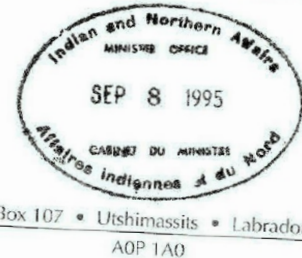


Mushuau Innu First Nation



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AOP 1A0

BY PRIORITY POST

The Honourable Ron Irwin,
Minister,
Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
10 Wellington St, 21 Floor, Room 2100
Hull, Québec, K1A 0H4

240-14-2

31 August, 1995

RE: "Nuitshinushunanu. We Are Healing Ourselves. A Review of the Healing Efforts of the Mushuau Innu Since 1992."

Dear Mr Irwin,

We are pleased to enclose a copy of the above-cited report.

Its preparation was not required by the Statement of Political Commitments or any of the associated Contribution Arrangements, and analyzing it should not, therefore, be a cause of any supplementary delay in your decision-making process.

Nevertheless, we felt that it would be useful for you and your officials to have a sense of all that has been achieved to date in terms of healing in order to be able to situate your decision about our relocation in an accurate and comprehensive context.

The report demonstrates beyond any reasonable doubt the progress that we have made, assisted by funding from your Department and from Health Canada and Human Resources Development Canada, in overcoming the numerous problems that came to afflict us after we were settled at Davis Inlet in 1967.

Equally, however, the report identifies the fragility of the successes that we have had and the numerous problems that we still need to address. Above all, our relocation to Little Sango Pond is central to solidifying the progress that we have made and to providing the impetus for us to maintain, or even to accelerate, the progress that we have made in overcoming of the problems that still confront us.

We hope, therefore, that this report will assist you in convincing your colleagues of the importance of taking a rapid decision to support our relocation to the full extent requested in then-Chief Simeon Tshakapesh's letter to you of 28 February, 1995.

Yours truly,

Capetan Rich
Capetan Rich,
President,

Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee

@davis.cor9 b:310895.ckr

Katie Rich
Katie Rich,
Chief,

Mushuau Innu Band Council

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NUITSHINUSHUNANU

WE ARE HEALING OURSELVES

A REVIEW OF THE HEALING EFFORTS OF THE MUSHUAU INNU SINCE 1992

PREPARED FOR

MUSHUAU INNU RENEWAL COMMITTEE

AND

MUSHUAU INNU BAND COUNCIL

MARY G. ALTON MACKEY

August 1995

The views and judgements expressed are not necessarily shared by the Innu or by any Innu organizations. The draft was reviewed by the MIRC/MIBC on 25-26 July, 1995, and the draft was submitted to certain Innu for review.

"It's like cleaning a caribou hide. When you are starting, you can't rush it. We have to go slowly. Little by little things will change."

Charlotte Rich, Village Elder

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The support of the people of Utshimassits, the Chief and the Mushuau Innu Band Council, the staff of the Band Council, the members and staff of the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, and the staff of the Innu Nation in assisting in the development of this report is gratefully acknowledged.

The author wishes to express special thanks to those residents of Utshimassits who welcomed me into their homes and gave of their time, expertise, and experience. Special acknowledgement is made to the Elders for their exceptional patience in explaining Innu activities and processes related to healing. Their wisdom and guidance in helping the author to understand, albeit imperfectly, is appreciated.

The hours that were given by several members of the community to discuss particular components of the healing process and to express their joys, apprehensions, and visions were very important in documenting the healing programs.

The contributions made by the staff of Health Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, Native Policy Branch of the Executive Council, Department of Health, and the staff of the clinic and the Department of Social Services in Utshimassits are also noted.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Mushuau Innu have embarked on a comprehensive healing process. Following a tragic fire in February, 1992, that took the lives of six children, the Innu conducted their own 'People's Inquiry' - **Gathering Voices: Finding the Strength to Help Our Children**. That report documented the reasons why many Innu abuse alcohol and identified actions that the community could take to address that and other problems. In early 1993, tragedy again hit Utshimassits, when several children tried to commit suicide by sniffing gas. Those tragedies led Utshimassits and the Innu Nation to prepare a document entitled **Hearing Our Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal**, which outlined a holistic seven-point plan. In 1993, the Canadian Human Rights Commission tabled a report that cited several governmental human rights abuses and suggested actions to be taken by the governments of Canada and Newfoundland. On February 25, 1994, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and several of his colleagues issued a Statement of Political Commitments to the Mushuau Innu, describing Canada's role in the healing process. It was acknowledged by the Innu Nation, the Mushuau Innu Band Council and the Sheshatshit Band Council on April 15, 1994.

The holistic, multi-faceted healing process that has been initiated by the Mushuau Innu includes: i) spiritual and cultural renewal; ii) innovations in political and social life; iii) specific treatment programs for alcoholism, solvent-abuse, spousal and family violence, sexual abuse, and suicide; iv) innovations in justice systems; v) improvements in the quality of residential living; vi) increased learning activities; vii) increased wage and subsistence economic activities; and viii) the planning by the Mushuau Innu of their relocation from Davis Inlet to a site on the mainland adjacent to Little Sango Pond, unofficially known as Natuashish.

The Elders are strategic to cultural and spiritual renewal. They are playing a key role in the social and political life of the settlement and have been mentors in all country-based activities. Nutshimits, the country, encompasses all of the many facets of what the country is to the Innu. Nutshimits is the essence of what it is to be Innu. Country-based programs, including the Outpost Program, which assists families to spend time in the country, and the retreats that have been organized by the Women's Group to take teenage girls to the country, continue to be important. The Outpost Program provides many families with the opportunity to continue their relationship with the land and the animals and to teach the youth about all facets of the country. The learning of traditional craft skills, accompanied by stories by the Elders, has played an important role in re-connecting young Innu with their roots.

The Innu Women's Book Project is another important initiative that not only provides an avenue to share stories, poems, photographs, drawings, and other art work, but which will also make a significant contribution to the building of self-esteem.

The re-introduction of the sweat tent as part of the healing process has been important. The role of the Elders in the sweats is a key element.

There have been a number of innovations in political and social life. The Innu interpret their recent history as a time when they lost control over important aspects of their lives, as major decisions came to be made for them by outsiders. In recent years the Innu have become concerned with issues of self-determination. The Mushuau Innu Band Council (MIBC) and the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee (MIRC) have instituted processes designed to put them in charge of the development of their own settlement. The Band's leadership has also developed considerable skills in consultation, consensus-building, and decision-making. There has been a marked increase in self-administration, and preliminary steps have been taken towards self-determination: the Band has trained and employed peacekeepers; the community members have been active in making decisions about settlement site-planning; and Innu community service workers are now providing support and follow-up in child welfare and other social service areas. The Band has also developed a number of management skills by administering water delivery, garbage collection, cable TV management, overseeing construction and training projects, and operating the community radio station. In July, 1995, the Band took over the former Government Store, which will be operated under the direction of a largely Innu Board of Directors.

The Innu celebrated each other in the country. Several innovative techniques of transferring the concept of celebration to the settlement have been initiated, using ways that are different than those used in the country. For example, there have been banquets to show appreciation for the many Innu who have been participating in training programs. There have been birthday parties and bridal showers. There have been parties for Halloween, Christmas, Easter, and other holidays.

In the country, communication between tents was extensive. Houses have, however, been seen as a real barrier to communication. Communication by use of the community radio and cable television, as well as by sending to each household copies of minutes of the MIRC and other important information, has assisted in keeping people informed.

There are a number of specific treatment initiatives in the settlement. The treatment philosophy is holistic and family-centred. The healing circle is a key element in all programs.

Seventeen counsellors have been trained through the Nechi Counsellor Training Program. Six of them now work for the Alcohol and Healing Services Program, while three work as community service workers with the Department of Social Services.

Since 1992, there has been a significant increase in sobriety in Utshimassits. The number of problem drinkers has decreased by 40 per cent (from 92 to 55), the number of persons in recovery has almost doubled (from 30 to 52), and the number of persons who have quit drinking but have not necessarily dealt with the reasons why they were drinking has increased five times (from 8 to 38). Counselling services for clients, families and groups are well-utilized. Self-help support groups that meet at least weekly include Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), a youth support group, a women's support group, and a men's support group. Forty-four adults have attended 28-day programs at NNADAP treatment centres. While outside treatment programs have been successful for some, others need more, and perhaps different, support. Outside treatment centres

for alcohol-abuse treat the individual and not the family. Language barriers exist in outside treatment programs. There is no effective bridging of the intensive treatment program outside the settlement with return to the community and renewed exposure to all of the stresses that contributed to the alcohol problem in the first place.

Solvent-abuse continues to be problematic, and it appears to be cyclic. Of the initial 17 children who received treatment at Poundmaker's Lodge in 1993, four are no longer sniffing gas. Eighteen children have received treatment at outside facilities. Four have had more than one intensive treatment program. As reported for the outside alcohol treatment programs, the outside treatment centres treat the individual and do not involve the family. Language barriers exist. Outside treatment programs do not develop trusting, supportive relationships between clients and counsellors in Utshimassits, which may reduce their effectiveness. Other strategies must be developed to make the transition from treatment facility back into the community less traumatic and more successful. All of the counsellors expressed a need for more training about solvent-abuse.

The proposed safe house for troubled youths is an important next step in the design of community-based support and rehabilitation services.

Spousal abuse is a continuing issue in Utshimassits. Those persons who took the Nechi training have received initial training in techniques to work with family violence. All counsellors felt that they needed a lot more training and support in this area. There have been workshops in the community on spousal abuse and family violence. There is no transition house/shelter in Utshimassits, where women and their children can go to avoid violent situations. Counselling services are available both from Social Services and from alcohol/healing services. Women and their children who need shelter must, however, go to Libra House in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. From January 1991 to May 1995, Libra House dealt with 24 women and 67 children from Utshimassits. Spousal abuse and the need to provide a safe and secure shelter for women and their children have been the subjects of a number of discussions at the MIRC. There are plans for a shelter in Natuashish. Safe shelter is still problematic in Utshimassits.

The tragedy of suicide has affected all families in Utshimassits. There continue to be problems. Many Innu are still having difficulty and have attempted or contemplated suicide. Drug overdoses still occur. Crisis intervention in cases of contemplated suicide continues to be an important activity of all Innu counsellors.

One of the most successful treatment initiatives has been the holistic country-based treatment program for families. Two such programs have been held: one in the fall of 1994, and the other in the spring of 1995. Six families from Utshimassits have participated. In addition, there were three children from the Group Home in Sheshatshit and one inmate from the Correctional Centre in Goose Bay. Treatment in the Innu language was seen by the clients as very important to their understanding. Trusting relationships were built up between clients and counsellors and between clients and other clients. This trusting relationship was important in bridging the transition between the country and the settlement. The program reinforced Innu culture and provided many

new learning experiences. It also enhanced the role of Elders. The families that took part in the country-based treatment program had many problems. One six-week country-based program may not be enough for a family that is facing many problems. There may be a need for an in-settlement component of the treatment program, to ease clients back into dealing with the stresses of in-settlement life and the problems there.

Current treatment programs are designed for children aged six and up and for family members. The younger children do not participate in any treatment settings. One hundred and fifteen persons, or 22 per cent of the population, are aged five or under. The problems that have been identified in the adolescents often have their roots in very early childhood experience. As family stress increases, regardless of its source, the ability to care for and to parent children decreases, and the likelihood of abuse and neglect increases. Early intervention and effective support for families are essential. The initiatives of the Women's Group to establish a playschool and to provide additional support for the parents of very young children are very important, since the most dramatic results of early childhood interventions are seen when the children reach adolescence.

Two counsellors from Poundmaker's Lodge who visited Utshimassits from September to December, 1994, and an itinerant clinical psychologist, who worked there for one week per month over the past year made important contributions. They all assisted the counsellors in aftercare for the children and their families returning from Poundmaker's Lodge, assisted the counsellors and their families in their own healing process, and supported them in specific counselling situations and in the development of individual care plans. All counsellors indicated that the counselling is becoming increasingly difficult, because, as healing progresses, the problems identified by the clients are more complex. Because the issues are complicated, there will be a continuing need to provide professional support to the Innu counsellors working in Utshimassits.

Twenty young Innu between the ages of 18 and 25 have been convicted of criminal offenses since 1991. According to several Innu, jail sentences have not led to rehabilitation or to reconciliation with the victims. The Band Council has moved to create a local justice system that will allow it to support victims and to deal with inappropriate behaviours in ways that are acceptable to the community. The Band has facilitated the training of peacekeepers and has established its own police force. An interim policing agreement was signed between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mushuau Innu on March 27, 1995. In addition, a Task Force has been established by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Innu Nation to make recommendations regarding a more culturally appropriate form of administering criminal justice for the Innu.

The quality of residential living at Utshimassits continues to be poor, even with the significant improvements that have been made to the housing in terms of renovations, including new windows, insulation, and new outside doors, as part of the emergency measures. Eleven new houses have been built over the last two years, largely by Innu, and their quality is very high. However, there continue to be deficiencies in approximately 75 per cent of the houses. Fifty-six

of the 96 households (58%) still get their water in buckets from the one pump house or from streams. There is no disposal system for grey water or honey buckets for 70 households (73%). Garbage is littered throughout the settlement, even though there is regular garbage pick-up, since there is no place to store it away from the dogs between pick-ups.

The Innu recognize that recreation is important. They have built a youth centre, and they are planning an outdoor rink. The school gymnasium is used almost every evening. A full-time recreation coordinator has been hired. Plans are being made to develop a training program for recreation managers. Sixty per cent of the population is 18 years of age or under, and 71 per cent is 25 years of age or younger. There is a need for a well planned, creative recreational program for all young people.

Learning is a broad-based concept that includes both formal and informal processes. At least 160 residents have taken part in a number of training programs in recent years: ten have taken teacher-training courses; two have taken pre-nursing programs; one is training to be a pilot; four have been trained as peacekeepers; 17 have completed the Nechi Training for counsellors; two have completed the Outward Bound leadership training course; 11 have received training in carpentry supervision; 70 have received training in carpentry skills; seven have taken training in small engine repair; and 36 have received training in the making of traditional crafts. A learning centre in Utshimassits, identified by both the Labrador College and the Band Council as an important next step, will be opened in October, 1995. It will focus initially on Adult Basic Education in order to allow the Mushuau Innu to be able to take full advantage of the opportunities that will be offered by the relocation to Natuashish.

The Youth Council has organized at least three week-long workshops to address the issues that they face in Utshimassits and to develop skills to cope with them.

While the school is seen by most residents as an institution that could play an important role in support of language and culture and that could contribute effectively to the healing process, it does not do so: it does not have any specialized classrooms; it no longer teaches any traditional crafts or wood-working; there is no organised involvement of Elders in the classroom; there is no life skills program; there is no home economics program; there is no organised attempt to teach Innu history and culture; and it is overcrowded. The Innu Curriculum Centre in Sheshatshit does not effectively support the teaching of Innu amien in the Utshimassits dialect.

The increase in wage income has made a significant and positive difference to the living standards of the residents of Utshimassits. There are more material goods in the homes, particularly skidoos, boats, and ATVs. The purchase of skidoos and boats has allowed more families to spend time in the country. In the winter, many families go to the country to hunt and to fish on the weekends. In the summer, those with boats are able to go fishing and to set up camp in the nearby bays. Employment and standardized work schedules have assisted some families in maintaining their sobriety. Employment income has increased the self-esteem of many, as they are better able to support their families and are able to procure more country food and to spend time in the country, albeit for shorter periods.

The health services provided by the Labrador Regional Health Board are not as comprehensive as those provided by Indian and Inuit Health to status Indians. The services do not meet the objective of the Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples Health Agreement in terms of community-based needs assessment and programs and the delivery of health programs to improve mental and social well-being. The health services provided to the community are treatment-based. There are few visible primary or public health care initiatives. There is no working relationship between the Community Health Representative and the Public Health Nurse.

The people of Utshimassits have embarked on a comprehensive healing process. There has been good co-operation among the MIBC, MIRC, Innu Nation, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, and Health Canada. The involvement of the departments of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has been minimal. There is a feeling of hope in the settlement, as people can see significant signs of re-building of their society. That re-building is very fragile, and the momentum that has been created needs to continue in an upward surge and not falter.

If the Innu continue to be given financial, moral, and other support, there is every reason to believe that, as required by the Statement of Political Commitments, ... *the problems plaguing the existing community will not be transferred to the new site.*

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News Release Communiqué

IRWIN RELEASES FEDERAL COMMITMENTS TO INNU

OTTAWA (February 25, 1994) — Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ronald A. Irwin, today released the Government of Canada's Statement of Political Commitments detailing its support to the Labrador Innu and the community of Davis Inlet. A letter to Innu leaders was also released.

"I believe that we have a comprehensive and practical package that is unparalleled in the history of federal relations with the Innu," said Minister Irwin.

The Minister told Innu leaders, "Supporting you in your work to resolve the difficulties in your communities has been one of my personal priorities. My officials and I have worked very hard to develop a package as expeditiously as possible that we believe meets your immediate and long term needs. We want to work in partnership. Broad support within the community is critical to our joint success."

The Statement commits the Government of Canada to both immediate action in the existing community and long term economic development plans for a relocated community. The Statement commits the government to focus relocation planning on the Innu's preferred site of Sango Bay; provide emergency funding; negotiate self-government and a comprehensive land claim; fund development work on policing and justice systems more sensitive to Innu traditions; and to devolve to Innu control, existing federal programs and funding.

The federal commitments were approved by cabinet in response to concerns raised by the Innu. The Statement reflects numerous changes based on input from the Innu leadership and their legal counsel. Minister Irwin acknowledged that the government and the Innu did not reach complete concurrence on the Statement of Political Commitments.

"I believe these commitments are fair and reasonable and an accurate reflection of the substance of my discussions with Innu leaders in Halifax earlier this month," added the Minister.

-30-

Background information is also available on:

1. Labrador Innu Chronology since 1949
2. Activities Underway or Completed in 1992-1993 and 1993-1994

Information: Cate McCready
Press Secretary, DIAND
(819) 994-7625



Government of Canada
Gouvernement du Canada

Canada

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

The Statement of Political Commitments adopted by the ministers of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Health, and Justice, and by the Solicitor General in February, 1994, and acknowledged by the Innu Nation, the Mushuau Innu Band Council and the Sheshatshit Band Council on April 15, 1994, commits the Government of Canada to:

Respond to the crisis situation in the community of Utshimassits and continue to work cooperatively with the Mushuau Council, the Innu Nation and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to address the health and safety issues facing the community ...

More particularly, it commits the Government of Canada to support the relocation of the Mushuau Innu to Little Sango Pond subject to specified conditions, including:

Adoption by the community of a long-term social and economic reconstruction plan to address the social pathologies ... in the community ...

By letter of February 28, 1995, then-Chief Simeon Tshakapesh submitted to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development the various studies and other documentation called for under the Statement of Political Commitments.

The process of individual and collective healing was, of course, planned and initiated by the Innu of their own initiative long before the Statement of Political Commitments was signed, although it received considerable assistance from the Government of Canada, especially after 1993.

