-and-seek.
School playground	He likes to play basketball after school.
T'n'T (not drawn)	He buys things. Kids stay there and visit.
Youth Center	He likes it, plays there, kids "make lots of stuff" (crafts).
Person, river	playing
Houses	
Roads/bridge	
Cars	

Carl did not draw his house.
Did not want to draw "hunting at Zama". Carl and his father go there "a lot". He said they used to go often and bought bullets for ducks. Dad hunts chicken, ducks, and moose. Carl says he hunts all of these, and has killed a moose (do not believe him). What do you do with the animal? "cook it and eat it".

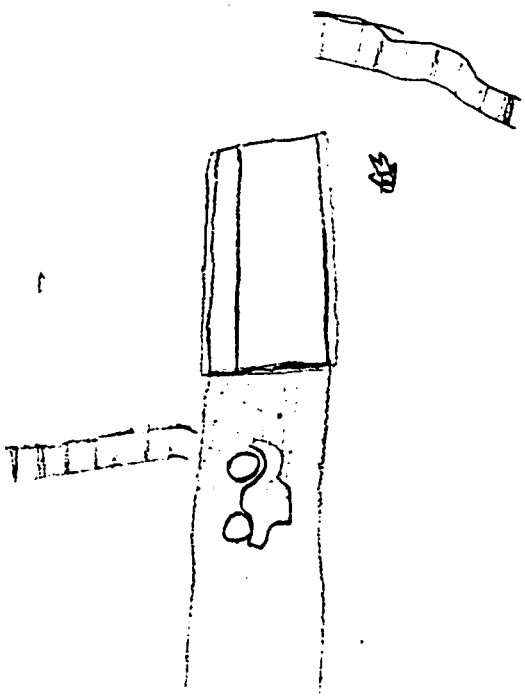
Carl (grade 3A)

Communitarianism		*Conservationism*	
Social Elements	Assoc.	Natural Elements	Assoc.
Roads/houses-- plays with cousin	0	Bush-- hide-and-seek	+1
School playground-- basketball	+1	River-- plays with cousin	+1
Youth Center -- likes	+1	" swims	+1
River-- plays with cousin	0	Bush, Zama-- hunting (verbal)	0
4	2 = 6	4	3 = 7

Total score = 13



Carl



Ingrid (grade 6) (Second Prairie)

Integrated drawing:
Wrote:
3- Work-- mother at home and school
4- Store, school, Video Spot, T'n'T, Youth Center
5- Video Spot

Drew:

Her house	She listens to music; watches movies.
Her family's teepee	
Teepees	"cooking"
Her family and people's houses	
Trees/bush	She does not go to the bush.
River, community	"Kids run away from school, hide, play, and smoke there". She does not go to the river.
Road/bridge	
School	
Store	
Lunch Box	"to eat"; "people eat there, stay, and then go". She "hangs out" there.
T'n'T	"to buy". She spends time there.
Video Spot	She likes it; plays pool there. Teenagers go there.
Youth Center	She likes it. Sometimes she goes there. Kids play with computer, cook.
Airport	People take the plane there.
Arena	People ice skate; she goes.
Band Office	People work.
Tea Dance ground	"dancing area"; people "pray, dance, feed the fire".

Ingrid (grade 6)