Fearing that many of the officials of the Government of Canada involved in evaluating or deciding on the relocation of the Innu to Natuashish might be unfamiliar with the numerous healing initiatives already undertaken by the Innu, the Mushuau Innu Band Council/ Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee commissioned the present report. Its purpose is primarily to provide a review of the healing processes and measures that have taken place in Utshimassits since 1992 and secondarily to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding their success. The Mushuau Innu themselves and Henriksen (1993) have identified that in order for ... *the Innu to be able to release their innovative potential, and create a richer economic basis for their community, they must go through a process of healing both as individuals and as a community.*

2.0 BACKGROUND

The problems of the Mushuau Innu have received extensive public attention both in Canada and internationally. Henriksen (1993) outlined some of the critical events in the history of the Mushuau Innu that have influenced socio-cultural change, including:

- i) the adoption of guns, which replaced spears and bows and arrows, linked the Innu to trading posts. In order to obtain guns, ammunition and other industrial goods, the Innu had to deliver furs. The relationship was one of mutual dependency, but the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and other traders certainly held the most power. For example, in the mid-1800s a HBC trader simply did not provide the Innu with enough ammunition, in order to pressure them to spend more time trapping marten rather than hunting caribou. During the next two winters approximately two hundred Innu starved to death. Even a trade relationship should carry some obligations of reciprocity and fairness;
- ii) early in the present century, the Mushuau Innu adopted the use of dog sleds from the neighbouring Inuit. In the same way that guns had revolutionized their hunting strategies, the replacement of the toboggan with the dog sled had a tremendous impact on their spatial mobility;
- iii) when the price of furs plummeted during the depression of the 1930s, the HBC no longer found it profitable to operate many of its posts in the territory of the Mushuau Innu. In 1942, the Government of Newfoundland took on the responsibility of supplying them. In 1948, the Mushuau Innu were moved by the Government of Newfoundland from Old Davis Inlet to Nutak, approximately 400 km north. The move was taken without any real consultation with the Innu. The Innu still do not understand today why they were moved to Nutak. They did not like their new location. It provided difficult access to their traditional caribou hunting grounds, and they left of their own volition and returned to Old Davis Inlet. The Mushuau Innu remained relatively isolated and independent, and they maintained their economic adaptation and culture more or less intact until around 1970. Significant changes did, of course, occur before then, but there was always sufficient continuity between the transformations of their culture and social system to secure the identity of the individual and his or her relationship to fellow Innu;
- iv) the most dramatic divide in the lives of the Mushuau Innu was the move from tents into houses in the new village (the present Davis Inlet), a move that started in 1967. Until then, the missionary had been priest, doctor, school teacher, mechanic, interpreter - indeed the patron of the village. In

the settlement, a school, clinic, store, and power plant were built. Teachers, nuns, and nurses arrived. The Innu were told that if they did not send their children to school, they would not receive their family allowance. In addition, the Innu were suddenly faced with the dilemma of residing near to the security provided by the nurse, or being in the country with no medical facilities;

- v) by the mid-1970s, the Innu were thoroughly bewildered by the sudden impact of White society upon their lives. The Newfoundland Wildlife Division came to Davis Inlet to issue hunting licences. The Innu became involved in the process of preparing for land rights negotiations. The Band Council as a political institution was created, and a chief and councillors were elected. All of those events were new and foreign to the Mushuau Innu. At that time only a few individuals of the adult generation spoke any English at all, which was one of the factors that made them dependent upon the priest and other Whites to act as mediators between themselves and White institutions. On the one hand, the Innu wanted to live in the country with their children, in order that their children could learn the skills and intricacies of their hunting culture. On the other hand, they understood the need for their children to have some schooling in order to cope better with White society;
- vi) with their children in school and their wives looking after the children at home, the men grasped the opportunity offered by snowmobiles. By purchasing snowmobiles and discarding their dog teams, the Innu men were able to travel swiftly to the interior in order to acquire caribou meat for their families. There were two drawbacks to that: i) the social and ritual life in the hunting camps, where families used to stay for months, could not be maintained; ii) the first snowmobiles were highly fragile, parts were unavailable, and the Innu could not afford to replace them quickly enough. The result was that many of the Innu hunters were stranded in the settlement on Iluikoyak Island. The Innu were suddenly unable to plan their economic activities for even a few months ahead. That was certainly a major factor in producing the problems that the Innu are trying to cope with today.

The effects of unemployment on health are well documented (Brenner, 1987; Dooley and Catalano, 1984; D'Arcy, 1986; Bolton and Oakley, 1987; Brenner and Mooney, 1983). They include both increases in mortality rates, through accidental injury, suicide, violence, circulatory disease and/or cancer (Jin, Shah and Svoboda, 1994), and increased psychological symptoms and disorder. Unemployment has also been linked to suicide and attempted suicide, self-harm behaviours, disturbed sleep, neurotic disorders, depression, anxiety, hopelessness, apathy, lower self-esteem, humiliation and stigmatization, and increased alcohol-usage (Finlay-Jones and Eckhardt, 1981; Hawton, 1982; Linn, Sandifer and Stein, 1985). For the Innu, the inability to

pursue their traditional subsistence activities produced many of the same social and physical pathologies that are associated with unemployment in White society.

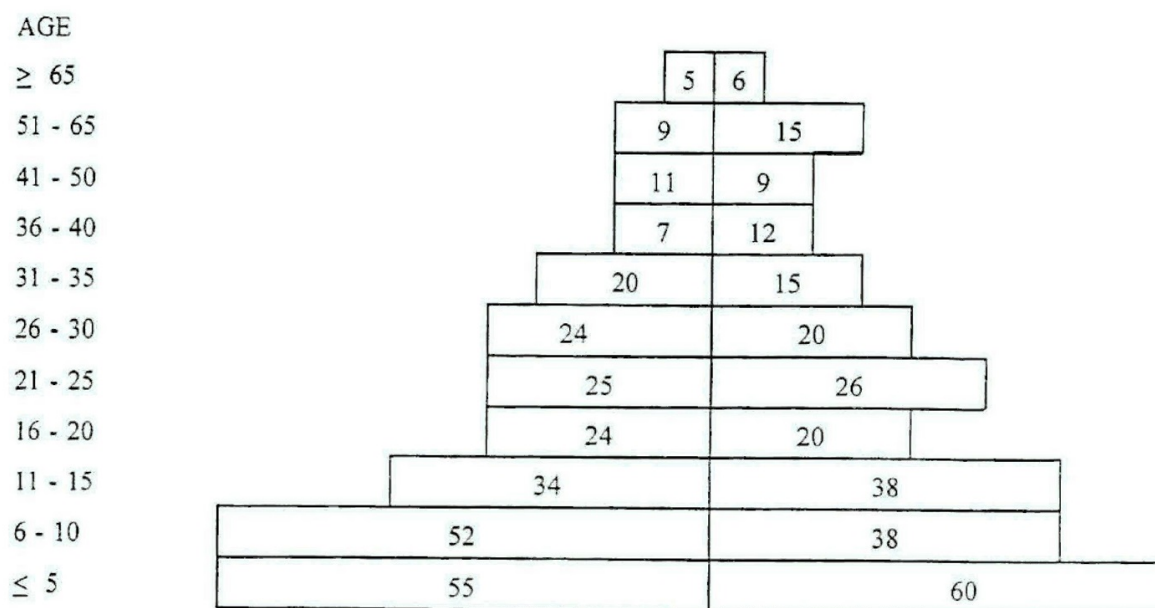
In confronting their problems, the people of Utshimassits have been instrumental in initiating their own healing process. In June, 1992, they released a report entitled **Gathering Voices: Finding Strength to Help Our Children**, in response to a February, 1992, house fire that killed six children of one family. The community conducted its own *people's inquiry*, after the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs refused a request to set up such an inquiry. Everyone in the community, moreover, has been touched by tragedy. From 1973 to 1992, Utshimassits lost 47 members in alcohol-related deaths (MIRC 1994). The inquiry investigated the happenings over the past 30 years and the reasons why such tragedies kept occurring. It also looked at why Innu abuse alcohol, and identified actions that the community could take to address such problems. Tragedy again hit Utshimassits in early 1993, when several children tried to commit suicide by sniffing gas, which led Utshimassits and the Innu Nation to prepare a document entitled **Hearing Our Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal** for the governments of Canada and Newfoundland.

2.1 The Settlement

The Mushuau Innu settlement of Utshimassits (Davis Inlet) is located on Iluikoyak Island, off the Labrador Coast approximately 295 kilometres north of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. The unincorporated settlement has approximately 525 Innu residents and 25 resident non-Innu. A population profile is shown in Figure 1.

The Innu population is young, with 115 of the 525 residents (22%) aged five or less. Eighty-seven children are preschoolers, of whom 24 are age five. There are 162 children (31%) aged six to 15. Thus, 53 per cent of the population are under the age of 16, while 61 per cent are 20 years of age or younger.

Figure 1 Population profile for the Innu of Utshimassits^{1,2}



¹ Does not include the non-Innu resident population.

² Derived from Mushuau Innu Band Council records.

2.2 Key Initiatives and Commitments

On February 8, 1993, the Seven-Point Holistic Plan for the renewal of the Mushuau Innu was presented to the Governments of Canada and Newfoundland. The Seven-Point Plan is as follows:

The Seven-Point Plan

- 1) creation of an Innu community off the isolated island and on the mainland;
- 2) establishment of a family and cultural renewal centre in Nutshimit, based on a holistic approach to healing and emphasizing Innu cultural values and spiritual beliefs;
- 3) set up a community resource team, building upon the abilities of the Innu;
- 4) recognition and implementation of Innu government and land and resource rights;
- 5) Canada's acknowledgement of its constitutional obligations to the Innu people and Nation;
- 6) that the youth who are chronic solvent-abusers, their families and interpreters be immediately sent to Poundmaker's Lodge in Alberta for treatment;
- 7) that a meeting be held in Utshimassits between Innu representatives, the Minister of Health and Welfare, the Minister Responsible for Constitutional Affairs, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs and Newfoundland Premier, Clyde Wells, to work out the implementation of this seven-point plan.

Source: Hearing the Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal. Presented by the Mushuau Innu Council and Innu Nation to the Provincial and Federal Government Representatives, February 23, 1993.

In 1993, the Canadian Human Rights Commission tabled a report that cites several governmental human rights abuses and suggests actions to be taken by the governments of Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador to rectify them (McRae, 1993). On the same day that the report was released, the Government of Newfoundland announced that it was withdrawing from negotiations with Ottawa and the Innu to move to a new site.

On February 25, 1994, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada issued a Statement of Political Commitments to the Mushuau Innu (Appendix A). The commitments made by the Government of Canada to the Mushuau Innu include, but are not limited to, the following:

- i) provide funding to complete a comprehensive community plan to ensure that the community will meet the needs of the Mushuau Innu, community vision and physical and economic characteristics of the relocated community and to assist the Innu in assuring that the problems plaguing the existing community will not be transferred to the new site;*
- ii) provide its share of the funding for outpost activities to assist the Innu to spend time in the country;*
- iii) provide funding to the Innu to establish an addiction treatment program, which can include wilderness components;*
- iv) provide funding for the developmental phase of an Innu justice and policing program (year one).*

There is a comprehensive multi-faceted healing process currently at work for members of the community as a result of several initiatives. This healing process employs methodologies to integrate traditional cultural values and healing processes with other counselling and support systems.

During the community consultations for the Initial Environmental Evaluation of the proposed relocation (JWEL, 1995), two overarching Innu concepts of **Tshetshi manenium**, "living well", and **Nuitshinushunanu**, "we are healing ourselves", were identified.

Tshetshi manenium encompasses physical, social, mental, and economic well-being. Fundamental to the attainment of living well are linguistic, cultural, and spiritual vitality, as well as access to quality housing, clean water, sewage and sanitation systems and other basic amenities, and economic (subsistence and cash) well-being. This concept is fundamental to the understanding of the healing process.

Stephen Loring, an anthropologist with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, suggests that one of the central characteristics of the Innu is the constant movement of the people across Ntesinan. For him, the first line of a poem by Mark Strand *we all have reasons for moving I move to keep things whole* embodies the ... *resiliency and drama of the last two thousand years of Indian occupation of Northern Labrador ... It is in the tenacity of groups to define and hold on to their identity, and to develop means to maintain that identity by adjusting to new conditions, that we can find an explanation for the successful adaptation of the Naskapi/Innu and their predecessors to the land which we call Labrador, and they call Ntesinan* (Loring, 1988: 166).

A key element in the healing process is the development of a means of fostering linguistic, cultural and spiritual well-being and permitting much greater attachment to the land:

Our recent past provides some indication that the centralized settlement pattern is not appropriate, and there is a balance which would allow for Innu sense of "freedom to wander" and reasonable proximity to chosen facilities and services ...

Most of them set up camps where they can utilize resources not found in the immediate surroundings of Davis Inlet. For example, in the Spring they move into bays to fish brook and lake trout through the ice on the lakes ... At the end of May, the Canada goose arrives and large flocks of ducks ...

Every (Innu) is free to roam where he likes and exploit the resources of the land ...

Source: **Hearing the Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal.** Presented by the Mushuau Innu Council and Innu Nation to the Provincial and Federal Government Representatives, February 23, 1993.

The Innu are in the process of redefining and developing a sense of what they see their 'community' to be like, taking into consideration their culture, which is based on a nomadic way of life centred on extended family groups, as part of the comprehensive social and cultural renewal and healing process.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Literature Review

A review of the literature was conducted, which included the following:

Gathering Voices: Finding the Strength to Help Our Children (Innu Nation and the MIBC, Utshimassits, 1992)

McRae, D.M. 1993. Report of the Complaints of the Innu of Labrador to the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

Hearing Our Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal. (Presented by the Mushuau Innu Council and the Innu Nation to the Provincial and Federal Government Representatives, February 23, 1993.)

Armitage, P. 1989. Homeland or Wasteland: Contemporary Land Use and Occupancy Among the Innu of Utshimassits and Sheshatshit and the Impact of Military Expansion. Submission to the Federal Environmental Assessment Review Panel Reviewing Military Flying Activities in Nitassinan.

Armitage, P. 1990. Land Use and Occupancy among the Innu of Utshimassits and Sheshatshit. Report prepared for the Innu Nation, Nitassinan.

Henriksen, G. 1973. Hunters of the Barrens: The Naskapi on the Edge of the White Man's World. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 12 Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St John's, Newfoundland.

Henriksen, G. 1993. Report on the Social and Economic Development of the Innu Community of Davis Inlet to the Economic Recovery Commission.

Henriksen, G. 1994. The Mushuau Innu of Labrador: Self- Government, Innovation and Sociocultural Continuity. Proactive 13(1):2-22.

Henriksen, G. 1993. Life and Death Among the Mushuau Innu of Northern Labrador. ISER Research and Policy Papers No. 17, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland.

Wadden, M. 1991. Nitassinan: The Innu Struggle to Reclaim Their Homeland. Douglas and McIntyre, Toronto.

Andrew, L. 1995. Nukum Penash Country Treatment Program: Pilot Project Evaluation. Innu Nation. Sheshatshit.

JWEL (Jacques Whitford Environment Limited). 1995. Utshimassits Relocation Initial Environmental Evaluation. Report prepared for the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee and the Mushuau Innu Band Council.

3.2 Data Collection

The key-informant interviews that were carried out in Utshimassits for the Initial Environmental Evaluation were reassessed. All field notes from the Initial Environmental Evaluation were re-examined. Consultations were held with the Innu Nation on June 19, 20 and 30, 1995. Discussions were held with individuals and groups in Utshimassits from June 21-29, 1995.

Relevant files were reviewed in the offices of the Innu Nation and the Mushuau Innu Band Council.

In addition, the minutes and technical reports of the MIRC were reviewed. Relevant files of the Innu Nation Health Commission were examined. Discussions were held with representatives from Health Canada, the Native Policy Branch of the Executive Council, and the Department of Health, Government of Newfoundland, and the *Contribution Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Benefit of the Innu Communities of Labrador 1991-1996* and the *Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement* were reviewed. Discussions were also held with Labrador Legal Services.

Drafts of sections of this report were reviewed by individual Innu. The first draft was reviewed by the MIBC/MIRC on 25-26 July, 1995, and the subsequent draft was submitted to certain Innu for review and comment.

3.3 Constraints

Constraints in data-collection included the high rate of turnover in staff at the Innu Nation Health Commission, changes in the personnel of the Youth Council, and change in the staff working with Utshimassits at Health Canada. The lack of a focal group that coordinates all healing initiatives resulted in the lack of a corporate memory of all of the healing initiatives that have taken place in the community.

4.0 NUITSHINUSHUNANU - WE ARE HEALING OURSELVES

The Healing Process

The Innu have established a multi-faceted healing program that addresses their spiritual, social, economic, and physical health.

4.1 Spiritual and Cultural Renewal

In the report of the People's Inquiry, the Innu recalled some of their experiences with various White institutions and how these were seen to infiltrate their lives. As Henriksen states *It is hard to overstate the significance of this penetration, as it has contributed to their losing much of their spiritual power and self confidence, both as a people and as individuals* (Henriksen, 1993: 8).

We need to learn our way of life, keep our culture, traditions, values and spirituality. We need to listen to and respect our elders. They should be our leaders and advisors. The children need to learn our culture. We want them to live as Innu. We must talk to them about the past. They will listen and understand (Gathering Voices, p. 61).

4.1.1 The Elders

The Elders are very important sources of wisdom and of information. Their advice and guidance are sought in many ways. While the Band Council leadership and the leadership of the Innu Nation are relatively young, they seek more and more counsel from the Elders. This active seeking of advice and counsel from the Elders is a relatively new practice in the sense that it had largely been lost since about 1967. Elders are very important members of the MIRC, the land claims team, and other working committees. They have played strategic roles in the healing process, specifically with the in-country treatment initiatives.

4.1.2 Outpost Program

Nutshimits is the Innu word for country. *Nutshimits* encompasses the relationship that the Innu have with the animals, with the land, with the spirits, and with the universe. It embraces what it means to be "Innu".

The Outpost Program is important. It has been funded by the Band Council with money that has been received through the *Contribution Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Benefit of the Innu of Labrador*.

One of the commitments made by the Government of Canada in the Statement of Political Commitments was that it would ... *provide their share of the funding to assist the Innu to spend time in the country*.

The Innu are primarily an interior people, who historically travelled to the coast in the summer, initially to fish and to hunt seabirds, and later to trade. With the decline in the caribou herds in the early part of the present century, they were forced to remain closer to the coast, although they continued, and still continue, to be oriented towards the interior for major harvesting, gathering and festive activities.

Harvesting is important for the physical and emotional health of the Innu. Several reports indicate that the Innu are markedly better physically and mentally when living in the country (Andrew, 1984; Andrew and Sarsfield, 1985). Henriksen's explanation for the relative healthiness

and happiness of Innu country life is the consistent framework of meaning provided by hunting and religious ideology.

In the Barren Grounds, most, if not all, activities take place in contexts that are vested with tremendous value and meaning for the Naskapi. They reflect their links with the natural, mythological, and social realms of the Naskapi culture. Thus, through the activities involved in hunting and sharing meat, the hunter is simultaneously interacting with the physical environment, the animal spirits, and his fellow Naskapi. He cannot separate them, since they are interrelated (Henriksen, 1973: 108).

Country food has a much higher nutrient density than food available from the store (Alton Mackey, 1988). Harvesting is important to the Innu not only for nutritious food and as a source of materials and economic value, but because of the focus of their religious expressions (Armitage, 1989). Despite more than 200 years of contact between the Innu and White institutions, the Innu have managed to retain the essential elements of their non-Christian religion (Henriksen, 1993). The visual signs that are in evidence in camp, such as animal remains hanging in trees or resting on scaffolds, provide testimony that hunting is still a holy occupation (Armitage, 1990). The important religious constituent in harvesting forms a basis for the values, norms and morals that are expressed in Innu society. In addition, the cultural importance of harvesting is indicated by the ... *highly developed vocabulary of nouns and verbs relevant to hunting, animal names and body parts, products made from animals, tools used to process them, descriptive, geographical terms, and complex terms to describe every detail of the weather* (Mailhot, 1988).

Living on an island has interfered with the mobility of the Innu and their ability to exploit the resources of the interior.

Three extended family groups went into the country as part of the Outpost Program in the fall of 1994. Fourteen family groups took advantage of the resources available to participate in the Outpost Program during the late winter and spring of the current year.

A number of extended family groups that had gone to the country as part of the Outpost Program were camped within a 35-kilometre radius of the Nukum Penash Country Treatment Camp in the spring of 1995. All of the families in the area had a great deal of contact with the families at the treatment camp by radio. Messages and greetings sent by those families provided additional support for the country-based treatment program.

4.1.3 Women and Teenaged Girls in the Country

Some of the women, including two elder women from the Women's Group, have taken a group of teenaged girls to the country for one week each summer for the last two years. Another program took place in July 1995. This country-based week is an opportunity for young girls to become more familiar with the country and to learn more about their cultural heritage and about what it means to be an Innu woman.

The women, through the Women's Group, made representations to the Band Council to provide support to allow women to go and set camp in the country (Martha Piwas, personal communication). To date, the Band Council has not been able to fulfil that request.

4.1.4 The Sweat Tent

The sweat tent in the past was used to take away physical pain. We are now using it as part of an overall spiritual experience. In the sweat tent the rocks are heated until they are red hot. Prior to participants entering the sweat tent the elder pours a lot of water on the red hot rocks and makes it really steamy inside. (The hot humidity is to take away the pain.) The elder(s) sing songs and ask the rocks to take away the pain. A new modification for the sweats has been the addition of taking away the pain that results from sexual abuse, violence and emotional abuse. Taking part in the sweats is encouraged by the elders. There is a lot of sharing and prayer that takes part in the sweats. Everyone feels safe in the sweats. It is a safe place to share. It is dark in the sweats. It gets really hot but when we are sharing pain we don't feel the heat. The sweats is a really spiritual experience (Prote Poker, personal communication).

The sweat lodge in the settlement was built three years ago. It was one of the first initiatives of the healing process. *The sweat lodge is helping us re-connect with our culture* (Prote Poker, personal communication).

4.1.5 The Gathering

The "Gathering" is seen by the Innu as an integral part of the healing process. It is like a general assembly, being held once a year, either in spring or in fall. The Band Council takes primary responsibility for the Gathering, which usually takes place in the country. At the Gathering,

everything of importance to the community is discussed, including land claims issues, low level flying, other issues related to land-use, solvent-abuse, healing measures, relocation, and other matters that have been dealt with or are being worked on by either the Band Council, the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, the Innu Nation, or any other group. There are meetings with the Elders. Hunting activities are an important component of the Gathering, as is the celebration of the mukashan.

The mukashan is one of the most important traditional rituals of the Innu. The ceremony, under the supervision of the uskan utshimau, begins with the crushing of the ends of the caribou leg bones, which contain marrow. The crushed bones are then put in a large kettle and boiled by one of the men. When this "soup" has been boiled and the meal is ready to be eaten, the kamatinuet/kashashet (he who looks after the mukashan) takes over the role of supervisor. He makes certain that all of the rules of the feast are observed. They include a requirement that most of the caribou bone marrow, cakes of caribou fat called atiku-pimi, and caribou meat are eaten indoors and that none of it is wasted. None of the caribou is to be given to the dogs. The food is handled and eaten with extreme caution. During the feast the eldest men eat first, then the other men, followed by the women and the children over the age of five. The fingers and all utensils used in the ritual are cleaned with a piece of cloth, which is then immediately thrown into the stove to pay respect to the animal masters. On some occasions a dance is held after the feast, during which an older man drums and sings quietly. Community members of both sexes and all ages then dance in a clockwise circle in the centre of the dwelling. The whole ritual often takes as long as twelve hours (Henriksen, 1973).

There is a Great Spirit looking after us in this life. After we die God will take over (The late John Poker, as told to George Gregoire).

John Poker was able to meld the Innu spirituality with elements of Christianity.

At many of the Gatherings mass is also celebrated.

4.1.6 Learning Traditional Craft Skills

The MIRC has allocated Human Resources Development funding in 1994-95 and 1995-96 to provide training in traditional skills and crafts, taught by the Elders. During the past year they have been teaching how to make snowshoes and crooked knives. The young men learned about choosing the correct type of wood and preparing it for making the snowshoe frames and making the frames. The young women prepared caribou hides for making the webbing and then learned the skills for webbing the snowshoes. During the training programs the Elders told stories about life in the camps and about hunting expeditions. They also talked about what to do in emergencies, such as when you didn't have snowshoes. The first two programs had 36 trainees each.

4.4.7 Innu Women's and Girls' Stories

The Innu Women's Book Project is currently gathering stories and writings from Utshimassits and Sheshatshit women for an Innu women's book. The book will include the following types of writings: stories by the Elders about their lives; poems; journal writings; healing stories; legends; fiction stories; women's stories, such as stories about having babies; political speeches or briefs; happy, funny or sad stories; presentations at meetings; stories about the country or the settlement; stories and drawings from young girls; photographs; drawings; and art work. The editors of the book are Nympha Byrne and Camille Fouillard.

CONCLUSION

- * The Elders continue to be strategic in the cultural renewal of the Innu.
- * The Outpost Program and taking young women to camp are important for the continued connection with the country and to reinforce traditional cultural values and spirituality.
- * The learning of traditional skills is happening with in-country programs and with training activities in the settlement.
- * The re-introduction of the sweat tent for both in-settlement and in-country treatment is an important link with Innu culture. The role of the sweat tent has been expanded to include not only dealing with physical pain but also emotional pain.
- * Recording of stories, poems, and art by women and girls will make an important contribution.

4.2 Social, Political, and Economic Life

One aspect of the healing process involves innovations in social and political life. The Innu have recently become concerned with issues of self-determination. They interpret their recent history (since settlement began in 1967) as a time when they lost control over important aspects of their lives, as major decisions came to be made for them by others (see Henriksen, 1994). As a result of loss of political control, they believe that their autonomy and culture have been undermined. They are also in danger of losing some of their control over their traditional lands. Demands for the settlement of land claims and for a self-government agreement are thus reflections of the desire to solve their own problems through a reassertion of self-determination.

The Band Council and the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee (MIRC) have instituted processes designed to put themselves in charge of the development of their own settlement. The Innu's traditional nomadic way of life fostered an autonomy that has so far been largely suppressed in settlement life. Autonomy of both the individual and the local group is an important Innu value that is currently being reasserted. Both the Band Council and the MIRC have developed a leadership style that involves extensive community consultation and consensus-building: *They have developed conceptual models and social mechanisms that are radical innovations yet rooted in Innu culture and codes of behaviour* (Henriksen, 1994).

The Statement of Political Commitments required the Innu to undertake numerous technical and other studies of the proposed village site near Little Sango Pond, even though they had satisfied themselves prior to the referendum of June 8, 1993, that it would be satisfactory to meet their long-term physical, cultural, and other needs in every respect.

The MIRC was obliged, therefore, to spend considerable sums on non-Innu consultants, despite the high rate of unemployment among the Innu and their urgent need for infrastructural improvements and other programmes and activities.

The MIRC has consistently attempted to use the technical studies that it has been obliged to carry out to advance the healing process in the following ways:

- (i) by involving Innu in the selection of all consultants and the awarding of all contracts;
- (ii) by requiring consultants to hold meetings in Utshimassits before, during, and at the end of each study;
- (iii) by hiring Innu to work and train on each project;
- (iv) by having Innu participate in all of the technical progress meetings held outside Utshimassits;
- (v) by requiring popular summaries of each report; and
- (vi) by involving Innu in the evaluation and approval of all preliminary and final reports.

Some practical expressions of this concept of self-determination are to be found in the decisions about the settlement location, including the details of the settlement planning. The move to Natuashish is not only for the provision of modern amenities, but also to put the community on a new path, and it is a central part of the community healing process. Other expressions of self-determination include the use of local peacekeepers and the demand for a justice system that takes into account the healing efforts and the need to seek effective avenues of rehabilitation for offenders.

The Band Council and the Innu Nation are finding ways to become more in touch with the Elders. There is an understanding and a reaching out between the Elders and the young people to continue the healing process. Creative ways are being initiated for more direct involvement of the Elders in reinforcing cultural values through settlement-based and country-based activities, in providing input into guidelines to manage resource areas near the new settlement, and in the further development of guidelines and by-laws for effective settlement management that will facilitate the inter-generational linkages.

In terms of self-administration, the Innu have taken control over much of the program design and planning for strategic settlement-based activities and for some country-based activities. There has been much more flexibility in the way that the Innu spend their monies in the last two and one-half years.

Three Innu Community Service Workers and one Financial Assistance Officer now provide Social Services support and follow-up in the areas of child welfare in consultation with a social worker.

The Mushuau Innu took over the ownership and management of the former Government Store on July 1, 1995. They are establishing a Board of Directors and a Management Training Program to train local staff. This is an important step in the development of Innu business endeavours.

CONCLUSION

- * The Mushuau Innu Band Council and the MIRC have set up systems to put themselves in charge of the development of the settlement.
- * There has been a significant move to self-administration.
- * There have been a few initiatives that support self-determination: planning for the move to the new settlement; and training and hiring local peace keepers.
- * Innu are beginning to have more control over institutions: Innu Community Service Workers now provide Social Services support.
- * The Mushuau Innu have taken over the former Government Store, to operate under the control of a largely Innu Board of Directors.

In the country, the Mushuau Innu had a ... *very special culture in which they incessantly celebrated each other, themselves and their social relations* (Henriksen, 1994). That is one of the many reasons why access to the country is of such importance to the Innu. Translation of the respect and the celebration of each other from the country to the settlement is taking many

forms: there have been banquets in the settlement to celebrate and to show appreciation to the many members of the Band who have been participating in training programmes; the Women's Group holds birthday parties for the women and the teenage girls; bridal showers are given; individuals have recognised each other in special ways for achievements that they have made that are outside traditional knowledge and skill areas. The community radio station, re-opened in 1995 by the MIRC, and the cable television will now allow for a much more extensive communications within the settlement. The translation and distribution of all minutes from the MIRC meetings provides information to all families in the settlement.

Innushare¹ have met seasonal requests for goodies to celebrate Christmas, Easter, Halloween, etc.

But best of all were the special parties for the women and the children for the first time (December 1993) by Mary Jane Andrew and made possible by Innushare's massive shipments of items donated by hundreds of Ontario individuals and churches. Everybody had the best time. They enjoyed tea served with Christmas cakes baked by Innushare volunteers. There were games, musical chairs and pass the parcel played with wonderful excitement and humour ... (Innushare News No. 2, 1994).

CONCLUSION

- * The Innu celebrate each other in the country. Transfer of this celebration to the community has been initiated by several endeavours that are different than the ways of celebration in the country.
- * Communication in the settlement has been restricted by the walls of the houses and the distance between the houses. Community radio and cable TV have facilitated communication. The circulation of the minutes of the MIRC to all households has been an important information source.

¹ Innushare, an all-volunteer charitable trust, was established to carry out charitable activities in Utshimassits. It is based in Whitby, Ontario.

4.3 Specific Treatment Programs for Alcoholism, Solvent-Abuse, Family Violence, Sexual Abuse, and Suicide.

The innovative treatment process that has been put in place emphasises the family as the central functioning social unit in this process. It focuses on communication, bonding, and responding to hurt and pain.

Six Innu counsellors (four men, two women) work for the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program (NNADAP) and with Healing Services. Those clients who attend group sessions also support each other.

4.3.1 Alcohol-Abuse

Since 1992, a large number of Innu have quit drinking and have maintained their sobriety. When drinking in the settlement was most severe, about 95 per cent of the families experienced alcohol-abuse problems. That figure dropped to a low of 95 per cent not drinking at one point; however, some families have relapsed. Currently, about 70 per cent of the families are not drinking.

Alcohol-abuse has contributed to a number of the hurts that have been experienced in Utshimassits. The excessive use of alcohol has been associated with other forms of abuse: physical, sexual and emotional. Several accidental deaths, suicides and other acts of violence have been alcohol-related.

Table 1 records the reported alcohol statistics for Utshimassits in 1991-92 and 1994. No statistics are readily available for the intervening years.

Table 1 Alcohol statistics for Utshimassits¹

Description	1991-92	1994
Chronic Alcoholics	31	33
Problem Drinkers	92	55
Persons in Recovery	30	52
Dry Drunks ²	8	38
Co-Dependents	7	19

¹ Figures compiled by the Alcohol and Drug Program of Utshimassits for Poundmaker's Lodge.

² Dry drunks are problem drinkers who have quit drinking but have not dealt with the reasons why they drank.

In 1991-92, 76 per cent of those known to abuse alcohol were either chronic alcoholics or problem drinkers, 19 per cent were in recovery, and 5 per cent were not drinking but not in recovery. By 1994, 49 per cent were either chronic alcoholics or problem drinkers, 29 per cent were in recovery, and 22 per cent were problem drinkers, who had quit drinking but had not yet dealt with the issues that contributed to their drinking.

Many of the Mushuau Innu have experienced abandonment or have been abused physically, emotionally, or sexually. Moving from the position of feeling that one is a victim to considering oneself as a survivor is an important step in recovery. The multi-faceted counselling initiatives have tried to empower people in many ways. The strategies for *getting the anger out* rather than continuing to let it be bottled up inside until it explodes have had to be tailor-made to the individual. A successful technique for some has been to go up into the hills and *scream it out*. Group healing circles and group support have been very helpful to many. The sweat lodge has also been an important initiative.

Several self-help support groups have been put in place, including Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), which meets 3 times per week, a Youth Support Group, a couples meeting, a Counsellor's Support Group, a Women's Support Group, and a Men's Support Group. In addition, group therapy sessions are given. More than 40 individuals and families are receiving ongoing support through counselling and support groups, in addition to the six families that took part in the in-country treatment program. Some of the Innu who have quit drinking have not dealt with the issues that contributed to their drinking and thus remain at high risk. Others are in recovery. The counsellors felt that all of these people would benefit from a treatment program in the country.

CONCLUSION

- * Many residents have stopped abusing alcohol.
- * Counselling for clients, families and groups is available and is being well utilized in the community.
- * Crisis intervention is a significant part of the work of the counsellors.

Treatment services (28-day programmes) at NNADAP treatment facilities are also available outside the community for alcohol-abuse clients who need direct treatment. Forty-four adults from Utshimassits have received treatment in the Atlantic Region since 1993. The treatment programs used by Innu are at Mikmaw Lodge, Escasoni, Rising Sun Rehabilitation Centre, Lone Eagle Treatment Centre, and Mikisi (in Québec). The outside treatment programs have been very successful in assisting some Innu to understand their addiction and in developing coping skills.

The treatment program for alcohol abuse at Poundmaker's was very helpful. I wanted to quit drinking, I had been drinking for at least 10 years. I had joined AA. The treatment program included group sharing sessions, sweat lodges, recreational activities as well as some time off on weekends. We talked about all kinds of problems: physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and the feeling that no one cared. The program helped me with strategies and approaches to deal with my children in a better way (Rita Rich, personal communication).

Some difficulties with outside treatment programs have been identified. Participants in them reported that they found the language barrier to be problematic. Treatment programs outside the community operate with individual not the entire family. There is also no linkage back to the community for support. The preceding factors reduce the degree to which outside treatment programs can be successful.

CONCLUSION

- * NNADAP treatment centres have taken clients from Utshimassits.
- * Forty-four adults have participated in outside treatment programs since 1993.
- * Outside treatment programs treat the individual and not the family.
- * Language barriers exist in outside treatment programs.
- * Outside treatment programs develop trusting relationships with counsellors and other clients at the treatment centre. However, re-entry into the community occurs without a bridging initiative designed to link with the support systems in the community. The degree to which a trusting relationship with counsellors in the settlement can be developed may influence the effectiveness of such programs.

4.3.2 Solvent-Abuse

Adolescent solvent-abuse, dropouts, crime, and school-age childbearing interact, reinforcing one another, and often cluster in the same individuals. The damage that begins in childhood becomes very visible in adolescence and reverberates throughout the whole community as part of an intergenerational cycle of social devastation.

Chemicals that are inhaled to induce inebriation are industrial products and are the only drugs of abuse that were never intended for human consumption. Most users are children. Research indicates that solvent-abuse changes the brain anatomy. Fornazzari (1982) described the anatomical changes in brain structure of inhalant-users as a ... *large hole in their heads* (enlarged ventricles), brain surface appearance as ... *looking like shrivelled up walnuts* (cortical atrophy), and the cerebellum as ... *being eaten away* (cerebral atrophy). These structural changes in the brain anatomy in the form of tissue shrinkage are directly due to toxic inhalant chemicals. Inhalant-users exhibit symptoms of confusion, disorientation, motor incoordination, memory loss and reduced intellectual performance (Prockop, 1978). Auditory hallucinosis is common with inhalant-abuse. Social and emotional deprivation in children is a major contributing factor to solvent abuse (Wyse, 1973).

Solvent-abuse is a serious and mystifying form of drug-abuse. It involves the youngest of drug-users during their critical formative years. There is still a lack of understanding of all of its effects, and that has delayed the development of effective treatment methodologies.

In January, 1993, the hopelessness of six Innu children wanting to die from sniffing gas was captured on videotape. The Innu of Utshimassits were not going to let the issue of their children be forgotten. After this incident they formulated the seven-point plan "Hearing Our Voices" (Mushuau Innu Council and Innu Nation, February, 1993). The plan was submitted by the Mushuau Innu Band Council and the Innu Nation to the provincial and federal governments. As a result, 17 children, accompanied by translators and some parents (40 persons in all), went to Poundmaker's Lodge in Alberta for treatment. Fourteen of the children received treatment at a bush camp at Saddle Lake, while three others went to a treatment centre in St Paul. The treatment program lasted seven months. During the treatment program the children were in an environment that was ... *extremely protective for their bodies and minds* (G. Steele, MIRC minutes, July 28, 1993).