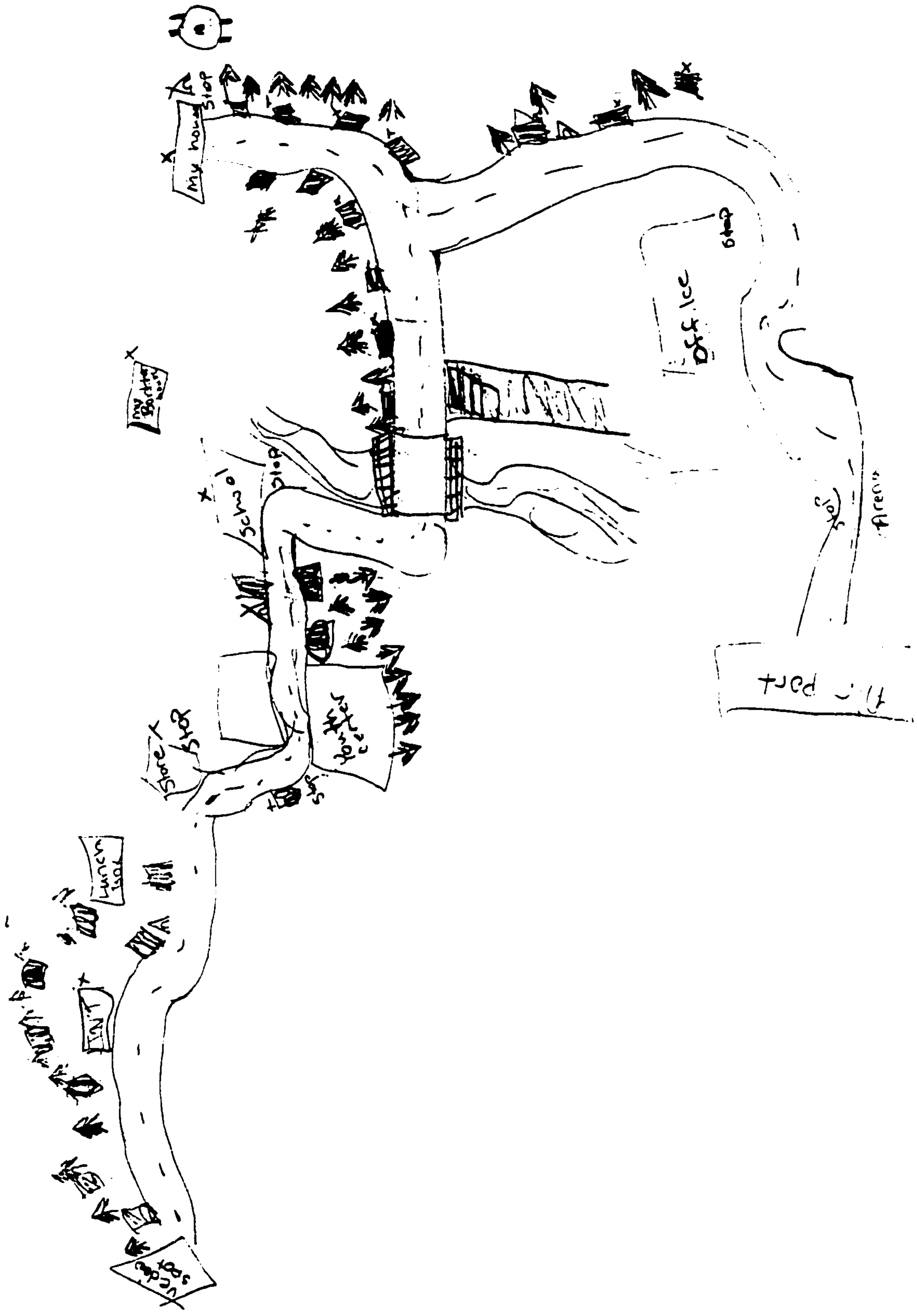
Communitarianism

Social Elements	Assoc.
Lunch Box-- hangs	0
T'n'T-- hangs	0
Video/pool hall-- likes	+1
Youth Center-- likes	+1
Arena-- people skate	0
Band Office	0
River-- kids hide, smoke, etc	-1
Tea Dance ground	+1
Roads/houses	0
9	2 = 11

Conservationism

Natural Elements	Assoc.
Trees	0
River-- kids hide, smoke, etc.	-1
2	-1= 1

Total score = 12



Ingrid

Justin (grade 4/5) (Habay Rd)

Component drawings:

1- House-- his house. Assoc.-- He is watching TV inside and everyone else is in High Level washing clothes and buying food. Grandpa is hunting chickens and rabbits.

2- School-- school building and playground. Assoc.-- children in gym, playing inside, big kids play basketball.

3- Subsistence Activity-- inside of his house. Assoc.-- Justin is watching TV and gets food from the fridge. Father is sleeping. He works at home.

Integrated drawing:

Drew:

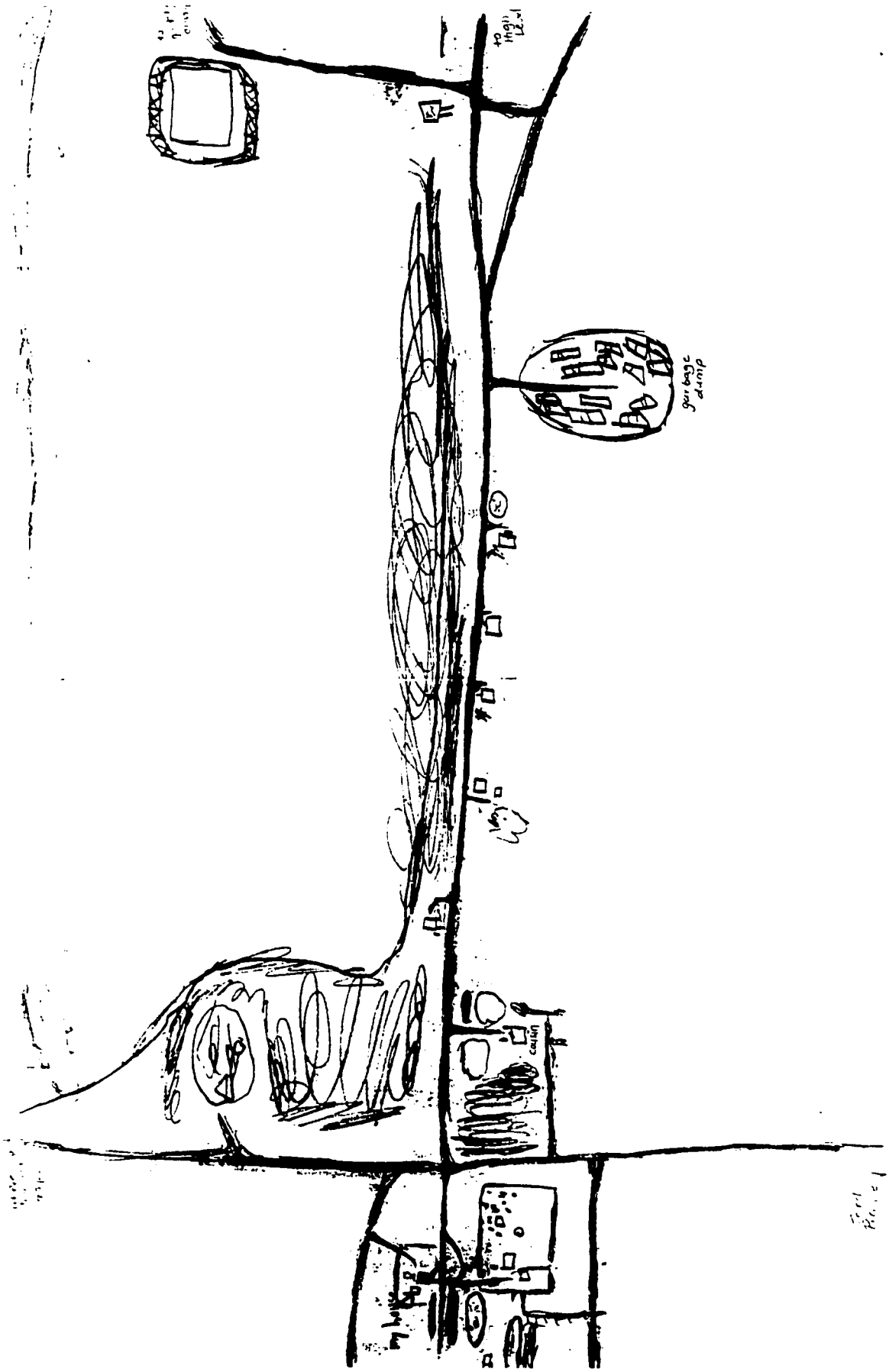
His house	
"Big pond" and other ponds	He plays there with his cousin and his neighbor. In winter people skate. He does not have skates.
Neighbor's house	likes visiting
Cousin's house	visits
People's houses	
Garbage dumps	
Roads/shortcut	leading to garbage dumps, store, High Level, and where his grandpa traps for "cats". Grandpa traps to get money and buy things.
Fields	
Bush	
Store	People go and drink. They get drunk.

Justin likes the store, High Level, and visiting his neighbor.