The children were accompanied by one Elder and one counsellor on their return from the treatment program at Poundmaker's Lodge. There was a one-month transition program at a camp specially designed and built by the Innu at Little Sango Pond for returning children, parents, friends, and relatives. Of the children who were at the Poundmaker's Lodge, four out of 17 are no longer sniffing. One of the four returned to sniffing for a short period of time but then quit.

Since that time, five children have been sent to treatment programs in Alberta (Canadiana Woods Home) and Manitoba (Sakeen). Four of the five had previously received treatment at Poundmaker's Lodge.

Treatment centres outside the community have been an important resource for treatment of children with a problem of solvent-abuse. They have established a trusting relationship with the children, but there is no direct personal contact between the children and any of the counsellors at Utshimassits during the treatment program. That has proved to be problematic when the children return to Utshimassits, and it may be contributory to the disappointingly high relapse rate. Treating solvent-abuse takes much longer and is different from treating alcohol-abuse.

CONCLUSION

- * Eighteen children have received treatment for solvent-abuse at outside centres.
- * Treatment programs for solvent-abuse have been successful for 22 per cent of the participants.
- * Outside treatment programs treat the individual and not the family.
- * Language barriers exist in the outside treatment programs.
- * Outside treatment programs do not develop trusting supportive relationships between clients and counsellors in Utshimassits, which may influence their effectiveness.

The Innu have recognized that sending children out of the settlement for treatment has not been a very effective or appropriate method. There is a need to develop effective intervention in Utshimassits. In the interim, ways to develop a trusting relationship between young solvent-sniffers who are going out of the settlement for treatment and the counsellors in Utshimassits must be explored. Consideration should be given to having one of the counsellors from Utshimassits take part with the counsellors in the treatment centre, at least for the later part of the treatment program, and accompany the young persons back to Utshimassits. That may provide the much-needed bridge between treatment at the centre and aftercare in the community. There is also a recognized need for family intervention.

As an important part of the aftercare of the children from Poundmaker's Lodge, two counsellors from Poundmaker's Lodge came to Utshimassits from August to December, 1994. The NNADAP and Social Services counsellors reported that their assistance made an important contribution both to their support and in teaching additional skills and competencies. The Poundmaker's Lodge counsellors provided encouragement and helped to re-energise the Innu counsellors.

The counsellors from Poundmaker's Lodge provided one-to-one counselling, joint counselling and attended AA meetings, including healing circles. They also attended and assisted with case conferences. They worked not only with children and families that had attended Poundmaker's Lodge, but with many other families that had a member who had received treatment at another treatment centre and who sought guidance.

CONCLUSION

- * The counsellors from Poundmaker's Lodge made important contributions to the healing process by:
 - i) providing support and encouragement to the Innu counsellors;
 - ii) further developing the skills of the local counsellors;
 - iii) providing individual and group counselling to families and individuals who sought it;
 - iv) participating in case conferences and assisting with the development of strategies to address difficult issues.

In addition to the two counsellors from Poundmaker's Lodge, a clinical psychologist visited Utshimassits one week each month in 1994. Her role was to provide one-to-one counselling, family and group counselling for the Nechi trainees and their immediate families, and to act as a consultant for front-line workers in dealing with their clients. That included assisting the Innu counsellors in conducting assessments of clients who were suicidal, sex-offenders, and victims of sexual abuse. She also assisted the Innu counsellors in identifying appropriate programs for such clients. The assessments were followed by case conferences to review cases and to make recommendations to the front-line workers. The psychologist also provided direct individual counselling to victims of sexual abuse, to perpetrators of sexual abuse, and to individuals who were suicidal, where possible with the assistance of the Innu front-line workers. Some clients sought the counselling services of the psychologist individually and waited until she arrived to discuss their situations.

The Innu counsellors all indicated that the counselling needs of their clients are becoming more complex as more and more families enter recovery. To deal effectively with the hurt and the pain that have either been inflicted on their clients or that their clients have inflicted on others, the counsellors felt that they themselves needed ongoing support from skilled counsellors.

CONCLUSION

- * The services of a clinical psychologist were important to support the Innu counsellors and their families in their own healing process.
- * The support of the psychologist to front-line workers was essential to their learning and practising new skills.
- * As the issues with which the Innu counsellors are faced become more complex and more difficult to deal with, the support of very skilled

counsellors is critical to assist them in devising and applying strategies to facilitate the further recovery of their clients.

4.3.2.1 Proposed Safe House

The concept of a "safe house" has been discussed at a general level for two years at meetings of the MIRC and elsewhere. In May, 1995, the MIRC committed \$300,000 for the renovation and preliminary operation of a safe house in Utshimassits.

The identified needs in the community include an alternate shelter for youths and women in violent situations, although the approaches would clearly have to be different for each group. The first priority identified has been to focus on the needs of the youth.

Counsellors have identified a number of youths in Utshimassits who are in need of community support and protection. Many of these youths are abusing solvents, alcohol, or other drugs, and have no safe environment in which to make sense of their lives. Many have no place to go to get away from the turmoil at home, nor do they have a role model to teach them healthier ways of dealing with the stresses in their young lives. Helping professions in the community, such as the Alcohol Program, Tribal Police and Social Services, have indicated a strong need to have a safe place to take youths in times of crisis.

In keeping with the desire of the community to take responsibility for its young persons and to begin dealing with their problems within Utshimassits itself, the safe house project is an important component of the healing process. *Youth need rehabilitation and care. They need workers committed to facilitating that care for them and a community that recognizes that working with these youth requires patience, love, and care 24 hours a day ... The committee felt equally strongly that parents need to play an important role on the activities of the safe house and that every effort should be made to plan programming with this in mind* (Safe House Committee Minutes, June 2, 1995).

The philosophy for the safe house is based on the principles of: i) maintaining family unity; ii) facilitating communication; and iii) focusing on the family. The intent is to produce programs that meet the needs of youths and their families, such as: shelter, detoxification when abusing solvents, one-to-one counselling, group therapy, traditional/non-traditional activities for youths and parents, education on solvent-abuse, alcohol-addiction, and parenting skills.

Committee members also recognized that a strong connection to, and involvement with, other community agencies - tribal police, nursing station, alcohol program and social services - would be vital to the running of a safe house. Equally important is the need for parents to play a primary role in the activities of the safe house, and every effort should be made to plan programming with that in mind (Davis Inlet Safe House Project, Report to the MIRC, July 25, 1995).

In order to meet the needs of the youths appropriately, two areas were identified by the Safe House Committee: i) at the safe house - detoxification services, counselling, group therapy, and case planning; ii) community-based programs with the families of problem youths, to raise awareness of the needs of young persons, and to encourage families to assume increased responsibility for and involvement in the lives of their children.

The Committee has developed a plan as to how the safe house will be used. Plans for the physical layout of the safe house are being prepared. The organizational structure has been proposed, and the staffing and cost estimates have been prepared. The next step is to convene an inter-agency meeting to work out the operational plans and funding arrangements.

CONCLUSION

- * The proposed safe house is an important step in the design of community-based support and rehabilitation services for troubled youths.

4.3.3 Children in Need of Protection

Children whose memories are storehouses of deprivation, neglect, or violence are robbed of the ability to cope with the present or to envision a future bright enough to justify postponing immediate rewards. Children whose families were never able to convey to them a sense of being valued and a feeling of coherence are in a poor position to cope with the world of school or work. They are likely to be in deep trouble by the time they become adolescents (Schorr, 1989).

There have been significant changes in the operation of the Department of Social Services in Utshimassits in the last two years. Three Innu Community Service Workers are employed, working under the guidance of a Social Worker rather than as her assistants. Those workers received training through the Nechi Training Program. The case-load has increased as a result of having Innu staff to support and to help children and their families or their caretakers.

When the home situation is such that children need to be removed for their protection, the guiding principle is to place children within the extended family whenever possible. Children who are in the care of the extended family are not deemed to have been 'apprehended' in the eyes of the law. In 1992, eight children were in the care of foster parents who were not relatives. That dropped to half the number in 1993. Extended families are being financially supported to look after children in need of care. The number of children in the care of their extended family doubled from 1992 to 1995.

The Community Service Workers are still encountering new situations and new issues that need to be dealt with even after two years of service. They are actively involved with solvent-abusers and are called upon almost every night to assist youths.

Table 2 summarizes statistics related to the number of children receiving child protection services.

Table 2 Children from Utshimassits in care for protection

Description	1992 Sept to Dec	1993	1994	1995 Jan to May
Children in care receiving financial maintenance	8	3	4	3
Children in care not receiving financial maintenance	1	1	1 until June	0
Children not in care receiving financial maintenance (with extended family)	11	13	19	19

Statistics on the number of referrals and on follow-up services for neglect, or for sexual, physical and emotional abuse are also available. The reporting format used by Social Services changed in October, 1993. After that date, the referrals and the follow-up services were recorded separately. Information about referrals and follow-up is given in the following tables.

Table 3 Child protection referral and follow-up services September 1992 to September 1993

Child Protection Services	Sept to Dec 1992	Jan to Sept 1993
Referrals and Follow-up Services	Average	Average
Investigations underway	9	3
Neglect	11	17
Sexual abuse - family	4	6

Child Protection Services Referrals and Follow-up Services	Sept to Dec 1992 Average	Jan to Sept 1993 Average
Sexual abuse - 3rd party	4	3
Physical abuse - family	3	4
Physical abuse - 3rd party	0	0
Emotional abuse - family	3	0
Emotional abuse - 3rd party	0	0
Monthly average referrals and follow-up	34	42

Source: Department of Social Services, Utshimassits

Table 4 Child protection services referrals and follow-up services, October 1993 to May 1995

Child Protection Services Total Referrals	1993 Oct-Dec	1994	1995 Jan-May
Neglect	0	4	11
Sexual abuse - family	0	2	3
Sexual abuse - 3rd party	0	4	0
Physical abuse - family	0	2	3
Physical abuse - 3rd party	0	0	0
Emotional abuse - family	0	0	0
Emotional abuse - 3rd party	0	0	0
Child Protection Average Monthly Follow-up Services			
Neglect	27	35	56
Sexual abuse - family	7	8	4
Sexual abuse - 3rd party	4	5	9
Physical abuse - family	6	7	7

Child Protection Services Total Referrals	1993 Oct-Dec	1994	1995 Jan-May
Physical abuse - 3rd party	0	0	0
Emotional abuse - family	0	0	0
Emotional abuse - 3rd party	0	0	0
Monthly average referrals	0	1	3
Monthly average follow-up	44	52	60

Source: Department of Social Services, Utshimassits

The largest number of referrals is made for neglect, followed by sexual abuse and physical abuse that took place in the family. There is also a significant case-load related to sexual abuse committed by a third party.

The Innu staff indicated that the biggest constraint that they faced was the lack of resources in the community. The proposed safe house (see Section 4.3.2.1) will be an important support. There is also a need for a shelter for women and children.

CONCLUSION

- * The move to Innu Community Service Workers as the primary social service workers has been a very positive step.
- * The case-load has increased due to the change to Innu front-line staff, presumably reflecting an increase in trust and involvement by members of the community.
- * Staff training has been helpful in meeting the needs of clients. There are, however, additional training needs.
- * Child neglect and family violence are still problematic.

4.3.4 Spousal Abuse

Spousal abuse is a continuing issue in Utshimassits. As part of the Necho training, all counsellors received initial training in the area of family violence; however, all the counsellors reported that they need additional skills and training in the whole area of family violence.

The Department of Social Services maintains a quarterly report on clients who have experienced spousal abuse and sought counselling, social assistance support and/or referrals if necessary.

The number of women seen due to spousal abuse is reported in Table 5. The apparent increase in the number of women seeking support between 1993 and 1995 may be more indicative of the fact that there are counsellors there to assist them than a measure of the amount of spousal abuse in the settlement.

Table 5 Number of women who sought support from Social Services for spousal abuse

Time Period	Number of Women Seen due to Spousal Abuse
<u>1993</u>	
January to March	1
April to June	4
July to September	0
October to December	0
<u>1994</u>	
January to March	2
April to June	3
July to September	4
October to December	5
<u>1995</u>	
January to March	5

Source: Department of Social Services, Utshimassits

There is no shelter for women and their children in Utshimassits. Women who seek shelter must leave the community and go to Libra House, the transition house/shelter in Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

From January, 1991, to May, 1995, Libra House dealt with a total of 24 women and 67 children from Utshimassits. Table 6 reports the number of times per year that any woman came from Utshimassits to Libra House, the number of women who repeated their use of the House in any one year, and the number of children that were accommodated.

Table 6 Use of Libra House by women and their children from Utshimassits

	1991	1992	1993	1994	Jan-May 1995
Number of times women from Utshimassits used Libra House	10	10	6	9	5
Number of women who went to Libra House more than once during the year	1	3	0	2	0
Number of children accommodated	11	17	10	25	5
Total number of women served in the year	9	7	6	7	5

Source: Department of Social Services, from information provided by Libra House

Spousal abuse and family violence continue to need to be addressed. Clients are now seeking counselling and support in greater numbers. Counselling services are provided by both Social Services and the alcohol and healing counsellors. Continuing discussions are taking place to try to ensure the safety of women and children.

CONCLUSION

- * Spousal abuse continues to be a problem in Utshimassits.
- * Counsellors have received initial training to assist clients.

- * Clients are seeking counselling and support services in greater numbers.
- * More training and support are needed for the counsellors.
- * There is a need for a safe house for women and children in the community.

4.3.5 Sexual Abuse

When we held the People's Inquiry in 1992, a few of us had started talking about the problem of sexual abuse in our village. Since many of us have quit drinking, more and more disclosures of sexual abuse have been made. We need to get it all out in the open rather than leaving it in the closet. The whole community has been affected by sexual abuse directly or indirectly. People need help in healing from sexual abuse. We need to understand the enemy within and without. Both the victims and the abusers need help. They are both at high risk for attempting suicide.

Gathering Voices, Epilogue, 1995

As more and more Innu began to deal with their substance-abuse problems, it became apparent to them that many of them were abusing substances in an attempt to dull the pain of their sexual abuse as children, or the pain of being sexual abusers themselves as adults. That cycle led them through a justice system that dealt with the incidents by a jail term alone, but which did not lead the offender through a healing process.

Workshops have been held in the community to help understand more about sexual abuse. Innu are dealing with their problems through the sweats, healing circles (mostly women are involved), and counselling.

Community meetings have been held to try to work out a plan to deal with this crisis.

At one meeting, people agreed to not get involved with the courts when dealing with sexual abuse cases. They felt that some offenders should not go to court. We are supposed to report all cases but the system does not help either the victim or the abuser. The court system is not safe for victims and they are not winning their cases. They don't get any help even if they do. We also know that the abusers are sick; they need to be helped so that they can be well again. We don't think that offenders should be put in jail. When they go away and come back nothing has changed. Some say they should be punished but not in that sense. They

should receive treatment for them to understand what they have done ... Some abusers say that what they did was very long ago. They don't realize the pain they have caused. If some offenders have gone for alcohol treatment we don't know if they have disclosed this problem. They may not have had to deal with it in their treatment. We need to find a way where we know they have dealt with it. These discussions have been hard ones. Sometimes there have been tensions between the men and the women.

Gathering Voices, Epilogue, p. 6

The Innu Nation has been researching various examples of aboriginal "diversion" programs aimed at the re-establishment of a proper relationship between the offender and the community. The program that they are suggesting for sexual abuse and family violence disclosures, after consultation and community meetings in Utshimassits and Sheshatshit, that fits most closely with the Innu way of thinking and Innu values and traditions is the Hollow Water Healing Circle (HWHC) of the Hollow Water First Nation in Ontario. However, this form of Healing Circle is much more than a diversion program. It is a community healing process that is based on the belief that all community members are capable of honesty, respect, caring, and sharing, even if they have caused hurt or have been hurt by sexual abuse or family violence. That approach keeps victimizers and victims in the community, while ensuring as a primary matter the safety of the victims.

The proposed program has the following objectives:

- i) to prevent family violence and sexual abuse;
- ii) to educate the community about sexual abuse, its causes, its signs and healing;
- iii) to intervene where family violence and sexual abuse are occurring;
- iv) to ensure the safety of victims of sexual abuse and family violence;
- v) to heal victims and victimizers;
- vi) to divert victimizers and victims from trials in criminal courts and from incarceration (where appropriate), and to prevent the victimizer from victimizing again;
- vii) to develop the community's own skills to deal with sexual abuse and family violence on its own, rather than having outside experts address those problems.

Source: Proposal to the Aboriginal Justice Fund, Aboriginal Justice Directorate, Department of Justice Canada.

4.3.6 Suicides and Suicide Prevention

In 1991 the Innu of Utshimassits began keeping statistics on attempted suicides and on contemplated suicides where the threat was taken seriously enough to necessitate intervention. The reported incidence was as follows:

July 18, 1991 - July 18, 1992 ¹	24
July 19, 1992 - July 18, 1993 ¹	89
July 19, 1993 - December 31, 1993 ¹	90
January 1, 1994 - December, 1994 ²	35
January 1, 1995 - June 28, 1995 ²	20

¹ Innu Nation Health Commission (proposal for Counselling Services for Davis Inlet and Sheshatshit, March 16, 1994).

² Utshimassits nursing station statistics.

Hospitalizations for self-inflicted injury or intentional drug overdoses are reported in Table 7.

Table 7 Hospitalizations for self-inflicted injury or intentional drug overdose

	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Intentional drug overdose	3	8	14
Self-inflicted hanging		1	2
Self-inflicted drowning			1
Self-inflicted firearm		1	

Source: Department of Health, Hospital Admission and Separation Information

There was one successful suicide in each of 1994 (F) and 1995 (M, aged 19). In both cases alcohol was involved.

Crisis intervention in cases of attempted or contemplated suicide remains an important activity of all Innu counsellors.

CONCLUSION

- * Stress that results in either attempted or completed suicides continues to be problematic. Support for the clients and their families continues to be required.
- * The complexities of the problems that are brought to the attention of the counsellors require that they receive continuing professional back-up and support.

4.4 Family Healing Programs

In keeping with the Statement of Political Commitments of the Government of Canada, a mobile wilderness treatment program was funded initially in 1994. A second training program took place in 1995.

4.4.1 Nukum Penash Country Treatment Program

The country-based treatment program in 1994 was named the Nukum Penash (Pukueskuen) Treatment Program. Nukum Penash means 'grandmother Penash', after Pukueskuen (Penash) Pokue, an Elder from Utshimassits who died in the spring of 1992.

Nukum Penash, in her late seventies, was living in the village of Davis Inlet in 1992. A widow for many years, she was known to be in failing health and very depressed. Her eldest son living in Sheshatshit took her with him and his family to the country in the spring of 1992. Several other families from Utshimassits and Sheshatshit were at this camp also.

All those who were at camp were able to see clearly that Penash was healthier and very happy again when she was in the country. Simply put, she was seen to be alive again. Later that spring while still living in her son's tent with her grandchildren and great grandchildren she passed away peacefully in her sleep.

Afterwards Innu spoke about this experience and said that Penash had left a powerful message for all Innu. Her Message was that "All Innu needed to be in the country, The country was the place for healing of the Innu to begin (Andrew, 1995).