Justin (grade 4/5)

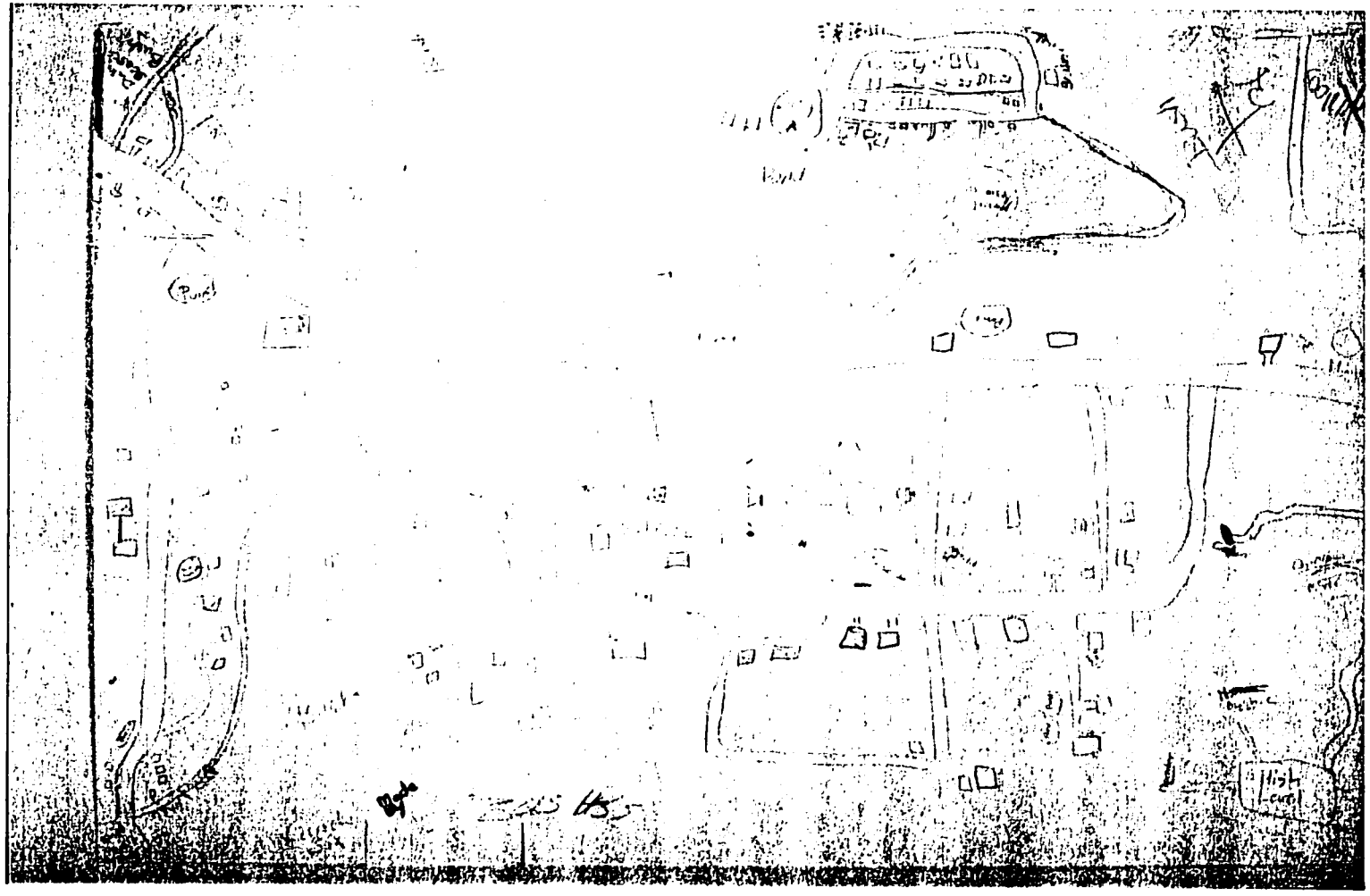
Communitarianism		*Conservationism*	
Social Elements	Assoc.	Natural Elements	Assoc.
Roads/houses-- likes to visit	+1	Big pond-- plays	+1
Big pond-- plays with friends	0	Bush-- grandfather traps	+1
Pond-- people skate	0	Fields	0
3	1 = 4	Pond-- people skate	+1
		4	3 = 7