The objectives of the six-week country-based treatment program were:

- i) to provide healing in a traditional Innu setting for children and their families leading to healthy family functioning;
- ii) to give preference to those most in need from Utshimassits;
- iii) to conduct a review of the program by parents, children, Elders and counsellors.

The following outputs were developed as part of the planning process:

- i) to provide Innu children and families experiencing a high degree of unhealthy family functioning a healing experience in a traditional Innu setting;
- ii) to create living conditions where traditional Innu values and practices are pursued;
- iii) to provide opportunities for development of individual Innu self-esteem as well as cultural esteem;
- iv) to increase the understanding by parents of the need for good child-care, -protection, and -support;
- v) to bring increased family functioning back to the communities;
- vi) to give preference to Innu from Utshimassits; and
- vii) to review the healing experience with participants.

4.4.1.1 The Elders and Counselling Staff

The staff directly involved in the treatment program comprised a combination of Elders and counsellors.

The Elders who were involved in the planning and in the initial treatment program were Tshenish and Meneskuesh (James Charles and Theresa) Pasteen from Utshimassits and Pien and Nishet Penashue from Sheshatshit. In the second treatment program, the Elders were Philip Rich, Mary Jane Nui, and Mary Georgette Mistenapeo from Utshimassits, and Joseph Pien Abraham and Kathleen Nuna from Sheshatshit. These Elders have a vast knowledge and experience of Innu history, traditional healing practices, traditional medicines, language, culture, and life in the

country, which they shared with the participants. The Elders played a key role in the treatment process.

The counsellors for the first treatment program were nine men and three women. For the second program, there were six women and five men. All of the counsellors had received training through the Nechi Training Program and had had previous experience with counselling.

The treatment program was held in Innu amien. Those participants who had received treatment at outside facilities viewed a program in their own language as more easily understood and more effective.

4.4.1.2 The Clients

Six families (three from each settlement) participated in each of the treatment programs. In the first program, 20 of the 33 clients were from Utshimassits. In the second program, 16 of the 44 clients were from Utshimassits. In addition there were three youths from the group home in Shesatshit and one inmate from the Correctional Centre in Goose Bay. There were 24 clients from Shesatshit.

4.4.1.3 The Location

The site chosen to set up camp for each of the treatment programs was along the shores of a lake about 160 kilometres west of Utshimassits, just inside the Labrador-Quebec border. The area is known as Shuapun (place)/Kaueshetinatshi (mountains). In English it is known as Border Beacon. It is an important place for the Innu. It is the "waiting place", where family groups of Innu would gather to wait for the caribou to arrive. Today it is still an important Innu gathering place and a favoured place to live in the country. The presence of caribou was an important component of the program. Caribou were in the area for both treatment groups. The site chosen was a good place for wood and boughs and also for water for drinking, cooking, and washing. There is a landing strip about 12 kilometres from the chosen site.

4.4.1.4 The Process

Assessment

Families were assessed by the Alcohol Program staff, using the following indicators of unhealthy living and family functioning:

- i) gas sniffing - either recent sniffing activity or was part of history of substance-abuse;
- ii) alcohol-abuse - recent use or history of abuse;
- iii) suicide attempts - either own attempts and/or attempts and completions by immediate family members;
- iv) abuse of others - specifically sexual abuse of others, but not limited to sexually abusive behaviour; may be physical or emotional abuse of others;
- v) experienced abuse - specifically sexual abuse, but not limited to sexual abuse;
- vi) childhood neglect - first-hand experience as a child of being neglected and/or as a parent of neglecting own children;
- vii) marital separation - has experienced periods of living apart from spouse, through own choice or because of prison incarcerations;
- viii) relapse probability - high likelihood that, without support and treatment, will again use and abuse alcohol and/or other substances; and
- ix) previous treatment - has already been involved in treatment process elsewhere.

The ages of the participants in the first program were as follows: 6-12 8; 13-17 11; 18-25 3; 26-36 1; 37-50 10. Younger children were included in the camp, but did not actively take part in the treatment program. An age breakdown for the second program has not yet been compiled.

The families chosen for inclusion in the treatment programs were high-risk families with a history of dysfunction that may have resulted from abandonment, lack of follow-through of the grieving process, inter-generational neglect, abuse, or other social pathologies.

A profile of the families that attended the first country treatment program is reported in Table 8.

The assessment used for the second program was different than the one used for the first program. The profiles of the families that attended the second program were not available, but the staff indicated that they had some of the same characteristics as those of the families that attended the first program. The focus was once again on dealing with sexual abuse, abandonment, and grief.

In addition to the risk factors that are outlined as part of the assessment, three of the adult males in the first program and two of the adult males in the second program were directly involved in the justice/prison system. The offenses included spousal assault, sexual assault, and common assault.

Staff families were also in camp. An age profile of all of the camp members in the initial camp was the following: ≤ 5 17; 6-12 22; 13-17 20; 18-25 10; 26-36 8; 37-50 13; 51-65 0; > 66 5. There were 95 people in camp, of whom 59 were under 18. In the second treatment program there were 188 persons in camp.

Table 8 A profile of the families from Utshimassits that attended the first treatment program (Andrew, 1995)

Participants	Gas Sniffing	Alcohol Abuse	Suicide Attempts	Abused Others	Was Abused	Childhood Neglect	Marital Separation	Relapse Probability	Previous Treatment
Parents									
Husband A		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wife A		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Husband B		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wife B		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Husband C	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Wife C	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Children									
Child 1	x		x		x	x			x
Child 2	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Child 3	x				x	x			
Child 4	x				x	x			
Child 5	x				x	x			
Child 6	x	x			x	x		x	x
Child 7	x	x			x	x		x	x
Child 8	x				x	x		x	x
Child 9	x				x	x		x	

Partici- pants	Gas Sniffing	Alcohol Abuse	Suicide Attempts	Abused Others	Was Abused	Childhood Neglect	Marital Separa- tion	Relapse Proba- bility	Previous Treat- ment
Child 10	x				x	x			x
Child 11					x	x			
Child 12					x	x			
Child 13					x	x			
Child 14	x	x			x	x		x	

The Activities

An innovative and iterative treatment process was planned. Family groups were the target for the treatment process. There were no clear boundaries between clients and staff. The clients and the staff worked together to set up the treatment site, which gave a degree of "ownership of the treatment process", especially as the clients were able to take the lead in some activities.

The reinforcement of traditional Innu values and practices was an integral component of the overall treatment program. Activities that created the conditions in which traditional values and practices could be pursued were central to the treatment process.

The Innu are a hunting and gathering people. The fundamental values and traditional practices were therefore supported by the teaching of Elders, living in tents, maintenance of the tents, collecting wood and boughs, hunting and fishing, traditional preparation of caribou, fish, etc. for eating, preparation of bones and skins, celebration of the mukushan, sweat tents, social visiting, and extended family sharing. The values thus taught included respect, sharing, autonomy, spirituality, relationships with the country, relationships with the animals, and self-esteem.

Joseph Mark Rich recalled being told, when he was young, that

If you have respect for the animals, the people and the land and respect for yourself then all things fall in place.

In the first program, Tshenish (James Charles) Pasteen, the oldest camp participant, was responsible for the sweat tent, an important activity. The sweat tent is very useful both in the country and in the settlement for assisting individuals to disclose sexual abuse, thus beginning the road to recovery.

One of the key outcomes was for the parents to have an increased understanding of the need for good child care, protection, and support. To assist parents in gaining such an understanding,

they attended formal group sessions, where there were presentations of concepts about healthy families and effective parenting and the opportunity to practice parenting skills.

The counsellors used several techniques to present material to the larger group, and they shared that task.

The program started with three primary groups: men, women, and youths. Initially, there were regular meetings with the total client group, which started with a prayer followed by the giving and receiving of an embrace. These sessions were followed by separate sessions with each of the primary groups. The groups either met separately or as mixed groups after a week of meeting separately.

Basic guidelines, designed to promote respectful, caring behaviour, were developed to provide direction for the participants:

- i) be involved, participate, share feelings and experiences with others;
- ii) do not start any new intimate relationships at camp;
- iii) children were to be settled in their tents by 10 p.m. each night;
- iv) listen when someone else is sharing. Do not talk on the side, and do not leave the group when someone else is talking;
- v) do not discuss personal disclosures or experiences that were shared in the group sessions outside the group.

The Elders played an important role in encouraging and reassuring the participants to share. They also reinforced the importance of getting the anger out.

Caring and sharing in a safe place are key elements in the treatment program. The sharing of affection through embraces had a significant impact on participants and resulted in several spontaneous expressions of emotions.

The building of self-esteem was also a key intended outcome of the program. The building of self-esteem was an important part of the cultural activities and the Elders' teachings. It was also built into the group sessions and group discussions and into the family sessions. Participants gave support and help to each other.

For the counsellors, self-esteem and self-confidence were built through non-reliance on non-Innu professionals. There were no non-Innu in camp. All decisions about the programming were made by Innu staff, which was an empowering experience. In the first program, they included the difficult decision to remove two children from the camp who were causing problems through continuing to sniff gas.

Staff support and maintenance are important issues that need to be addressed in high-risk treatment programs. The large group sessions and the discussions presented a number of issues that the staff had to deal with as a group. There were also many situations where the staff needed to respond immediately. Such situations meant that the staff took many risks. The staff used the sweats, AA meetings, and staff meetings to discuss issues.

The staff agreed that any unresolved personal issues in their lives were not to be brought out in the group sessions or discussions.

Specific incidents that exemplify the caring, sharing, and expressions of feeling that went on in the camp are documented in the evaluation of the first program (Andrew, 1995).

A graduation, a very moving event, was held at the camp for the closing of the program. It was video-taped. On the tape

participants were seen exchanging gifts they had made. One of the young men, physically a very big man who had been very closed and had begun to open up at treatment, gives a gift and an embrace to the youngest client, a small boy. The small boy is to give his gift but he breaks down and cries. There is silence as the boy cries and sinks to the ground. Then the young man who gave him the gift goes over and helps lift him up to stand up and the child then goes over and gives his gift, a small dreamcatcher, and an embrace to the oldest elder. All who witnessed this event were moved by it. The symbolism of this giving and support across generations seemed to speak directly to what treatment had been all about (Andrew, 1995).

4.4.1.5 The Impacts

At the second treatment program, 20 youths (9-22 years of age) in attendance were gas-sniffers. Five of them abused solvents during the first week. They were told that, if they wanted to continue to sniff gas, then they had to return to the settlement. If they wanted help, then they were to be part of the treatment program. If they returned to sniffing gas at any time during the treatment, they would be returned to the settlement. All chose to stay and participate in the treatment. There was no relapse at the camp. Since their return to the settlement, only two of the 20 have begun to sniff again (June 28, 1995).

Clients indicated that the country treatment program was important, because it dealt with families and not just the individual. The program has been described as a "powerful" experience by a number of the clients and other participants.

The use of the Innu language and the opportunity to bond with other Innu were seen as important aspects of the program, since they allowed for the building of deeper relationships with friends and helped in developing strategies to cope with former drinking buddies.

The program assisted clients in becoming aware of their problems and in beginning to deal effectively with them. One participant described the experience as an "awakening". Another indicated that it aided him to regaining more of his culture: *It is where I learned respect for others especially the elders.* Participants spoke of how the program helped them to deal with childhood trauma. Others commented on how it was useful in developing better communication between spouses and between parents and children.

The country is better for healing. The country program is a start. Lots of people want to stop drinking now. Before this was not so. Those who had quit but have gone back to drinking will stop again. An individual must want to stop and must help themselves (Mary Georgette Mistenapeo).

It is very different in the country. It is peaceful there. You can let your mind wander. The community is very distracting with the noise from the TV, ATV's and loud music. There is a need to find ways for families who have been in the treatment program to go back into the country. Learning traditional ways was important for some of the young participants. How does a young man hunt? One of the young people told me that no one told him before. He was surprised about many things. He felt that his experience in the country was allowing him to start over (Philip Rich).

Aftercare is a very important component of treatment. The probability of relapse as identified by the assessment process indicates that the families who received treatment are at very high risk. Several services, including support groups, AA, Alateen, and individual counselling, are available in the settlement to support families. The recommendation to develop individual family aftercare plans (Andrew, 1995), was followed for the second treatment program. Two of the counsellors suggested that there is a need for a settlement component of the treatment program after completion of the in-country program, in order to assist families in integrating the values and practices that were part of the country experience into living in the settlement.

By June, 1995, one of the three families that had been involved in the first treatment program had relapsed. Both parents of one of the other families had begun drinking again, during which time the oldest of the children supported the other children, but both of them are again in recovery. One of the men who participated is currently incarcerated for spousal abuse while under the influence of alcohol. He indicated to others after incarceration ... *that he did not recognize that he had that kind of anger buried in him.* He told the counsellors that he had anger in him when he was at the in-country treatment centre, but that he did not know why. When he was incarcerated, he remembered that he had suffered from sexual and physical abuse

as a child. That revelation had made him suicidal at the time. He immediately contacted the counsellors in Utshimassits, and they went to see him at the Correction Centre. It is hoped that he can now deal more effectively with his hurts and feelings, so as to get the anger out.

The country treatment program has been describes as a "very powerful experience" and as a "genuine healing experience for the Innu" (Andrew, 1995).

CONCLUSION

- * The Nukum Penash country treatment program treats the family.
- * Treatment in the Innu language was seen by the clients to be very important to their understanding.
- * Trusting relationships were built up between clients and counsellors and between clients and other clients.
- * The program reinforced the culture and provided many new learning experiences.
- * The program enhanced the role of the Elders.
- * One six-week in-country treatment program for a family may not be enough. Many of the issues that families are confronting are severe.
- * There may be a need for an in-settlement component to ease the clients into dealing with the stresses of in-settlement life.

Utshimassits wants to establish an expanded treatment program in the country as an integral part of the healing process. It is envisaged that the establishment of a country-based program for the youth is an important next step.

5.0 JUSTICE

The Band Council has moved to create a local system that will allow it to support victims and to deal with unacceptable behaviours in ways that are acceptable to the community. The Council has facilitated the training of peacekeepers and has established its own force of tribal peacekeepers.

Policing and the justice system is one clear area where the governments should have celebrated our efforts but instead stubbornly blocked us all the way. We were forced to take matters relating to policing and justice into our own hands. The whole thing started in 1992 when two of our young people took the initiative to travel to the First Nations Tribal Police Institute in British Columbia to train as peacekeepers. The community was being policed by the RCMP at the time of their return, and we approached the provincial government for recognition of our peacekeepers and six-weeks of on-the-job training, an arrangement that had been made in other places in Canada. The province refused. They wouldn't recognize the credentials of the school... and threatened to charge our peacekeepers with impersonating a police officer. But we didn't care whether the governments recognized our peacekeepers or not. The two peacekeepers, under the direction of the Band Council, started their duties. Three more of our young people went for training. The government's refusal to cooperate led us to really question the jurisdiction of both governments on our lives since the Innu people have never signed any agreements or treaties (Katie Rich, in Gathering Voices, Foreword, 1995).

There is a profound sense among the Innu of the need to work with both victims and victimizers. They recognize that individuals must look to their own pasts to understand the present. There are clear signs that the members of the community are taking responsibility for what is happening and for trying to solve the problems.

People are starting to see hope for the future. We might have a few people that might not be involved. But people have reached rock bottom and they are starting to grow ... Our culture will be revived. Our people will be well. Hopefully, by that time people will go back to the country (Kiti, Utshimassits woman, in Gathering Voices Nitassinan, 1993, p. 121).

The Provincial Court held eight sittings in Utshimassits in 1991, six sittings in 1992, and seven sittings in 1993. There were no sittings in 1994, as it and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) were asked to leave the community in December, 1993. Since the Provincial Court was invited back into the settlement in 1995, it has sat once.

On December 16, 1993 we took another important step in asserting control over the justice system. We evicted the judge and his court from the community. We were saying that the whole justice system does not work for the Innu and does not meet our needs to heal ... We want to deal with the root causes of these problems through

healing circles and treatment programs. Punishing people is not the answer (Katie Rich, in Gathering Voices, Foreword, 1995).

... let me emphasize that the ejection of the court is not a matter of personal antagonism against anyone. Let me put it simply. The people of Davis Inlet asked the courts and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to leave for exactly the same reason as Canada took unilateral action to stop Spain from overfishing in international waters. Enough is enough sometimes. Your courts have not served to heal our communities. If anything your courts have frustrated the healing of my people. To begin with, many of our problems can be traced to the basic denial of collective and individual rights. Our rights have been denied. We have been driven from our land. Our way of life has systematically come under attack. Our rage against this genocide is often taken out in the bottle and in violence against one another rather than against the oppressive system.

Yet we have a deep passion for healing. We have come to understand that healing can only take place if our relationship with the land is restored and if we nourish our spirituality by being on the land. Being on the land translates into much healthier family and inter-family relations and a more cohesive community. It is simply unacceptable to have white man's law imposed in a court system where our people simply do not understand what is happening and where the offender is taken out of the community to a prison where no one speaks the Innu language. And when the offender returns to the community in six months or a year or two years, nothing has changed. The offender usually has the same problem and there has been no reconciliation with the victim. This may not be so important in urban centres but reconciliation is enormously important in our communities which are small and where the victim and the offender must be in contact with each other on a day-to-day basis (Daniel Ashini, Address to the Canadian Bar Association Law Day Luncheon, St John's, April 12, 1995).

The reported offenses in Utshimassits are listed in Table 9.

Table 9 Reported list of offenses in Utshimassits, January 1991 to March 1995

CRIMINAL CODE OFFENSES	1991	1992	1993	1994	To March 1995
Offenses Against the Person					
Robbery	1	1	1	1	
Assaults					
Sexual Assaults	5	6	35	8	4
Assault (Level 1)	15	27	25	15	8
Assault (Level 2)	3	2	1	8	2
Bodily Harm				2	
Other Assaults			4	1	1
Firearm with Intent		2			
TOTAL ASSAULTS	23	38	65	34	15
Property Offenses					
Break and Enter (Total)	56	37	12	25	7
Theft Motor Vehicle	6	7	3	8	
Theft > 5000\$ (Total)	1			1	
Theft < 5000\$ (Total)	9	4	2	4	
Have Stolen Goods	3	1			
TOTAL PROPERTY	75	49	17	38	7
Criminal (Other)					
Offensive Weapons (Total)	2	5	10	5	
Other Criminal Code (Total)	53	35	75	23	9
TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE	153	127	168	104	31
FEDERAL OFFENSES					
Federal Statutes (Total)	6		1		

CRIMINAL CODE OFFENSES	1991	1992	1993	1994	To March 1995
TOTAL FEDERAL STATUTES	6		1		
PROVINCIAL STATUTES					
Provincial excluding Traffic	7	28	17	3	
Liquor Intoxicated Persons			1	1	
Liquor Act	4	1			
Traffic (Total)	1				
TOTAL PROVINCIAL STATUTES	12	29	18	4	
TRAFFIC					
Impaired Operation (Motor Vehicle) Total	5	4	4		
GRAND TOTALS	176	160	190	108	31

¹ Blanks indicate that no offenses were reported.

Source: Royal Canadian Mounted Police, offenses reported to the Hopedale Detachment. Note that this list does not include offenses reported to Band Peacekeepers but not reported to the Hopedale Detachment.

From 1991 until June, 1995, 29 persons, five women and 24 men, were convicted of criminal code offenses. Fifteen persons were sentenced to jail and probation terms, and 14 persons were sentenced to probationary terms only. Six of the offenders were under the age of 20, 14 were 20-25 years of age, and nine were between 26 and 37 years of age. Twenty were 25 and younger. The following are the statistics for Utshimassits.

Table 10 Crime statistics for Utshimassits, 1991-1995

Sex of Offender	Age	Jail Sentence	Probationary Period	Offense Section of the Criminal Code
Female	18	6 months	9 months	348 Break and entry with intent.
Male	36	4 months	2 years	267 Assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm
Male	37	1 day	9 months	267 Assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm
Female	24	1 day	2 years	267 Assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm
Female	25		6 months	430 mischief
Male	28		9 months	430 mischief
Female	32		12 months	430 mischief
Male	24	2 years		246(1)x4, subdue someone to commit an offense, 87 possession of a weapon, 740 choke, suffocate or strangle; 246(1) (1) (a); 146(1) permit or assist an escape and 271(1) failure to comply with order
Male	22	18 months	12 months	271(1) failure to comply with order
Male	21	6 months	2 years	348 (1) (b) x 2 break and entry
Male	18		3 months	266 assault

Sex of Offender	Age	Jail Sentence	Probationary Period	Offense Section of the Criminal Code
Male	21		2 years Community Service 20 hours	266 assault
Male	26		6 months	431(c) mischief
Male	37	3 months	6 months	271 sexual assault
Male	21		6 months	430(4) mischief
Male	33		6 months Community Service 30 hours	253(a) operating a MV while impaired
Male	22		3 years	177 trespassing at night
Female	18		4 months	430(4) mischief
Male	19		12 months	86.1 pointing a firearm
Male	19		12 months	86.1 pointing a firearm
Male	26	6 months	3 years	87 possession of a weapon
Male	20	3 months	6 months	348(1) (b)x2 break and entry
Male	20	6 months	3 years	266 assault
Male	31	60 days	3 years	86.1 pointing a firearm
Male	18	1 day	3 years	266 assault
Male	25		6 months	430 (4) mischief
Male	25		12 months	770 (b) failure to appear
Male	23	30 days 3 months 6 months 30 days	6 months 12 months 12 months 3 months	266 x 4 assault
Male	25	30 days	2 years	264.1(a) (a) uttering threats

Youth Corrections

The majority of the children who are involved with youth corrections have a history of solvent-abuse. The majority of the charges against these youths are for break and entry (Criminal Code Violation 348). The youths often break into a place to find gas to sniff or in an attempt to find a warm place in which to "hang-out" with their friends. "Hanging out" can often involve sniffing (Kate Grey, personal communication).

The case-load for youth corrections in Utshimassits for June, 1995, was as follows: open custody 7; closed custody 1; on probation 3. There is total case-load of 11, with seven males and four females. The 11 youths in the current caseload have all been involved in solvent-abuse.

Policing and the Administration of Justice

In the Statement of Political Commitments signed on February 25, 1994, the Government of Canada indicated that it would conclude an agreement on self-government with the Innu Nation and its communities, including matters relating to policing and administration of justice. Negotiations were to proceed between the Government of Canada, the Innu Nation, and the communities and, where appropriate, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Following discussions between the Band Council, the Innu Nation, the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Justice, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, an interim agreement has been reached between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mushuau Innu.

The primary goal of that agreement is the establishment of an interim policing arrangement that will provide effective, efficient and culturally appropriate policing to the residents of Utshimassits in accordance with the following principles:

- (i) the promotion of a harmonious healthy community, in which the residents can live in peace and dignity;
- (ii) the maintenance of peace and the provision of protection to persons and property, by crime prevention, community education and law enforcement;
- (iii) accessibility to all residents and protection of all residents, including women, children, the elderly, and the handicapped;
- (iv) high professional policing standards;
- (v) cultural sensitivity;

- (vi) a community-based preventative approach to policing;
- (vii) participation by the residents in establishing policies, implementing programs and setting and meeting priorities and objectives;
- (viii) policing should have a balanced role, focusing on solving conflict at the lowest possible level. Emphasis is to be placed on crime prevention, community education and the restoration of peace and harmony between victims and offenders.

Source: Memorandum of Agreement between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mushuau Innu, March 27, 1995.

Various discussions have been held in the settlements of Utshimassits and Sheshatshit about community breakdown and community healing, including those that were held for the Innu Nation community research project, **Gathering Voices: Discovering our Past, Present and Future**. In these and subsequent discussions around justice matters, it was noted that one of the most painful issues was that so many Innu were spending time in jails for offenses that they did not understand, and that convictions and sentences were imposed by a foreign court system, one that did not solicit input from the community as to what it considered an appropriate sentence. The consensus was that sending people to jail made things worse, because it alienated them from the community, did not promote personal healing or reconciliation with the victim, and did not foster a social climate within the community that would contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender.

As numerous Innu began to deal with their substance-abuse problems, it became apparent to them that many people were abusing substances in an attempt to dull the pain of their sexual abuse as children or the pain of being sexual abusers themselves as adults. That cycle led them through a justice system that dealt with the incidents by a jail term alone, but which did not lead the offender through a healing process. The Innu Nation has been researching various examples of aboriginal "diversion" programs aimed at the re-establishment of a proper relationship between the offender and the community.

A Task Force has been established by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Innu Nation to make recommendations regarding a more culturally appropriate form of administering criminal justice for the Innu. The guiding principles are as follows:

- (i) both Innu victims and offenders may be served more effectively by a process that emphasises holistic healing, reconciliation and restoration of harmony, rather than the adversarial, retributive criminal justice process enshrined in Canadian law;
- (ii) the safety of the victim and the protection of the community are paramount;

- (iii) the informed consent of the victim and the offender's acceptance of responsibility are fundamental to a system of alternative measures for dealing with criminal complaints;
- (iv) the development and implementation of alternatives to formal criminal justice processing are best achieved in a context where there is a conjunctive partnership between the Innu and criminal justice, social service and healing agencies;
- (v) the development and implementation of alternatives to formal justice processing in Innu communities will succeed only where there is a broad community consensus that mandates the process while ensuring openness and accountability.

Source: Terms of Reference for the Task Force on Justice Alternatives for the Innu

CONCLUSION

- * Many young persons have been convicted of criminal offenses since 1991.
- * The Memorandum of Agreement between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mushuau Innu is an important step for the community.
- * The Task Force on Justice Alternatives for the Innu is an important initiative in the search for systems that will heal the community members.

6.0 QUALITY OF RESIDENTIAL LIVING

During the field work for the Initial Environmental Evaluation (JWEL, 1995), the residents of Utshimassits defined the components of high-quality residential living. These include quality housing, landscapes that are aesthetically in keeping with the values of the residents, safe water and sewage disposal, solid waste management that ensures sanitation, and the incorporation of spiritual and recreational areas and facilities.

In 1992, Utshimassits had a school, a powerplant, a nursing clinic, two stores, a Roman Catholic church, a wharf, an airstrip and terminal, two oil storage facilities, a pumphouse to provide water for community use, a Band Council office, a Band Council garage, two duplex housing units (four apartments), and 73 single housing units (Terpstra & Associates, 1992). In 1993, six new houses were built, and five more were added in 1994. Two mobile homes are located in the community; two sheds are occupied as homes; and the bath house/family centre had

residential accommodation renovations for one family. The MIRC carried out extensive renovations on most Innu-owned houses in 1993-94 and 1994-95.

Housing

In 1992 Terpstra assessed the state of repair of the houses in Utshimassits to be: poor 30 percent; fair 39 per cent; good 19 per cent; and excellent 12 per cent. Houses were considered to be in a poor state of repair if they had substandard foundations that resulted in the seasonal movement of walls and floors, leaky roofs, poorly fitting doors with missing or damaged hardware, broken windows, hazardous wiring, wood stoves and chimneys that did not meet code requirements, and no kitchen or bathroom facilities (23 houses). Houses were considered to be in fair condition if some of the above deficiencies were less severe (30 houses). Houses were said to be in good repair if only minor deficiencies existed (15 homes). Houses were considered in excellent repair if they met code requirements and if all main components, such as the roof, walls, windows, doors, bathrooms, kitchens, and heating system were complete and functioning without significant visual damages (nine houses). Thus in 1992, 69 per cent of the houses (87 per cent of Innu houses) were in poor or fair condition. In 1992, only five Innu houses had water and sewage systems in their houses. All other residents had to bring water to the house by bucket. There was no organized system for disposing of waste. Honey buckets and grey water were emptied by the roadside, in ditches, or in areas near the houses. In 1992 there was no regular garbage collection service.

Major renovations were completed in most Innu-owned homes during 1993-94 and 1994-95. Davis Engineering & Associates Ltd (1995) made an analysis of the houses in Utshimassits as part of a decommissioning study. Even with the significant improvement made in the quality of housing, the current housing was as assessed as follows:

Fifty-six out of the 96 houses (58%) still get their water in buckets from the public well or from streams, although Elders now have water delivery to their houses. Twenty-six (27%) have water and sewage systems, and two houses (2%) have water only.

Twenty-two (23%) houses have electrical systems that meet the code. Seventy (73%) houses have electrical systems that do not meet the code, and four (4%) houses do not have electricity.

Fifty-nine (61%) houses have wood heating only; 30 (31%) are heated with wood and oil; four (4%) have oil and electric; one (1%) is electric only; one (1%) is oil only; and one mobile home has no heating system.

The condition of the windows was rated as good in 90 houses (94%), fair to good in one house (1%), fair in one house (1%), poor to fair in one house (1%), and poor in three houses (3%).

The exterior doors were rated as good in 27 houses (28%), fair to good in 66 houses (69%), and poor in three houses (3%). The interior doors and interior finishes were rated good in 25 houses (26%), fair to good in five houses (5%), and poor in 69 houses (72%).

Vapour barriers and insulation were present in all houses, with the exception of the log houses, the tongue and groove cedar homes, and the occupied sheds.

Wastewater collection

There is no public waste water collection system. Septic systems are installed in 26 houses and in most public buildings. Those not connected to septic tank systems or the Cowater system (a system with holding tanks for water and for sewage with water delivered and sewage collected on a weekly basis) empty their honey buckets and dispose of their grey water by the roadside, in ditches, or in areas near their houses. That results in the serious contamination of yards, roadways, and ditches and of the surface water flowing through the community, which contributes to the poor health and unsanitary conditions existing in the community.

Firefighting

The Band Council has a fire station, pump, 4-wheel drive all-terrain vehicle, trailer and skidoo, and protective clothing. There are volunteer firefighters.

Garbage collection

The Band Council has a regular garbage pick-up and disposal program. The households do not have containers or storage facilities to store the garbage between or immediately prior to pick-up. That causes problems, as the dogs scatter the garbage around the community.

Recreation

Recreation activities and facilities make an important contribution to social life, especially in an isolated community. In 1993 and early 1994, DIAND funded the Youth Council to operate a recreation program. It was an important component of the healing process and made a dramatic contribution to reducing solvent-abuse among young persons and alcohol-abuse among others, promoting individual well-being, and fostering an atmosphere of collaboration and satisfaction among the community as a whole. The need for activities for different age groups has been

identified as important by the Community Service Workers with Social Services and the counsellors with the alcohol and healing program. It was also identified as an important need in the Initial Environmental Evaluation for the relocation (JWEL, 1995:76). Funding was not renewed for 1994-95. The Band Council has recognized the need for such a program and the increasing importance that it will have in the years before the move. There is a full-time Youth Co-ordinator. A Youth Centre was constructed in 1994 to provide indoor space for activities and dances. Since more than 61 per cent of the population is under the age of 20, there is a need to provide organized recreational activities to focus the energies of the children and youths in the settlement. The MIRC has plans to facilitate training of local staff in the area of recreation management.

Play is the work of children. Cooperative play activities are important learning experiences and are an important part of normal socialization. Play provides an opportunity for children to learn about conflict-resolution, cooperation, sharing, team work, and other social skills. The school cancelled recess activities. Recess at school could provide the opportunity to teach a number of games that can be enjoyed outside school hours. The lack of group games for the young is very evident.

Innu children in the country take part in activities related to country living and are active in the chores of daily living. The transfer of activities and chores to youths as part of living in a settlement has not taken place to any great extent. Thus, youths have no distinct roles that they are expected to play in terms of duties related to residential living.

Utshimassits remains a settlement with serious overcrowding and under-servicing, even with the construction and renovations that were carried out in 1993 and 1994. Young persons in the community lack opportunities to escape from the tensions of living in overcrowded houses. There is a need for a well-organized and diverse recreation program aimed to meet the needs of both sexes and all age groups to have an outlet for some of their stresses. These measures have been recommended in the Socio-Economic Report (MIRC, 1995).

CONCLUSION

- * The quality of residential living is poor. Significant improvements have been made to the housing in the last two years, but there continue to be deficiencies in approximately 75 per cent of the houses.
- * Fifty-six of the 96 households still get their water in buckets from the one pump house or from streams.
- * There is no disposal system for honey buckets or grey water for 70 households.

- * Garbage is littered throughout the community even though there is now regular garbage pick-up. The problem stems from having no place to store garbage from the dogs.
- * There are few recreational facilities.
- * The Innu have recognised that recreational activities are important.
- * A youth centre has been constructed, and there are plans for an outdoor rink. The school gymnasium is used almost every evening.
- * A full-time recreation coordinator has been hired, and plans are being made to develop a training program for recreation managers and facilitators.
- * There is a need for a well planned creative recreational program that includes activities for all young people.
- * The school should be requested to re-instate a recess program with the goals of implementing a program of group games and activities designed to be fun and to be able to be carried out outside school hours, as well as to instill the principles of cooperation, sharing, team play, and conflict resolution.

Women's Centre

The women of Utshimassits have established a Women's Centre in the community with the help of Innushare.

Over the years, groups have sent material goods to the school and the church, but Innushare is the first group to work directly with the Innu families (Letter from Mary Jane Andrew and Martha Piwas to Innushare News, No. 3, 1995).

The aims of the Women's Centre and Innushare are:

- i) To help the Mushuau Innu women to operate a women's centre for the following purposes:
 - to learn to cooperate with one another for mutual aid and support;
 - to re-learn parenting skills that have been lost during the generation of isolation in Davis Inlet;

- to revive their own cultural crafts for younger members of the community;
- to relearn their own cultural values through female Elders;
- to discover the value of education;
- to learn the importance of good nutrition;
- to learn leadership skills, so that they can speak out for their rights;
- to discover the rewards of volunteer work in their own community.

- ii) To help the Mushuau Innu women to operate a playschool, so that the young children can:

- learn to play together in constructive ways;
- learn to take pride in their heritage and culture;
- have the use of toys and early childhood educational tools;
- share a toy- and book-lending library;
- learn the joy and value of education.

Enough is now known about the risk factors that predict many damaging outcomes in adolescence to provide the foundation for effective action to reduce their incidence. Both common sense and research indicate that as family stress, regardless of its source, increases, the capacity for nurturing decreases, and the likelihood of abuse and neglect increases. The problems that have been identified with the adolescents often have their roots in very early childhood experiences (Deutsch et al., 1983; Schorr, 1989). The Band Council, the counsellors with NNADAP, Healing Services, and Social Services, and the Women's Group have been seeking ways to provide support for families with young children. Early intervention and support for families are essential. There are immediate developmental health and social problems that we now know can be prevented by appropriate child development inputs (Barrueta-Clement et al., 1989; Martin et al., 1990). One's future health is not "locked in place" by childhood experiences; the young child is malleable (Frank, 1995). Infant stimulation and headstart programs can make a great difference, by preventing the development of the negative psychological and physical manifestations of early-life deprivation and disadvantage (Barrueta-Clement et al., 1989; Martin, 1990; Brooks-Gunn et al., 1994). The initiatives of the Women's Group to establish a playschool and to provide additional support for parents of very young children are important.

The portable building for the Women's Centre was provided by Innushare and installed with the cooperation of the MIRC. Brampton, Ontario, Rotary donated the money for an oil furnace and the first-year fuel. Innushare furnished supplies for the Women's Centre and playschool. Since the last week of April, 1995, the Centre has been open on a daily basis, with two Innu women hired to co-ordinate programs and playtimes, including an afterschool program. Initial support for the hiring of the staff and for purchasing additional supplies for early childhood education came from Brighter Futures Health Canada (\$20,000). Thus, because of the support of Innushare and the MIRC in providing the facility and the basic supplies and equipment, the Women's Centre has been able to access funding to begin a playschool.

In addition to the Women's Centre and the playschool, Innushare has also provided additional materials. Sewing machines for communal use in the Women's Centre have also been purchased by Innushare. *The sewing machines were in good use for sewing tents prior to many families going to the country just before Easter* (Letter from Mary Jane Andrew and Martha Piwas in Innushare News, No. 3, 1995).

Twelve tons of clothing, bedding, sports equipment, school materials, and hygiene supplies not otherwise available in Davis Inlet have been shipped by Innushare. The future plan is to link families, so that purchases can be tailored to the needs of the women and children. Seed money and encouragement for the development of cottage industries using traditional skills has been given. Innushare has also supplied towels and soap for showers at the Nukum Mani Shan School.

The fact that other people care about what has been happening in Utshimassits is important to the Innu:

We are overwhelmed by the kind of support your group is giving. It is hard to believe what you are doing for our people. You are definitely filling a need and good things are happening because of your work ... The best we can say right now is "keep at it" (Chief Simeon Tshakapesh, letter to Innushare, May 8, 1994).

My name is Mary Anne, daughter of the woman that you sent the beading supplies to. She can't write in English, so she has asked me to write and thank you for the beads. She has never received anything like that in the mails ... She has told the women here what you have sent and they were very grateful (Mary Anne and Mary Jane Nui).

This is a small note of thank you. I really appreciate the craft supplies that you sent to me. It makes me happy that you care ... (Agathe Piwas).

Because of Innushare we know that others care about us (Mary Jane Andrew and Martha Piwas).

The Youth Council

The Youth Council has been active in organizing activities for the youth. They have had a number of week-long workshops, including "Flying on Your Own" animated by facilitators from Alkali Lake, British Columbia. Bearwoman and Associates also gave a workshop on identifying core issues and how to deal with them. Another workshop, also entitled "Flying on Your Own",

was facilitated by a group from Québec. It had been planned to repeat Flying on Your Own workshop for younger teens, but the timing clashed with the "Gathering".

7.0 LEARNING

Learning is a broad-based concept that includes both formal and informal learning processes. It is an integral part of the holistic healing process. The need to reinforce the culture, "the characteristic features of a civilization, including its beliefs, its artistic and material products, and its social institutions", is of fundamental importance.

Informants see the Nukum Mani Shan School as an institution within the community that could play a key role in support of Innu' language and the culture and that could contribute more effectively to the healing process. Currently, however, the school does not contribute significantly to the healing objectives: there are no specialized classrooms; traditional crafts are no longer taught; there is no organized regular involvement of Elders in the classroom; music is no longer taught; home economics is not taught; and the school is overcrowded.