Total score = 11

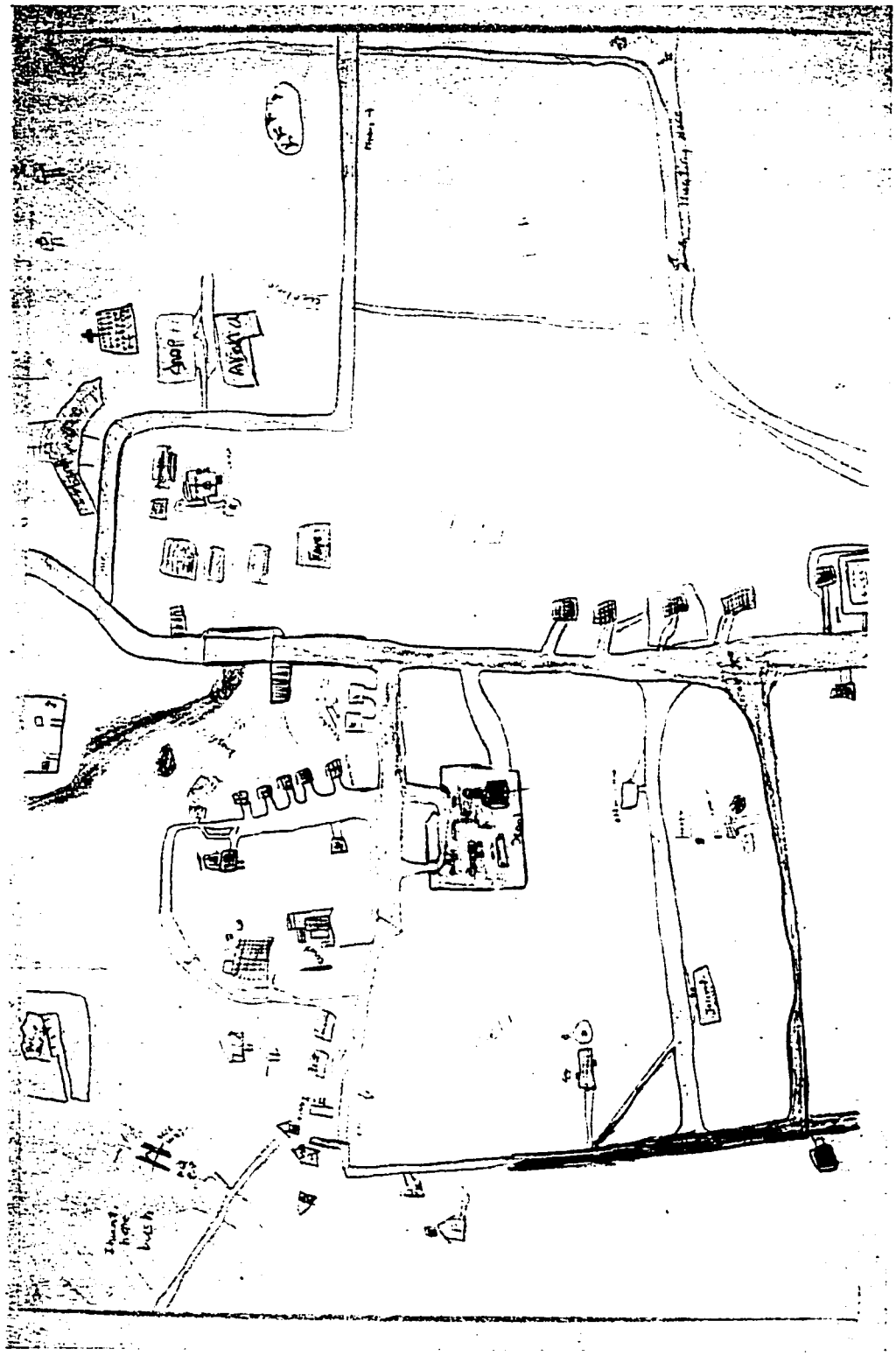


Justin

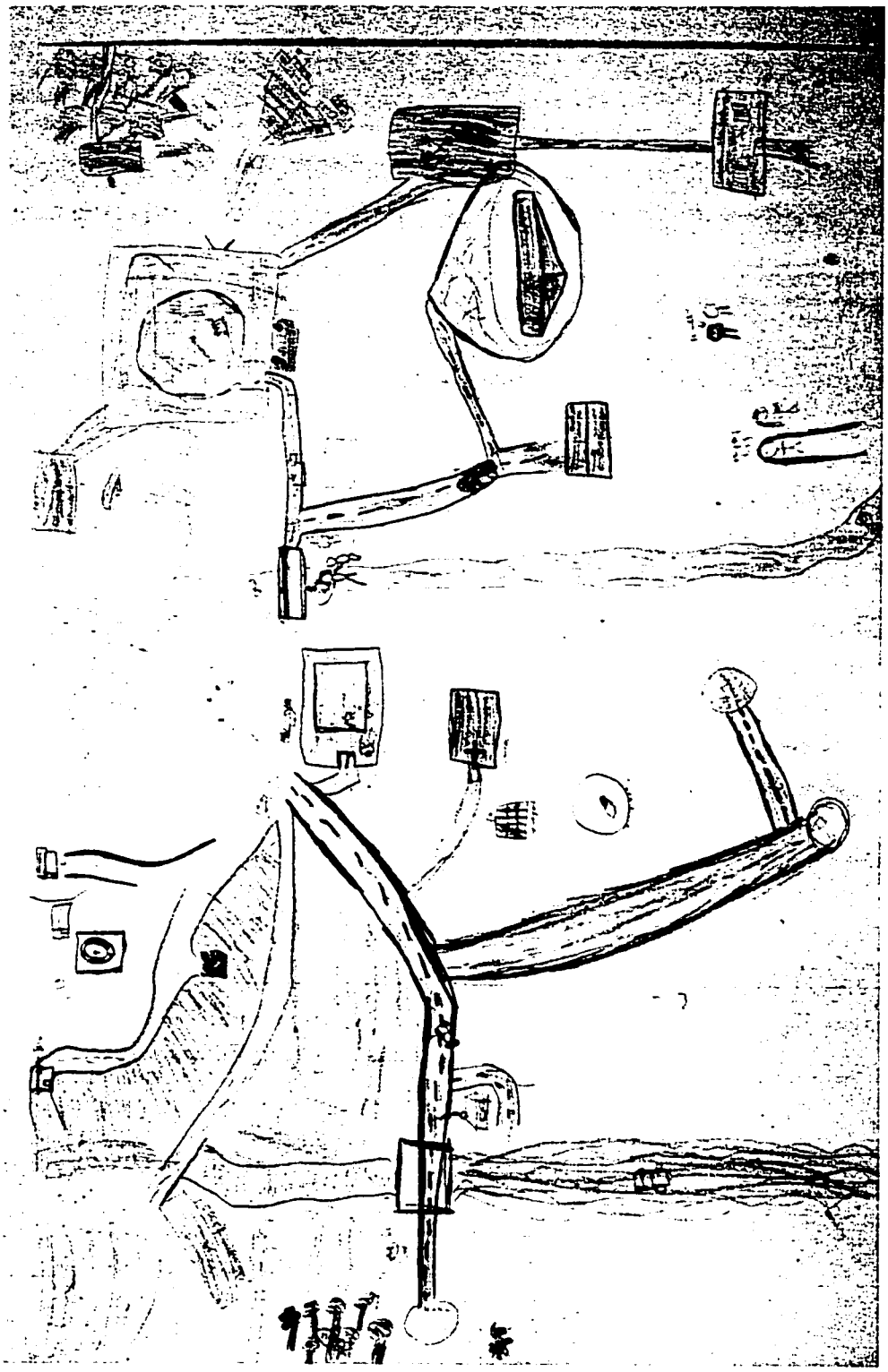
Appendix 7. Group Drawings of Community



Group 6 Very High (6VH)