The *Contribution Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Benefit of the Innu Communities of Labrador 1991-1996* provides for supplementary provincial programs: i) supplementary school board operations and ii) supplementary teacher allocations by the Department of Education. The amount allocated in the budget for 1995-96 is \$524,000. No breakdown of how those monies are allocated was available. There does not appear to be supplemental programming in addition to the employment of teacher aides and support to the Innu Curriculum Centre. The Inuit allocate similar monies for language, life skills, life-skills instructors, technology, professional development, home/school liaison worker, science fair, the Labrador East Creative Arts Festival, and sports meets, in addition to the funding of teacher aides and a curriculum centre. The Innu Curriculum Centre situated in Sheshatshit does not effectively support the teaching of Innu amien in the Utshimassits dialect.

Education and training directed toward paid employment and economic development are important to the development of Utshimassits and to the general healing process.

Education refers to ... academically-oriented adult education programmes designed to assist adults, and especially young adults, to acquire or refresh the skills they need to take full advantage of ... training, employment and economic development opportunities; while ... training seeks to provide ... individuals with the specific vocational skills needed to enter a particular trade or to run a given type of business (MIRC, 1995).

Both education and training are particularly important as part of the healing process and to ensure that the relocation provides paid employment to the Mushuau Innu during the construction and operation of the new settlement. They will also be critical to the long-term economic development, although *the chances of successful economic development will be enhanced if it is based initially on the resources of the territory of the Mushuau Innu and on skills they already possess in some form or to some degree* (MIRC, 1995).

The need for a learning centre in Utshimassits has been identified by both the Labrador College and the Band Council. A proposal for a "new and unique partnership" between the Labrador College and the Mushuau Innu Band Council to establish a learning centre in Utshimassits was developed in 1994, and the centre will be opened in October, 1995. This facility will facilitate the provision of the training and education necessary in order to allow the Mushuau Innu to be able to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the relocation to Natuashish and the potential opportunities that may be available at Voisey Bay.

The following educational opportunities have been taken by residents:

- i) Teaching -- Education programs provided by the TEMPLE program of Memorial University have been made available in the community. Teaching assistants have taken advantage of these programs to increase their skills and to complete their teaching credentials;
- ii) Nursing -- Nursing assistant's courses were taken by two community members. One completed the course;
- iii) Peacekeeping -- Five peacekeepers have been trained in British Columbia and are now employed as peacekeepers in Utshimassits.

A number of training programs have taken place since 1993. They include the following:

- i) Nechi Training for Counsellors -- 17 Innu from Utshimassits participated in the Nechi Training Programme. It was designed to be a healing process for the participants and to assist them in healing others.

The topics that were covered included the following:

Orientation and Communications
Alcohol - Addictions
Alcoholism - A Family Disease
Alcoholism - Assessment and Intervention
Alcoholism - Treatment
Alcoholism - Aftercare
Alcoholism Prevention
Personal Growth

Suicide Prevention and Grieving
Adult Children of Alcoholics
Family Violence and Planning
One-to-one Counselling
Family Dynamics
Group Dynamics
Culture and Personal Growth

The program included 15 separate one- to two-week components. It began on October 1, 1993, and graduation day was May 27, 1995.

The success of this training activity is evident in the work of the counsellors with NNADAP, healing services, Social Services, and others who are providing support and counselling services in the community. They have developed very solid skills in counselling techniques. Counsellors indicated that they needed for more training in healing, especially in relation to family violence, prevention of teenage pregnancies, and parenting skills and strategies, especially as they pertain to the youth (ages 13-20). The intimidation tactics used by some of the youths are particularly difficult to deal with.

- ii) Outward Bound Leadership Training -- The Outward Bound leadership course (one week) was completed in 1995 by two trainees.
- iii) Pilot's Training -- One resident started a pilot's training program. He is currently completing some educational upgrading, as he needed more background in maths and physics.
- iv) Carpentry
 - a) A carpentry supervision course in North West River was completed by four trainees.
 - b) Carpentry traineeships in Utshimassits have included the training of 70 Innu (35 F; 35 M) in carpentry skills, working on the Youth Centre (3 M; 9 F), building new houses, carrying out renovations to the Band Council building, and undertaking major housing renovations.
 - c) Carpentry supervision training in Utshimassits was taken by seven Innu.
- v) Small-engine repair -- Training in small-engine repair has been taken by seven Innu.

- vi) Proposed training in early childhood education -- With the support of Innushare, Utshimassits has a playschool facility as part of the Women's Centre. In March, the Mushuau Innu Band Council submitted a resolution to the North Bay Native Training Centre requesting on-site training in Early Childhood Education (ECE). A 40-week training course for ten persons to earn an ECE certificate is being planned. The course content ranges from early childhood development, programming, after-school activities, nutrition, and health care. The proposal has been submitted to the Pathways Program of Human Resources Development Canada. This training is very important to support the playschool initiative.

Success at skill training and the proven ability to build quality houses or to provide effective services has increased the self-esteem of individuals. Pride was exhibited by the carpentry trainees when they showed the author through the houses that they were building. The counsellors expressed joy in their ability to conduct two successful in-country treatment programs without using non-Innu counsellors. The counsellors also expressed an increased level of comfort in their ability to provide assistance and support with the recognition that they had additional learning needs. Many residents have expressed an interest in adult basic education and/or increasing their level of competence through more education.

CONCLUSION

- * Many Innu have taken part in skill training.
- * The provision of skill training has contributed to self-esteem and to the desire for more training.
- * Innu have pursued educational opportunities for teacher training, pre-nursing education, and pilot training.
- * The school has not made any significant contribution to the healing process. There is less Innu aimen taught now than in previous years. There is no longer any teaching of traditional crafts and woodworking. Music is no longer part of the curriculum. Elders do take part, but not in a systematic and organized program. Recess has been cancelled, and thus one of the important opportunities to teach children group games to be played outside is lost.

8.0 SUBSISTENCE AND WAGE ECONOMY

The immediate social and economic environment and the way in which it interacts with one's psychological resources and coping skills are major determinants of health. Improved economic status through participation in economic activities and meaningful work has been shown to lessen the incidence of family violence, abuse, crime, and drug- and alcohol-abuse. *The spiritual, physical, and economic significance of the hunting and fishing activities of the Mushuau Innu are exceedingly important. The hunting territory is still rich in game and fish, and includes the world's largest caribou herd, the traditional basis of their sustenance, both materially and spiritually* (Henriksen, 1993).

While the central economic orientation of most of the Mushuau Innu has been towards subsistence, that is, towards production for specific known and predictable needs, that orientation does not inhibit them from taking part in trade or wage work to satisfy certain needs. That was first done as part of the fur trade, while wage work has become a possibility for a few Innu over the past twenty years. In the last few years, many new forms of wage work offer Innu the opportunity to be of service to their community, in positions such as teaching, community health, counselling, community service, and other service jobs. The positions of Chief and Band and Innu Nation administration are also recognized as important. They require their incumbents to forego hunting and other subsistence activities, for which a salary is seen as appropriate compensation and as a means of acquiring food. For some individuals and families, wage work is a manner of conforming with the Innu value of family and personal autonomy. Cash in general, and wage work in particular, has become integrated into Innu life without presenting major conflicts with the primary and traditional orientation towards subsistence hunting and the land (JWEL, 1995).

Hunting is becoming a way of life that requires considerable investment in equipment and supplies. In such circumstances, those with well-paying jobs are better able to go hunting in their spare time, and part of the demand for jobs is to provide the material means for families to spend time in the country in order to pursue valued activities and to acquire food from hunting and fishing.

The chances of successful economic development will be enhanced if it is based initially on the resources of the territory of the Mushuau Innu (MIRC, 1995).

Employment income over the past two years has assisted many families to have access to the resources needed for hunting and gathering. The purchase of skidoos and boats has afforded many of the families in Utshimassits the opportunity to have better access to the country, albeit for short periods. That factor has allowed more access to country food both in winter and summer. Employment income has also allowed a number of households to procure more household goods.

Full-time wage employment in the settlement is provided by a number of agencies: nine Innu are employed by the Innu Nation; 12 by the Band Council; four by Social Services, seven by the Health Council; three by the Grenfell Regional Health Service; four by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans; six by the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee; two by Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro; eight at the Nukum Mani Shan School; two at the Government Store; four as tribal peacekeepers; and 15 are currently taking training programs.

A number of projects that included training components have been completed during the past two years. They were: renovation of houses; renovation of the Band Council office; building the Youth Centre; construction of new houses; and the learning of traditional skills. Trainees received a salary.

Currently 65 Innu receive unemployment insurance benefits, and 26 are on long-term social assistance.

CONCLUSION

- * Wage income has made a significant difference to the living standards of the Innu. There are more material goods in the homes, especially skidoos, boats, and ATVs.
- * The purchase of skidoos and boats has allowed more families to spend time in the country. In winter, many families go to the country to hunt and to fish on the weekends. In summer, those with boats are able to go fishing and to set up camp in the nearby bays.
- * Employment and standardized work schedules have assisted some families in maintaining their sobriety.
- * Employment income has increased the self-esteem of many Innu, as they are better able to support their families and are able to procure more country food and to spend time in the country, albeit for shorter periods.
- * Many Innu have acquired more skills. Many are now seeking more education through adult basic education.

9.0 HEALTH AND PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

The objective of the *Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement* is to make available to the Innu and Inuit of Labrador health care programs designed to assist them

to improve their level of physical, mental, and social well-being. They include the services of public health nurses to assist the Innu and Inuit to identify their needs for public health programs. The governments are supposed to provide emergency treatment services and public health programs, including such activities as Maternal and Child Health, Infectious Diseases Control, School Health Assessment, Environmental Health Surveillance, and Home Care. The terms and conditions of the Agreement, dated April 1, 1984, are still in place under an interim agreement.

The nurses at the clinic provide direct, treatment-based programs. The health services provided to Utshimassits do not, however, appear to focus on improving the level of mental and social well-being, even though that has supposedly been the objective of the Agreement at least since 1984.

There is no indication that any significant 'Primary Health Care' teaching, learning, and practice have taken place in the community. Primary Health Care (PHC) is defined as ... *essential health care that is accessible and acceptable to everyone in the country* (WHO/UNICEF, 1978). It implies a variety of approaches, including promotive, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative action. It should cover nutrition, adequate safe water, sanitation, maternal and child health, including family planning, self-treatment of common diseases and injuries, and education concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of preventing or controlling them. There is, however, a program of immunization in the settlement, and the alcohol and healing program provides some services in prevention and rehabilitation.

The clinic normally has two nurses on staff, although there were three nurses there for one month in the summer of 1995. The turnover of nurses has been frequent, with 15 different nurses in the past 12 months. The nurses have been at most marginally involved in the healing activities described in this report.

A public health nurse is assigned to Utshimassits from Hopedale. She is supposed to be in Utshimassits for one week a month. The service provided appears, however, to be at best an average of two or three days per month. There is no evidence that the public health programs in Maternal and Child Health, Environmental Health Surveillance and Home Care outlined in the Agreement are provided to the residents of Utshimassits.

In 1994 there were 6,119 clinic visits. Thirty per cent of all visits were of a serious nature. There is no active tuberculosis. The majority of the visits are for upper respiratory infections (otitis media, bronchitis, chest infections), lacerations, and skin infections (head lice, scabies, impetigo, and excema). Many of those problems exist because of poor housing, lack of water, poor sanitation, and a lack of understanding of primary health care (Mustard and Frank, 1991; Last, 1992; World Bank, 1993). Childhood hearing loss is the most common result of untreated, inadequately treated or frequent episodes of otitis media. Much of the otitis media that occurs in Utshimassits could be prevented. What it requires is an understanding of the causes and how to prevent occurrence. One common cause is a direct result of bottle-feeding infants. Many infants are fed while they are lying down, and the bottle is propped for them, which results in

the milk's draining into the ear and causing serious infection. There is a lack of an effective Child Health program in the community.

The Innu have an extensive history of traditional health and medicine practices that have served them well in the country, but those practices have not been transferred to the settlement to any significant degree. In addition, individual and group health care practices that are important in the settlement have not been taught to any of the parents.

Specific health statistics have been compiled from two sources: the clinic, and the Department of Health.

Table 11 provides information about reproductive health. The birth rate in Utshimassits is high. There were 24 live births in 1991-92, 21 in 1992-93, 22 in 1993-94, 22 in 1994, and 11 in 1995 up to June 25. Approximately one-third of all pregnancies have been high-risk. The statistics indicate the lack of an effective maternal health program. There is, however, a new program sponsored by Health Canada, The Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program, that could provide support for community-based pregnancy support programs.

Table 11 Reproductive health statistics

Description	1991-92 ¹	1992-93 ¹	1993-94 ¹	1994 ²	1995 ²
Live Births	M 13 F 11	M 11 F 10	M 7 F 15	M 10 F 12 (1 twins)	M 7 F 4
Normal Deliveries	18	14	8		
Complications related to Pregnancy	6	6	9		
Haemorrhage of Pregnancy	1		2		
Complications of Labour and Delivery	2	5	8		
Abortion: Spontaneous or Other	4	2			
Menstrual Disorders	2	2			
Other Disorders of the Female Genital Organs	2	2	3		

¹ Source: Department of Health, Hospitalization Admission and Separation Information. Records kept by the fiscal year.

² Utshimassits Nursing Station records kept by the calendar year. Seven pregnancies were recorded as high-risk in 1994.

Additional information from hospital admission and separation data is reported in Table 12. Other specific information from the Nursing Station is found in Table 13.

Table 12 Selected hospital admission/separation information for Utshimassits, 1991/92 - 1993/94

Hospitalizations	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94
Upper Respiratory			
Pneumonia	14	11	7
Bronchitis	1		
Asthma	1		2
Other	8	3	6
Other COPD	20	9	7
Otitis Media	6	3	
Alcohol Psychosis	3	1	2
	2M 1F		
Neurotic Disorders	4	4	4
Alcohol Dependence		5	3
Drug Dependence	1	1	1
Other Mental Disorders	1	6	5
Glaucoma			1
Cataracts	2		
Other Eye Disorders	2		
Diabetes Mellitus	2		1
Cancer	1		
Benign Neoplasms	1		1
Viral Diseases	2		
Epilepsy	1	1	1
Other Diseases of the Nervous System	4		
Nutritional Deficiencies		1	2

Hospitalizations	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94
Diseases of the Teeth	12		
Skin Infections	6	11	8
Other Diseases of the Skin	2	2	4
Gastritis and Duodenitis	2	1	
Diseases of the Gall Bladder		5	3
Diseases of the Digestive System	2	3	
Diseases of the Oesophagus, Stomach and Duodenum	2	4	
Kidney and/or Urinary Tract	3	1	
Musculoskeletal System and Connective Tissue	1	7	
Congenital Abnormalities	2	1	1
Ill-Defined Conditions	11	6	4
Head Injuries		1	1
Fractures of Upper Limbs	2	2	
Femur	3	2	2
Lower Limb	1		
Open Wounds and Injury to Blood Vessels	4	1	3
Dislocations, Sprains, Strains		2	
Adverse Effects of Medical Agents	4	7	14
Toxic Effect of Substance, chiefly Non- Medical	2	1	
Medical and Surgical Complications	4	4	
Early Complications of Trauma	2	1	2

Hospitalizations	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94
Contact with Health Services			
Reproduction	5	2	3
Specific Procedures/ Aftercare	5		2
Other	8	8	3
Firearms Accident		1	
Burns	3		

Table 13 **Specific health statistics provided by the Nursing Station**

Description	1994	1995 (June 28, 1995)
Deaths	1 M 2 F (includes 1 F suicide)	2 M 1F (includes 1M suicide, 19 years)
Attempted Suicides	35	20
Depression	20	10
Gas-Sniffing	19	6
Sexually Transmitted Diseases (mostly chlamydia, no gonorrhoea or syphilis)	21	6

There appears to be a reduction in the frequency of upper respiratory infections, resulting in fewer hospitalizations (44 in 1991-92, 22 in 1993-94). That may be attributable in part to the housing renovations completed by MIRC. There have also been fewer fractures and hospitalizations due to wounds during the last two years.

Community Health

There is little evidence that a community health program exists in Utshimassits, and none that a needs assessment has been carried out with the Innu. The Agreement states that the service of Public Health Nurses will be provided ... *to assist the Innu and Inuit people to identify their needs for public health programs in the community* ... (Canada/Newfoundland Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement, Appendix B, Health Services and Programs, 1984).

The Innu Community Health Representative (CHR) is willing and certainly capable, but she has not received any training. Indian and Inuit Health Services Health Canada envisage that the CHR would work closely with the community health nurses. Even though the CHR has been in her position for a year (minus maternity leave) she has not had any direct contact or working relationship with the public health nurse. The purpose of the CHR program is to assist Innu in achieving a standard of health comparable to that of other Canadians. This program, which may include health education, health promotion and disease prevention, health screening, health and dental care, safety and injury prevention, care of persons with chronic illnesses, and liaison and cross-cultural teaching, is not currently working in Utshimassits.

The CHR has been active in community development activities. Both she and her replacement during her maternity leave have provided strong support to the Women's Group and have been instrumental in launching the Women's Centre program with the assistance of Innushare. She has also played a key role in developing an in-country learning experience for girls.

The Band Council has employed homemakers to assist the elderly. The MIRC has also arranged to have water delivery services to the homes of the elderly.

The lack of basic primary health care knowledge and practice in the settlement causes morbidity that could be prevented. It is important that a program that includes basic germ theory, first aid, personal hygiene practices (for example, diaper rash problems relate to the way that diapers are used), sanitation in the home and in the settlement, food and nutrition information as it relates to store-bought food, and the differences between store-bought food and country food, the management of garbage and wastewater, including grey water, and honey bucket disposal.

Health Services are now under a new board structure. The priority of the new board is to work with the communities to define their health programming needs. The new openness to having the communities involved in setting the priorities for health planning should address some of the weaknesses in the current system.

CONCLUSION

- * Health services provided to Utshimassits are not as comprehensive as those provided by Indian and Inuit Health Services to status Indians.
- * Treatment-based services are provided by nurses in the clinic.
- * There is little visible primary health care.
- * There is an urgent need for a community-based health program that fosters a close linkage between the CHR and the Public Health Nurse.
- * There is a need for an effective pregnancy support program.
- * The health services provided do not meet the objectives outlined in the Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement in terms of community-based needs assessment and programs, and the delivery of health-care programs to improve mental and social well-being.