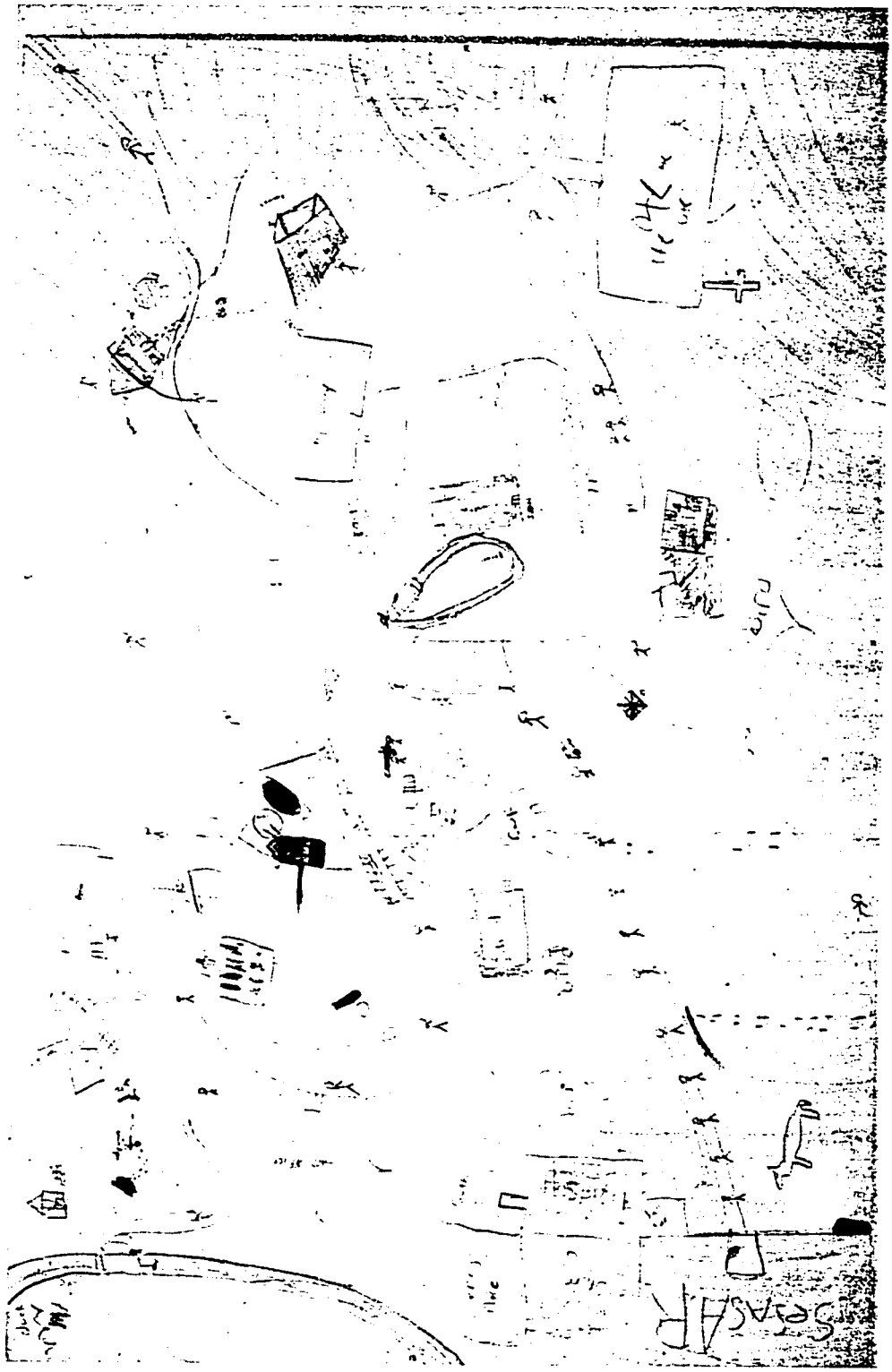


Group 4/5 Very High (4/5VH)

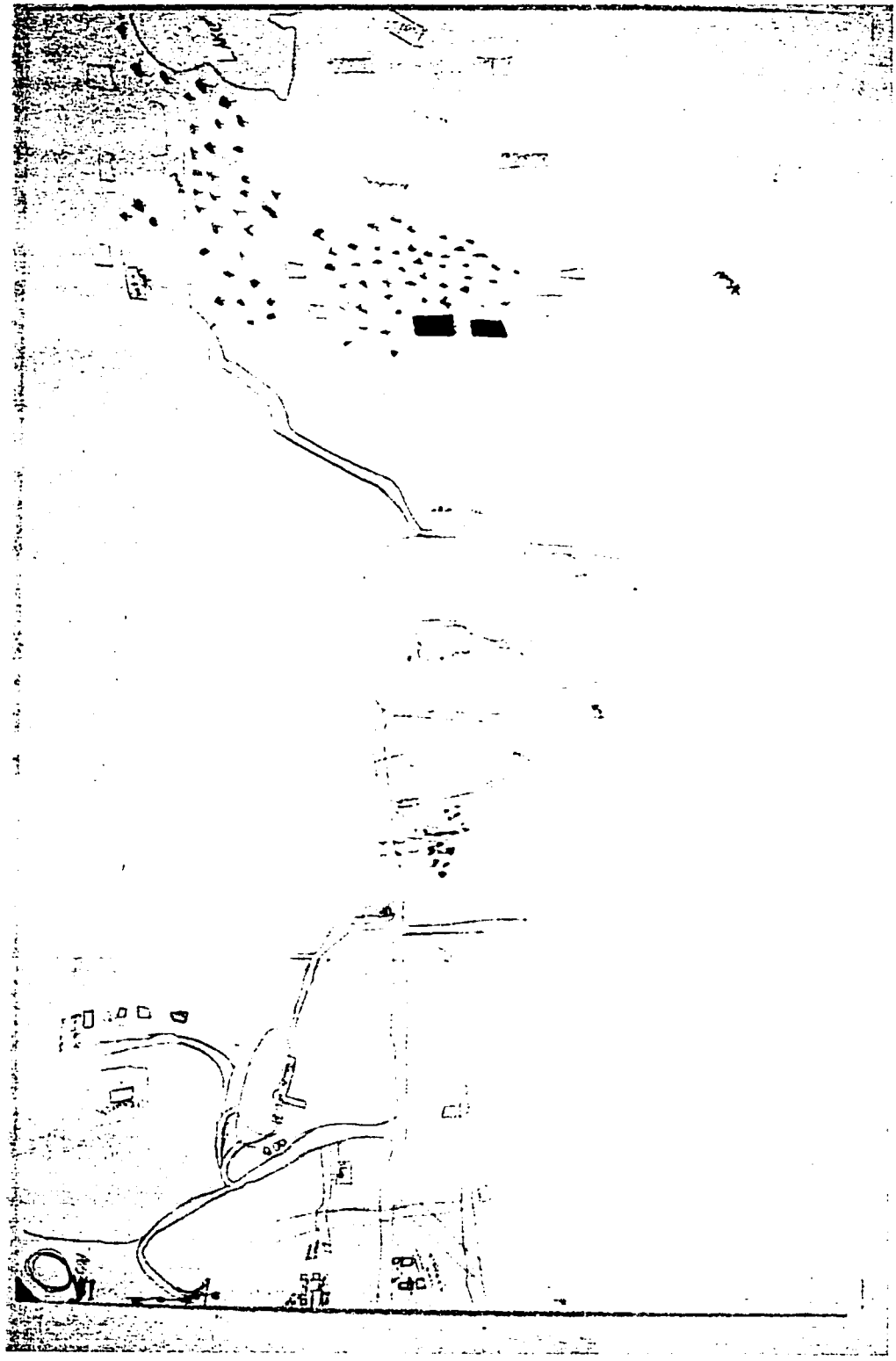


Group 3A Very High (3AVH)

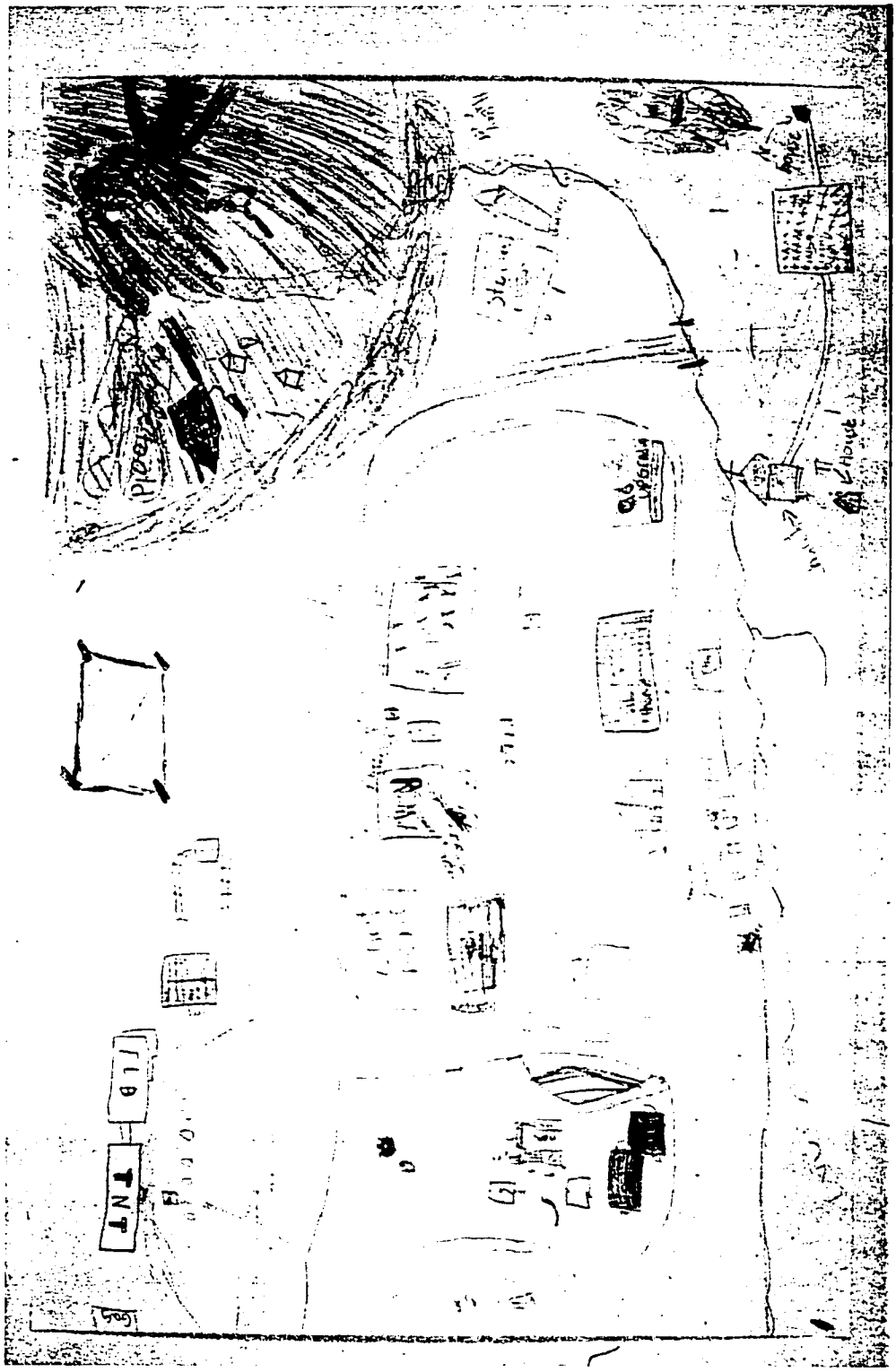
Group 3B Very High (3BVH)



Group 3A High (3AH)

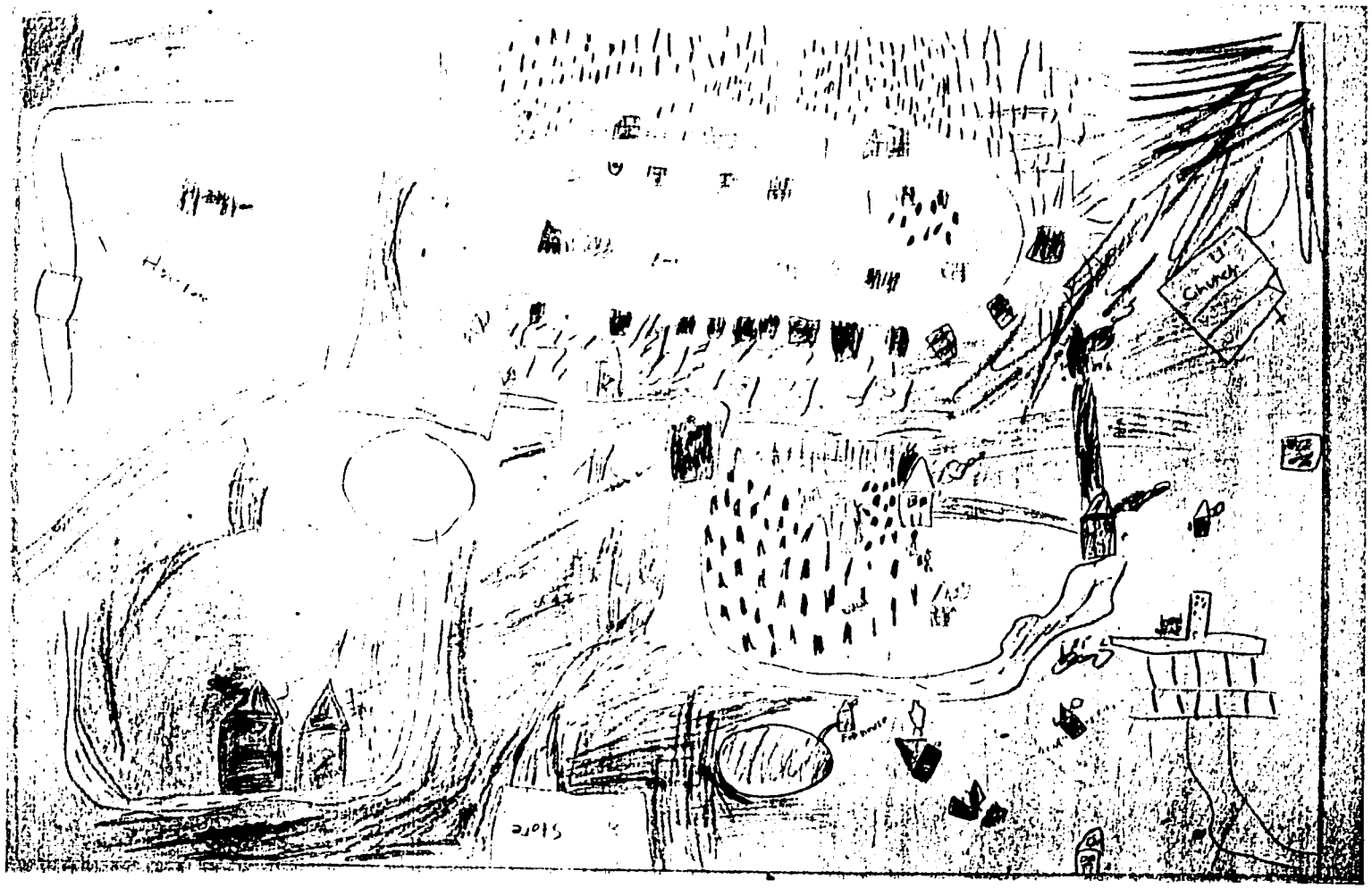


Group 6 Low (6L)

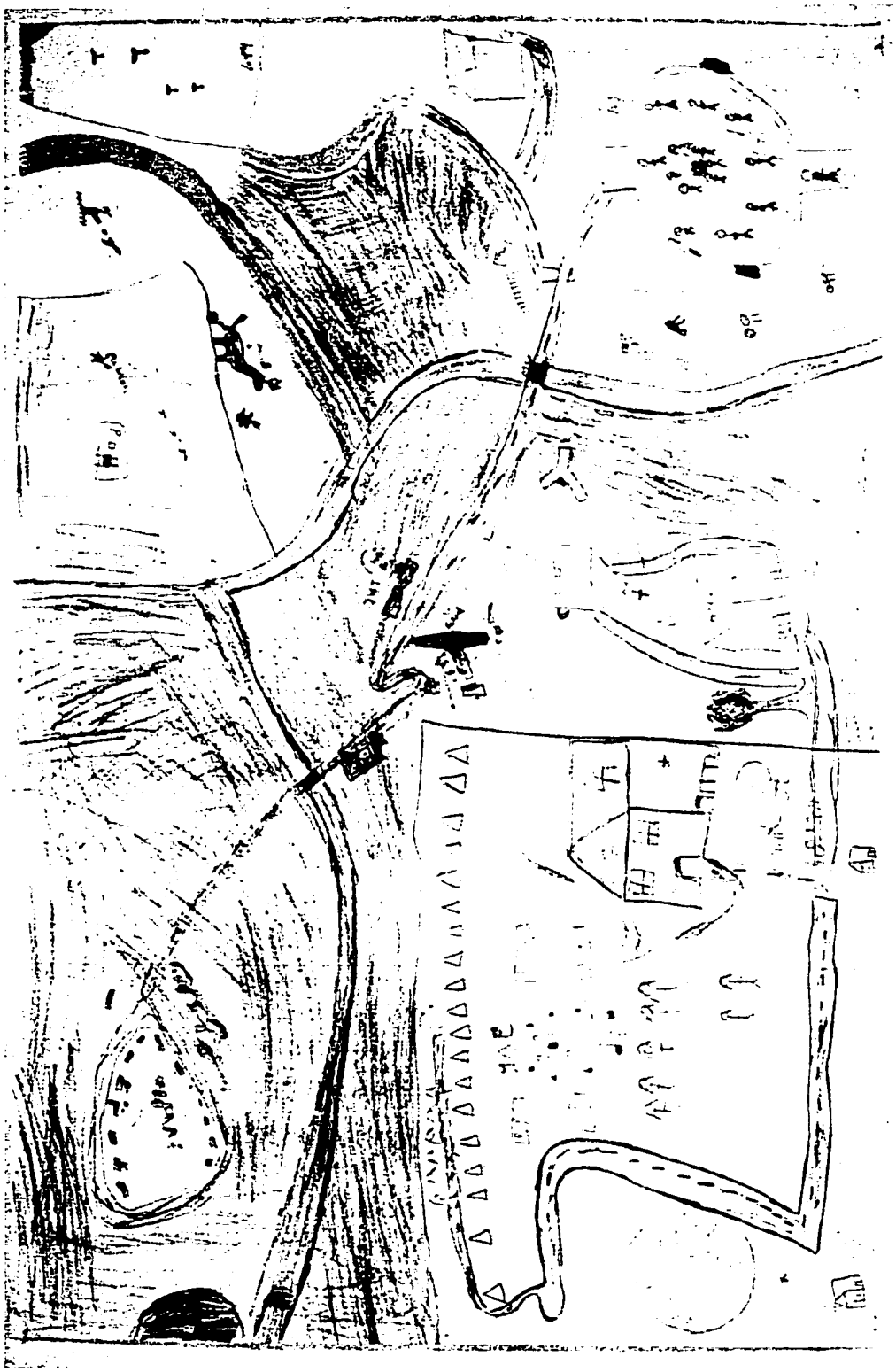


Group 4/5 Very Low (4/5VL)

Group 3A Low (3AL)



Group 3B Very Low (3BVL)



Group 3B Low (3BL)

Appendix 8. Raw Data for Statistical Analysis

High TSA Children

	Dependent Variables		Independent Variable
	Communitarianism Social Elements	*Conservationism* Natural Elements	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B			
Gary	14	8	4
Ernest	7	7	3
Brian	8	10	4
Jamie	10	7	4
Grade 3A			
Julie	7	6	3
Lewis	10	11	4
Henry	9	8	3
Diana	6	7	3
Donna	8	4	3
Daniel	7	11	3
Bruce	9	8	4
Grade 4/5			
Willie	4	11	4
Pamela	11	5	4
Dennis	8	8	4
Joseph	13	5	4
Cathie	8	4	3
Grade 6			
Sarah	16	13	4
Lisa	17	8	4
Roy	9	9	4
Eric	9	4	4
Lorie	17	7	3
Joan	8	5	3
Larry	6	2	2.5
Arthur	14	5	3
Tony	9	8	3
Jack	7	8	3
Kirk	4	11	3

High TSA Children

	Dependent Variable			Independent Variable
	Verbal Associations for Conservationism			
	+1	0	-1	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B				
Gary	6	2	0	4
Ernest	7	0	0	3
Brian	9	1	0	4
Jamie	7	0	0	4
Grade 3A				
Julie	5	1	0	3
Lewis	11	0	0	4
Henry	5	2	1	3
Diana	7	0	0	3
Donna	4	0	0	3
Daniel	9	2	0	3
Bruce	8	0	0	4
Grade 4/5				
Willie	7	4	0	4
Pamela	5	0	0	4
Dennis	6	2	0	4
Joseph	5	0	0	4
Cathie	2	2	0	3
Grade 6				
Sarah	12	1	0	4
Lisa	6	2	0	4
Roy	7	2	0	4
Eric	4	0	0	4
Lorie	7	0	0	3
Joan	4	1	0	3
Larry	1	1	0	2.5
Arthur	4	1	0	3
Tony	7	1	0	3
Jack	8	0	0	3
Kirk	10	1	0	3

High TSA Children

	Dependent Variable			Independent Variable
	Verbal Associations for Communitarianism			
	+1	0	-1	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B				
Gary	7	7	0	4
Ernest	2	5	0	3
Brian	3	5	0	4
Jamie	6	4	0	4
Grade 3A				
Julie	3	4	0	3
Lewis	5	5	0	4
Henry	5	4	0	3
Diana	3	3	0	3
Donna	5	3	0	3
Daniel	2	5	0	3
Bruce	4	5	0	4
Grade 4/5				
Willie	1	3	0	4
Pamela	5	6	0	4
Dennis	2	6	0	4
Joseph	6	7	0	4
Cathie	3	5	0	3
Grade 6				
Sarah	8	8	0	4
Lisa	4	13	0	4
Roy	6	3	0	4
Eric	5	4	0	4
Lorie	5	12	0	3
Joan	3	5	0	3
Larry	4	2	0	2.5
Arthur	3	11	0	3
Tony	2	7	0	3
Jack	3	4	0	3
Kirk	1	3	0	3

Low TSA Children

	Dependent Variables		Independent Variable
	Communitarianism Social Elements	*Conservationism* Natural Elements	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B			
Amie	4	7	2
Rose	5	4	2
Sally	3	1	1
Corina	2	5	1
Jesse	5	3	2
Sandra	4	8	1.5
Lucy	5	7	2
Angela	1	6	2
Grade 3A			
Nancy	6	3	2
Christine	4	4	1.5
Brenda	3	5	1.5
Rebecca	2	1	1
Andrea	9	9	2
Carl	4	4	1.5
Marriane	7	1	1.5
Frank	3	1	.5
Grade 4/5			
Sharon	7	1	2
Melissa	4	5	2
Paula	6	4	1.5
Neil	8	3	1.5
Tracy	8	5	2
Kyle	6	0	.5
Justin	3	4	1
Grade 6			
Beth	7	4	1.5
Ingrid	9	2	1
Linda	4	2	.5
Debbie	4	1	1
Carol	6	4	1.5
Judy	5	6	1.5

Low TSA Children

	Dependent Variable			Independent Variable
	Verbal Associations for Conservationism			
	+1	0	-1	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B				
Amie	6	1	0	2
Rose	2	1	1	2
Sally	0	1	0	1
Corina	1	4	0	1
Jesse	3	0	0	2
Sandra	2	4	2	1.5
Lucy	4	3	0	2
Angela	3	3	0	2
Grade 3A				
Nancy	2	1	0	2
Christine	2	2	0	1.5
Brenda	2	3	0	1.5
Rebecca	1	0	0	1
Andrea	8	1	0	2
Carl	3	1	0	1.5
Marriane	1	0	0	1.5
Frank	1	0	0	.5
Grade 4/5				
Sharon	0	1	0	2
Melissa	0	5	0	2
Paula	2	2	0	1.5
Neil	2	1	0	1.5
Tracy	5	0	0	2
Kyle	0	0	0	.5
Justin	3	1	0	1
Grade 6				
Beth	4	0	0	1.5
Ingrid	0	1	1	1
Linda	2	0	0	.5
Debbie	1	0	0	1
Carol	2	2	0	1.5
Judy	6	0	0	1.5

Low TSA Children

	Dependent Variable			Independent Variable
	Verbal Associations for Communitarianism			
	+1	0	-1	*TSA Score*
Grade 3B				
Amie	2	2	0	2
Rose	3	2	0	2
Sally	2	1	0	1
Corina	0	2	0	1
Jesse	3	2	0	2
Sandra	1	3	0	1.5
Lucy	2	3	0	2
Angela	1	0	0	2
Grade 3A				
Nancy	5	1	0	2
Christine	3	1	0	1.5
Brenda	2	1	0	1.5
Rebecca	0	2	0	1
Andrea	5	4	0	2
Carl	2	2	0	1.5
Marriane	5	2	0	1.5
Frank	2	1	0	.5
Grade 4/5				
Sharon	4	3	0	2
Melissa	1	3	0	2
Paula	2	4	0	1.5
Neil	3	5	0	1.5
Tracy	1	7	0	2
Kyle	0	6	0	.5
Justin	1	2	0	1
Grade 6				
Beth	3	4	0	1.5
Ingrid	3	5	1	1
Linda	1	3	0	.5
Debbie	2	2	0	1
Carol	2	4	0	1.5
Judy	1	4	0	1.5