10.0 SUMMARY

The Mushuau Innu have embarked on a comprehensive healing process that includes the following components:

- i) spiritual and cultural renewal;
- ii) innovations in political and social life;
- iii) specific treatment programs for alcoholism, solvent-abuse, spousal and family violence, sexual abuse, and suicide;
- iv) innovations in justice systems;
- v) improvements in the quality of residential living;
- vi) increased learning opportunities;
- vii) increased wage and subsistence economic activities;
- viii) their relocation to a new village on the mainland.

i) Spiritual and Cultural Renewal

The Elders are a vital component of cultural and spiritual renewal. They have played a key role in the social and political life of the settlement and have been mentors in all country-based activities. The Outpost Program provides many families with the opportunity to continue their relationship with the land and the animals and to teach youths about the country in all of its

facets. Taking specific groups to the country to learn traditional ways is important. The Women's Group has been taking teenaged girls to the country for one week each summer to teach them country-based skills. The learning of traditional craft skills, accompanied by stories by the Elders, has played an important role in re-connecting young Innu with their roots. The Innu Women's Book Project is another important initiative that not only provides an avenue to share stories, poems, photographs, drawings, and other art work, but makes a significant contribution to the building of self-esteem. The re-introduction of the sweat tent and the central role that the Elders play in the sweats are important parts of the healing process.

ii) Innovations in Political and Social Life

In political and social life there have been a number of innovations. The Band Council and the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee have instituted processes designed to put them in charge of the development of their own settlement. There has been an increase in self-administration, and preliminary steps have been taken towards self-determination. The Band has trained and employed peacekeepers. The community members have been active in making decisions about site-planning. Innu community service workers are now providing support and follow-up in child welfare and other social service areas. The Band has taken over the operation of the Government Store, which will be overseen by a predominantly Innu Board of Directors.

Traditionally, the Innu celebrated each other in the country. Several innovative ways of transferring the concept of celebration to the settlement have been initiated, using ways that are different than those used in the country. For example, there have been banquets to celebrate and to show appreciation for the many Innu who have been participating in training programs, birthday parties and bridal showers, and parties for Halloween, Christmas, Easter, and other holidays.

Communication by use of the community radio (re-established by the MIRC in 1995) and the cable television, as well as by sending to each household copies of minutes of the MIRC and other important information, has assisted in keeping the Innu informed. In the country, communication among the occupants of tents was extensive, but the houses in the settlement have been seen as a real barrier to communication.

iii) Specific Treatment Initiatives

There are a number of treatment initiatives in the settlement. The treatment philosophy is family-centred and holistic. The healing circle is an important concept and component.

Seventeen counsellors have been trained through the Nechi Counsellor Training Program. Six counsellors work for the Alcohol and Healing Services Program, while three work as community service workers with the Department of Social Services.

Since 1992, there has been a significant increase in sobriety in the settlement. Group, family, and individual counselling services for clients are available in the community and are being well-utilized. Forty-four adults have attended 28-day programs at NNADAP treatment centres. The treatment centre option has been successful for some Innu, but others need additional support. Outside treatment centres for alcohol-abuse treat the individual, not the family. Language barriers exist. There is no effective bridging of the intensive treatment program outside the settlement with return to the community.

Solvent-abuse continues to be problematic among the young Innu. It appears to be cyclic. Four of the 17 children (23.5%) who received treatment at Poundmaker's Lodge in 1993 are no longer sniffing gas. Eighteen children have received treatment at outside treatment facilities, four of whom have participated in more than one intensive treatment program. The outside treatment centres treat the individual and do not involve the family. Language barriers exist. Outside treatment programs do not facilitate the development of trusting, supportive relationships between clients and counsellors in Utshimassits. The absence of a strong, trusting, and supportive relationship between the solvent-abuser and someone in the community who can provide on-going counselling may reduce the effectiveness of the program. Strategies must be developed to make the transition from treatment facility back into the settlement less traumatic and more successful. The proposed safe house is an important next step in the design of community-based support and rehabilitation services for troubled youth.

Professional counsellors (two from Poundmaker's Lodge and a clinical psychologist) assisted the Innu counsellors in aftercare for the children and their families returning from Poundmaker's Lodge. They also assisted the counsellors and their families in their own healing process, assisted the counsellors in developing a team, and provided advice in specific counselling situations and in the development of individual care plans. All counsellors indicated that the counselling services that they are asked to provide are becoming increasingly difficult. As healing progresses, the complexity of the problems identified by the clients increases. Because the issues are increasingly complicated, there is a continuing need for back-up professional services to provide advice and guidance to the counsellors.

Spousal abuse is a continuing issue in Utshimassits. There is no safe haven there for women and their children exposed to violent situations. Counsellors have received initial training in family violence through the Nechi training program; however, all the counsellors felt that they needed a lot more training and support. Counselling services are available through Social Services and the alcohol/healing services. Those who need shelter must go to Libra House in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. From January, 1991 to May, 1995, Libra House dealt with 24 women and 67 children from Utshimassits. Spousal abuse and the need to provide a safe and secure shelter for women and children have been the subjects of a number of discussions of the MIRC.

The tragedy of suicide continues. Many Innu are still having difficulty and have attempted or contemplated suicide. Drug overdoses still occur. Crisis intervention in cases of attempted or contemplated suicide continues to be an important activity of all Innu counsellors.

Two holistic country-based treatment programs for families have been held (fall 1994 and spring 1995). Six families from Utshimassits plus three children from the group home in Sheshatshit and one inmate for the Correctional Centre in Goose Bay participated. A total of 40 Innu, aged six and older, from Utshimassits have participated in the country treatment program. The key elements reported by clients were: that treatment in the Innu language was very important; the trusting relationships that were built up between clients and counsellors and between clients and other clients were important not only for support but in bridging the gap between the country and re-entry to the settlement; the program helped to re-connect them with their culture and to provide a better understanding of "who we are"; there were many new learning experiences; and the role of the Elders, was enhanced. The families that took part in the country-based treatment program had profiles that indicated that they were at high risk of relapse. For that and other reasons, one six-week country-based program may not be enough. Consideration may need to be given to an in-settlement component of the treatment program to ease clients back into dealing with the stresses and problems of in-settlement life.

iv) Innovations in the Justice System

The justice system has not worked well for the Innu. Twenty young Innu under the age of 25 have been convicted of criminal offenses since 1991. Fifteen were given jail sentences. According to community members, jail has not led to rehabilitation or to reconciliation with the victims. To facilitate the setting up of a system that maintains peace, focuses on conflict-resolution, provides protection to persons and property, and emphasizes crime-prevention, the Band has trained and hired its own peacekeepers. An interim policing agreement was signed between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Mushuau Innu on March 27, 1995. In addition, a Task Force has been established by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Innu Nation to make recommendations regarding a more culturally appropriate form of administering criminal justice for the Innu.

v) Quality of Residential Living

The quality of residential living in the settlement continues to be poor. Significant improvements have been made over the past two years as a result of a program of renovations. However, there continue to be deficiencies in approximately 75 per cent of the houses. Fifty-eight per cent of the households still get their water in buckets from the one pump house or from streams. There is no disposal for grey water or honey buckets for 73 per cent of the households. Garbage continues to be littered throughout the settlement even though there is regular garbage pick-up.

The problem stems from the fact that there is no place to store garbage in houses, and few houses have sheds. Thus, the dogs scatter the garbage throughout the settlement.

Recreation is important. A youth centre has been constructed. There are plans for an outdoor rink. The school gymnasium is used almost every evening. A full-time recreation coordinator has been hired. Plans are being made to develop a training program for recreation managers. Sixty per cent of the population is 18 years of age or under, and 71 per cent are 25 years of age or younger. There is a need for a well planned, creative recreational program for all young people.

vi) Learning Opportunities

There have been many education and training opportunities in Utshimassits, especially during the last two years. Residents have participated in the following programs: ten have taken teacher-training courses; two have taken pre-nursing programs; one is training to be a pilot; four have been trained as peacekeepers; 17 have completed the Nechi training for counsellors; two have completed the Outward Bound leadership training; 11 have received training in carpentry supervision; 70 have received training in carpentry skills; seven have taken training in small engine repair; and 36 have received training in the making of traditional crafts. Training opportunities have been divided relatively equally between men and women.

A learning centre in Utshimassits, which will be opened in October, 1995, will facilitate the provision of the training and education necessary to allow the Mushuau Innu to be able to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the relocation to Natuashish and other economic development.

The problems that have been identified with the adolescents often have their roots in very early childhood experience. As family stress increases, regardless of its source, the ability to care for and to parent decreases, and the likelihood of abuse and neglect increases. Early intervention and support for families is essential. The initiatives of the Women's Group to establish a playschool and to provide additional support for parents of very young children is important, as 115 persons, or 22 per cent of the population, are aged five or under.

The school could play an important role in support of language and culture and could contribute effectively to the healing process; however, it does not make a significant contribution to the healing process: there are no specialized classrooms; it no longer teaches any traditional crafts or wood-working; there is no organised regular involvement of Elders in the classroom; there is no life skills program; there is no home economics program; there is no organised attempt to teach Innu history and culture. The Innu Curriculum Centre in Sheshatshit does not effectively support the teaching of Innu amien in the Utshimassits dialect. The school is also overcrowded.

vii) Wage and Subsistence Economy

Wage income has made a notable difference to the living standards of the Innu. There are more material goods in the homes, especially skidoos, boats, and all-terrain vehicles. The purchase of skidoos and boats has allowed more families to spend time in the country. In the winter, many families go to the country to hunt and to fish on the weekends. In the summer, those with boats are able to go fishing and to set up camp in the nearby bays. Employment and standardized work schedules have assisted some families in maintaining their sobriety. Employment income has increased the self-esteem of many Innu, as they are better able to support their families and are able to procure more country food and to spend time in the country, albeit for shorter periods.

viii) Health Services

The objective of the *Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement* is to make available to the Innu and Inuit of Labrador health care programs designed to assist them to improve their level of physical, mental, and social well-being. The health services provided to the community are, however, almost exclusively treatment-based. There is a high degree of morbidity in the community, with over 600 clinic visits per month. One-third of those visits are for serious illnesses. There is little visible evidence of public health care initiatives. The public health nurse is stationed in Hopedale and visits Utshimassits for only a few days each month. There is no working relationship between the Community Health Representative and the Public Health Nurse; however, it is essential that a relationship be established if the root causes for much of the morbidity are to be addressed. There are no services in Maternal and Child Health, nor in Environmental Health Surveillance. Health services are not as comprehensive as those provided by the Indian and Northern Health Service to status Indians and to Inuit. The services do not meet the objectives of the *Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples of Labrador Health Agreement* in terms of community-based needs assessment and programs, and the delivery of health programs to improve mental and social well-being. There is little collaboration between the clinic or public health services and the other healing programs in the settlement.

Conclusion

The people of Utshimassits have embarked on a comprehensive healing process, which has been supported by several departments of the Government of Canada, especially over the last two years. There is a feeling of hope in the settlement, as most of the Innu can see significant signs of re-building of their society. That re-building is fragile, and the momentum that has been created needs to continue in an upward surge and not falter.

If the Innu continue to be given financial, moral, and other support, there is every reason to believe that, as required by the Statement of Political Commitments, ... *the problems plaguing the existing community will not be transferred to the new site.*

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12.0 PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERVIEWS

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L. Tshakapesh	Resident, Utshimassits, Labrador
S. Tshakapesh	Former Chief, Utshimassits, Labrador
P.F. Wilkinson	Project Manager, Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee

Ministre des Affaires
indiennes et du Nord canadien



Minister of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development

25 1994

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Dear Chief Rich, Chief Andrew and Mr. Penashue:

I am writing to set out how this government is prepared to support the Mushuau Innu in their work to address the situation of the community of Davis Inlet while also benefitting the Innu of Sheshatshiu to a significant degree. These supporting measures are described in the document entitled "Statement of Political Commitments" which is enclosed with this letter.

This Statement reflects numerous changes based on submissions from your legal counsel, Mr. John A. Olthuis, who reviewed earlier drafts of the Statement. As well, I believe that this Statement is an accurate reflection of the substance of our discussion on this matter during our meeting in Halifax on February 12.

I have now consulted my Cabinet colleagues and I am pleased to report that this government is fully committed to the actions described in the Statement.

... /2

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0H4

- 2 -

You will note that the amounts of money to be provided for emergency services, community plan, technical studies, and participation funding have been increased from the amounts that I conveyed to you at our meeting in Halifax. This reflects the seriousness with which we dealt with your requests and our concern with improving the conditions of your communities. This increase brings the total additional funding up to a maximum of \$4.3 million in 1994-1995. You would be able to access this funding through detailed budget proposals acceptable to Canada.

We believe that these commitments are fair and reasonable, and represent a set of undertakings that, taken cumulatively, are unparalleled in the history of federal relations with the Innu people of Labrador.

Supporting you in your work to resolve the difficulties in your communities has been one of my personal priorities. My officials and I have worked very hard to develop a package as expeditiously as possible that we believe meets your immediate and long-term needs. We want to work in partnership. Broad support within the community is critical to our joint success.

I look forward to receiving your response to this Statement, after you have an opportunity to share the Statement with your communities, and discuss it with them.

Yours truly,



Ronald A. Irwin, P.C., M.P.

Encl.

APPENDIX A

TABLES TO THE STATEMENT OF POLITICAL COMMITMENTS
INCREMENTAL COSTS (000's - CURRENT \$)

TABLE A: EMERGENCY SERVICES

ACTIVITY	94/95
Emergency Services (e.g. renovations, safe houses, stores and barbers, etc.)	
Community Support	
Salaries MIRC*	
Administration MIRC*	
TOTAL	2226

* Minimum Living Allowance Committee

TABLE B: COMMUNITY PLAN

ACTIVITY	94/95
Community Design	
En. Dev. Analysis	
Community Vision	
TOTAL	467

TABLE C: TECHNICAL STUDIES

ACTIVITY	94/95
Site feasibility	484
Site Planning *	510
TOTAL	994

* Contingent on agreement on site feasibility

TABLE D: OUTPOSTS ACTIVITY

ACTIVITY	94/95
Outposts Activities	51
TOTAL	51

TABLE E: HEALING

ACTIVITY	94/95
Healing Coordinator	100
Addition Treatment	250
TOTAL	350

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TABLE E: INNUE JUSTICE AND POLICING

ACTIVITY	94/95
Developmental Activities	125
TOTAL	125

TABLE G: PARTICIPATION FUNDING

ACTIVITY	94/95
Participation	102
TOTAL	102

STATEMENT OF POLITICAL COMMITMENTS

WHEREAS the Government and people of Canada are deeply concerned with the conditions affecting the Mushuau Innu at Utshimasiis;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada has recognized the urgency of and has taken emergency measures to improve the immediate conditions of the Mushuau Innu community of Utshimasiis;

AND WHEREAS the Mushuau Innu and the Innu Nation have outlined in Hearing the Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal their proposals for resolving the spiritual, cultural, social, health, physical and economic difficulties they face;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes Innu as being Indians within the meaning of subsection 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada is committed to assisting the Mushuau Innu in mitigating the adverse conditions facing the people in Utshimasiis;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada and the Mushuau Innu, while recognizing the severe fiscal restraints on the Government of Canada, share the commitment to work together to achieve long-term solutions;

AND WHEREAS the Mushuau Innu and the Government of Canada agree that alleviating the adverse conditions requires that the Mushuau Innu relocate from their present location;

AND WHEREAS the Ministers of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, of Health, and of Justice and the Solicitor General are prepared to make a statement of commitments from the Government of Canada to the Mushuau Innu and the Innu Nation to help them address conditions in Utshimasiis through a comprehensive and fiscally responsible approach;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada, the Mushuau Innu and the Innu Nation are committed to negotiating self-government that contributes to economic self-sufficiency for the Innu people within Canada;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada is prepared to act on the premise that the inherent right to self-government is already contained in section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada has indicated it is prepared to resume comprehensive claims negotiations with the Innu Nation;

- 2 -

NOW THEREFORE IT IS STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WILL:

1. Respond to the crisis situation in the community at Utshimasits and continue to work cooperatively with the Mushuau Council, the Innu Nation and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to address the health and safety issues facing the community, including the provision of emergency funding as agreed in Table A attached;
2. Support relocation of the Mushuau Innu to Little Sango Pond subject to the following conditions:
 - 2.1 Adoption by the community of a long-term social and economic reconstruction plan to address the social pathologies and high unemployment levels in the community, following discussions with and agreement by Canada;
 - 2.2 Proof through the conduct of technical studies that the relocation site is capable of providing sufficient fresh water and other essential amenities to the community into the future;
 - 2.3 Reaffirmation of the new site through completion of a formal ratification process by the Innu people of Utshimasits following completion of the long-term social and economic reconstruction plan;
 - 2.4 Provision of the necessary land by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador;
 - 2.5 Environmental acceptability of the site, as demonstrated by the satisfactory completion of any required environmental assessment process(es);
 - 2.6 Construction and site development to appropriate federal and provincial government standards; and
 - 2.7 Reasonable costs which are acceptable to Canada.
3. Provide funding as set out in Table B attached to complete a comprehensive community plan to ensure that the relocated community will meet the needs of the Mushuau Innu, community vision and physical and economic characteristics of the relocated community and to assist the Innu in assuring that the problems plaguing the existing community will not be transferred to the new site;
4. Provide site specific funding as set out in Table C attached for the technical studies referred to in 2.2 herein;

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5. Provide its share of funding for outpost activities as set out in Table D attached to assist the Innu to spend time in the country;
6. Provide funding as set out in Table E attached to the Innu to establish an addiction treatment program, which can include a mobile wilderness component.
7. Provide funding as set out in Table F for the developmental phase of an Innu justice and policing program (year one); and
8. Provide the Mushuau Innu and the Innu Nation with participation funding as set out in Table G attached.

FURTHER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA IS PREPARED TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS IMMEDIATELY WITH THE INNU NATION INCLUDING THE MUSHUAU INNU TOWARD THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES:

9. To conclude a comprehensive land claims agreement as soon as possible.
 - 9.1 Canada has indicated it is prepared to resume comprehensive claims negotiations immediately on a tripartite basis between the Innu Nation, the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Government of Canada. Canada does not require a cost-sharing agreement with the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador as a prerequisite to commencing such negotiations. Canada will pursue a cost sharing agreement on a bilateral basis with the Province.
 - 9.2 A comprehensive land claim settlement pursuant to these negotiations will be a Land Claim Agreement under subsection 35(3) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.
10. To conclude an agreement on self-government with the Innu Nation and their communities, including matters relating to policing and administration of justice. These negotiations will proceed between the Government of Canada, the Innu Nation and their communities and, where appropriate, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Negotiations will proceed on a budget as agreed between the parties.
11. To conclude a binding legal agreement, subject to Cabinet approval, detailing the terms and conditions relative to the relocation of the Mushuau Innu from Ushimasilt including cost estimates and assurances that the Mushuau Council will be a full partner in managing the project and that the present site will be demolished except as agreed between the parties with appropriate restoration of the landscape upon completion of the new site. Project planning and implementation will be undertaken in a manner to ensure significant community economic benefit.
12. To discuss access to emergency and regular social support programs for Innu families when they are in the country.

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13. To devolve existing federal programs and funding delivered to the Innu, and to work with the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to devolve such programs and funds administered under existing federal provincial agreements for the provision of services to the Innu in a manner consistent with Canada's current devolution policy prior to the expiration of the present Canada/Newfoundland and Labrador Agreement.

14. To continue discussions between the parties as required to implement these commitments.

This Statement of Political Commitments is not a legally binding document. It has been submitted on behalf of the Government of Canada and acknowledged by the Mushuau Innu by their duly authorized representatives:

SUBMITTED ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA