

WOMEN, POVERTY, AND HOUSING:
SOME CONSEQUENCES OF HINTERLAND STATUS
FOR A COAST SALISH INDIAN RESERVE
IN METROPOLITAN CANADA

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Anthropology and Sociology)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August, 1976

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ABSTRACT

A perspective that focusses upon the development of a British Columbia Indian reserve as a dependent hinterland within the Canadian metropolis is used as a framework for an ethnographic description of reserve poverty. The results of Euro-Canadian economic intrusion upon a Coast Salish village that was comparatively self-sufficient prior to contact are viewed in terms of the native inhabitants' diminishing access to traditional resources, their increasing reliance upon wages and metropolitan government transfer payments, and their irreversible descent into poverty. Ethnographic fieldwork in 1971-72 is supplemented with ethnohistorical documentation to provide an account of the transition from autonomy to dependency and to describe the present satellite position of the reserve.

Early Indian Affairs administration is seen as a series of expropriative measures by colonial and, later, federal and provincial governments to relieve native people of their traditional subsistence territory and residential sites and of their rights to self-definition as well as to self-determination. An assessment is made of the imposition of the Indian Act and other government policy upon the lives of reserve residents, especially women.

The economic position of native Indian women is compared with that of their male counterparts on the reserve and with non-Indian populations in selected census areas. Examination of unemployment patterns, employment alternatives, and income levels reveals that Indian women suffer more severe economic hardships than virtually any other segment of Canadian society. Both native women and men are largely dependent upon seasonal or irregular employment in unskilled, low-paying positions, but for women, employment alternatives are even more restricted and wages more unreliable. Self-generated employment by women is a major source of supplementary income. In addition, female-centred, or matrifocal, households on the reserve are shown to have substantially lower *per capita* and median incomes than male-centred, or patrifocal, households, to be more dependent upon inadequate government transfer payments, and to be almost entirely below standard poverty lines established for all Canadian households.

Because of their vulnerable legal identity as registered Indians and as members of Indian bands, reserve women are discovered to be particularly subject to economic hardships, not only in terms of employment and income but also of acquiring adequate reserve housing for themselves and their children. The ways in which women manoeuvre to obtain the best possible living accommodation for themselves and their families are described from the perspective of

establishing claims to share housing with kin or to occupy abandoned dwellings. Shifting residential patterns that constantly rearrange the composition of certain households are seen as the outcome of a severe housing shortage on the reserve and of overcrowding that permeates nearly every house.

A poorly-financed federal government programme to build new houses on the reserve is shown to be totally inadequate for meeting the housing needs of a growing population. Consequently, new or improved houses are regarded by reserve inhabitants as a social resource, in scarce supply and high demand. Child care arrangements, in the case of marriage breakdown, are shown to be the result of careful decisions that native Indian mothers make to ensure the best possible housing for their children, in a situation of limited economic resources and only a narrow range of options for providing security for the offspring of their marriage.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To the people of Tsartlip Indian Reserve who answered my questions with such patience and who offered valuable insights into the patterning of their own lives and its relationship to non-Indian society, I am most deeply grateful. Special thanks for his keen interest and direction must go to Chief Philip Paul who set out most of the conditions for my research among his people. David Elliott Sr. took time from his busy days to assist me with an account of the history of the reserve, and I thank him for his help. I am grateful to Charles Elliott, Theresa Sam, and Caroline Joseph for providing me with introductions to householders, and to David Bartleman and Tom Sampson for their assistance.

I will always remember the kindness of my teacher and friend, Chris Paul, who made tea on rainy afternoons and shared with me his memories, his gentle humour, and his wealth of knowledge. He spoke well of everyone and was truly a scholar among native people.

Finally, I owe a great debt to the women of the reserve who were more than generous with their time and knowledge. It is difficult to single out a few names from among the many women who helped out, but Bea Elliott,

Theresa Bartleman, Fran Paul, Edna and Linda Henry, Alice, Audrey, and Paulette Sampson, Rusty and Pat Elliott, Irma Wilson, Daisy Alphonse, Georgiana Smith, and Val Cooper receive my sincere thanks for their assistance. Freda Cooper, Theresa Sam, and Agnes Smith gave me encouragement and friendship and demonstrated the adaptability and courage that is the source of women's strength, everywhere. I cannot thank them enough.

Without the financial assistance provided me from 1968 to 1972 by Canada Council pre-doctoral fellowships, graduate studies and subsequent field research for this investigation would have been virtually impossible.

I received intellectual guidance from a number of people. Dr. David F. Aberle exhibited commendable patience as my graduate advisor, and I am sincerely appreciative of his comments and criticisms. Dr. Patricia Marchak's support and direction in the last stages of writing was invaluable. The assistance of Dr. Michael Kew and Wilson Duff is also gratefully acknowledged. The influence of Michael Ames and his warm-theory-seminar in helping a budding linguist to think like a blooming anthropologist cannot be underestimated. Dr. Stuart Jamieson of the Department of Economics at the University of British Columbia and Dr. Carol Stack of Boston University must be thanked for reading the final draft of this manuscript.

In addition, I wish to express my appreciation to

Bernard Gillie, Consulting Director to the B.C. Inter-Cultural Curriculum Project, University of Victoria, who gave me time when I needed it and whose wise counsel helped me through some trying days.

Along with Barbara Smith who typed the final draft of this dissertation with enthusiasm and interest, eventually sacrificing her holidays to help me finish on time, Sharon Keen, Antonia Botting, Candace Hansen, Lesley Purdy, and Florence Lundgren must be thanked for their assistance with research, data tabulations, and preliminary typing. I am sincerely appreciative of the work of John Kendall, who drew the maps, and Deborrah Minaker and Lorna Ward, who drew the diagrams. My Killer Whale brother, Gary Patsey, and Daphne Patsey know that my thanks go beyond the work they did in coding data and transferring it to keysort cards. Allan Clark's help with proof-reading is acknowledged with appreciation. In addition, I was fortunate to have Kerry Carney's sense of humour to sustain me as we worked long, tiring hours through the last week, in order to finish "on time."

I am very conscious of the tangible and intangible contributions of friends, particularly Terry Reynolds, Sherry Selander, Marylee Stephenson, and Gina Quijano who gave me places to stay, good food, and good company in Vancouver, and June Akehurst who kept my Victoria house in order. Terry Winchell, Lorna Ward, Sharon Keen, and

Margaret MacGregor provided intellectual stimulation and emotional support at crucial moments. My parents have been both understanding and helpful during my lengthy childhood.

Throughout the writing of this dissertation, I have been cheered and encouraged by three women of great warmth, humour, and strength: my mother, Mildred Cleland, my friend, Barbara Efrat, and my daughter, Lisa Mitchell.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the people of two diverse cultures come into prolonged contact, change in both cultures is inevitable. The nature and direction of change occurring as a result of culture contact is a subject of long-standing concern among anthropologists who have developed a number of theoretical perspectives and concepts to account for and describe the phenomenon of culture change. In the case of the intrusion of Euro-Canadian culture upon native Indian culture, the result has been a dominant political and economic position for the former and, for the latter, a subordinate position accompanied by pervasive change in virtually every aspect of the aboriginal way of life. Moreover, because of widespread, chronic poverty among native Indian people, anthropologists often attempt to account for this, as well, within the more general framework of culture change.

Two of the most important of these perspectives on culture change and poverty are somewhat contradictory. The perspective of acculturation theorists is based upon the notion that aboriginal patterns of culture will be replaced by or changed into the patterns of the other culture. The

process of acculturation may be gradual or rapid, but it results inevitably in an approximation of the dominant culture by the subordinate. In terms of an interpretation of poverty, acculturation occurs as economically underdeveloped people move toward and adopt the behaviour patterns of people in the more prosperous, intrusive culture and come to participate fully in the economic and political institutions of the dominant society. In general, people are said to be more or less acculturated according to the degree to which they have either assumed the new and affluent way of life or retained the patterns of the old and underdeveloped. New traditions that emerge as distinctive from both old and new may be seen either as evidence of social breakdown or as developmental steps in the one-way acculturative process. Poverty among acculturating Indian people may be considered either a prior condition or a symptom of social disorganisation and failure to acculturate.

The contrasting perspective focusses upon the structure of the relationship between the cultures in contact. When Euro-Canadian culture establishes and maintains an exploitative political and economic domination over native Indian culture, the relationship is termed metropolis-satellite, or metropolis-hinterland. This perspective argues that satellite cultures have changed and are changing in response to the nature of their interaction with an exploitative metropolis. In contrast to

acculturation views, analysis from a metropolis-hinterland framework does not require that changes in hinterland cultures be regarded as indicative of progress or development toward the metropolis culture. Instead, changes are seen as adjustments of the Indian satellite to economic and political pressures from the dominant Canadian metropolis. By the same token, poverty is a condition created and imposed upon Indian people by the metropolis-satellite relationship.

In this study, I intend to use the metropolis-hinterland framework as the basis for an ethnography of poverty among the native residents of a small, suburban Indian reserve on southeastern Vancouver Island. More specifically, this investigation will attempt, first, to show how economic and political aspects of metropolitan culture limit the alternatives and life chances available to Indian people and create or maintain an oppressive level of poverty on the reserve; second, to describe the historical development of this colonial relationship; and third, to examine in detail the consequences of the metropolis-satellite relationship and some of the ways that Indian people -- particularly Indian women -- cope with this situation.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will expand upon the contrasting notions of acculturation processes and metropolis-hinterland relationships, indicate how the latter

may be applied to native Indian people in Canada, and point out how and why native Indian women are of particular interest to this study. A description of the methods employed in the field research is contained in the final section, following a full description of the purposes of the study.

Theoretical Framework

Among the many studies of contemporary North American Indian groups, a considerable number have dealt with the relations between these groups and the dominant white society. These studies have tended to centre around problems of acculturation and the influence of white North American culture upon traditional Indian social organisation (*e.g.*, Barnouw 1950; Colson 1953; Dunning 1959; Graves 1967a, 1967b; Knight 1968; Linton 1940; Simpson and Yinger 1957; Spicer 1961; Rohner and Rohner 1970; Thompson 1950; Wolcott 1968).

Acculturation has been defined a number of times (*e.g.*, Beals 1951; Broom *et al.* 1954; Herskovits 1958; Linton 1940; Redfield *et al.* 1936; Tax 1952). Very broadly, Redfield *et al.* have stated:

acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups (1936:182).

Herskovits refers to acculturation as one aspect of

. . . the process of transmission
of culture from one group to
another . . . [and as a] compre-
hensive interchange between two
bodies of tradition . . .
(1958:15).

Classifications of types of acculturation have been attempted (*e.g.*, Bateson 1967; Broom *et al.* 1954; Bruner 1956; Devereux and Loeb 1943; Redfield *et al.* 1936; Rohner and Rohner 1970; G. Spindler 1955; L. Spindler 1962; Voget 1951, 1952, 1956). Many of these have described the phenomena of conservatism and opposition -- "contra-acculturation movements" (Redfield *et al.* 1936:186), "schismogenesis . . . which results in mutual hostility" (Bateson 1967:194), "antagonistic acculturation" (Devereux and Loeb 1943:233) -- where there is resistance to acceptance of the cultural patterns of one group by another. The intent in such descriptions has been to account for cases where acculturation does not seem to occur.

Although early definitions such as Redfield's did not say so, more recent use of the concept of acculturation seems to be based on at least two crucial, related assumptions. First, there is a teleological premise that the process of acculturation leads *from* the traditions of the subordinate culture (*e.g.*, North American Indian) along a path of increasing similarity to the dominant culture (*e.g.*, White North American). The longer and more intense

the exposures to the influence of White North American culture, the more acculturated the Indian groups in question will become. The end of acculturation is not necessarily total assimilation in the dominant culture nor wholesale diffusion of superior culture traits to the acculturating group but may be characterized, vaguely, as full participation in the benefits of the dominant society's democratic institutions. For example Vogt states:

in the United States . . . the path to full acculturation is confusing and frustrating Instead of proceeding *generation by generation along a continuum to full acculturation*, it is as if an American-Indian group must at some point leap across a spark gap to achieve a *fully integrated* position in white American society (1957:145, emphasis added).

Clearly, the end result of acculturation is considered a given in this case and when this end is not reached, explanations must be sought. One frequent explanation for the presumed "failure" of American Indian populations to achieve full integration with the dominant society is that of "social disorganization" (*e.g.* French 1948; Hawthorn 1966, 1967; Lewis 1970; Siegel 1962; Spicer 1962; Thompson 1950). Claudia Lewis describes social disorganization among Northwest Coast Indians as

. . . a complex of problems [including drinking, unemployment, welfare queues, dirty, overcrowded houses, broken families, violence, and neglected children] not uncommon

wherever dark-skinned minority groups are gradually -- or sometimes precipitously -- taking on the culture of a White majority, or wherever such minorities feel themselves relegated to a separate and unequal way of life (1970:3-4; see also 96, 99, 101, 115, 118, 122-23).

Moreover, in comparing Indians of mixed blood with those without White ancestry, Lewis seems almost to regard acculturation as a race toward acceptance of white culture when she asks if the part-Indian is somehow ". . . one lap ahead of the others in his desire or ability to fit into the White man's pattern?" (1970:108). She refers also to "more" and "less" acculturated Indians (1970:9) and to three families -- one clinging to the traditional Indian ways, one "straddling the fence," and the third representing ". . . an even more successful adoption of the White man's values" (1970:87).

The idea of a one-way path along which every traditional Indian society progresses toward full acculturation is not peculiar to Vogt and Lewis (*e.g.*, Linton 1940; Rohner and Rohner 1970; Simpson and Yinger 1957; Spicer 1961; Voget 1952, 1961-62). Attempts to identify levels or stages of acculturation along the continuum from Indian to white are summarized by McFee and include

. . . Voget's [1951, 1952] *native-modified*, and *American-marginal*, Bruner's [1956] *unacculturated*, *marginal*, *acculturated*, and Spindler's

[1955] *native-oriented, transitional, lower- and upper-status acculturated* (1968:1096, author's emphasis).

In a paper critical of these views, Jorgensen thus summarizes them:

. . . the direction change takes is from a primitive, underdeveloped society, *i.e.*, a society with low economic output, low standard of living, etc., to a civilized, developed society wherein the once underdeveloped society becomes fully integrated into the dominant White society. Tautologously, the latter is achieved when 'acculturation' is complete (1970:1).

The second basic assumption underlying the concept of acculturation is that full acculturation will be achieved through economic development. Underdevelopment hinders acculturation and, once Indians come to participate fully in the economy and in the political institutions of the dominant white society, development and acculturation will occur simultaneously (*e.g.*, Brophy and Aberle 1966; Hawthorn 1966, 1967; Simpson and Yinger 1957). For example, Hawthorn asserts:

the mutual ties of rights and obligations [among kin] act as deterrents to economic advancement in an industrial society The more parasitic aspects of kinship were probably reinforced in the past by the dependency of the reserve system. This has led to important changes in social welfare or relief policy to free the individual and

his immediate family from the burdens of supporting other kin, and thus encourage their independence and ambition to better themselves (1966:121).¹

Jorgensen, on the other hand contends:

the acculturation framework provides a rather euphoric way to . . . talk about what has

¹Ironically, the "culture of poverty concept" developed by Oscar Lewis (1959, 1966) to explain the seemingly negative behaviour patterns and social disintegration of poor black Americans comes to just the opposite conclusion. That is, economic aid to the poor will not lead to integration and development (or acculturation) but rather will simply perpetuate the inherently nihilistic and inevitable culture traits of the poor. Hawthorn's statement that

most large urban areas have a dependent White minority containing a familiar hard core of the social casework loads. As pointed out by various authorities, individuals in such groups are not motivated by the same incentives or to the same degree as are most members of the working and middle class. The urban poor constitute a self-perpetuating subcultural group with its own system of rewards and satisfactions in which durable consumer goods, education and higher status do not function as economically motivating forces. Indians frequently tend to integrate with White society at this level and thus tend to perpetuate low subsistence standards that have grown up in reserve life (1966:108)

is an attempt, somewhat at odds with his other assertion, to apply the culture of poverty concept to ". . . depressed Indian bands located in or near White urban communities" (Hawthorn 1966:108).

happened to the American Indians since contact. It assumes that before . . . contact Indians were 'underdeveloped' and it directs us away from analysis of why Indians are as they are today. Because it euphorically assumes that all things being equal and given an indefinite amount of time Indians will become fully integrated into the United States polity, economy and society just like whites, it is also meaningless. That is to say, no matter what condition Indian society is found to be in when it is analysed . . . it is always somewhere along the acculturation path headed towards full acculturation. Because acculturation explains everything, it explains nothing (1970:2).

Recently, these assumptions about integration and acculturation have been challenged not only by Jorgensen, but also by a number of others, including Aberle 1969a, 1969b, Bennett 1969; Braroe 1965; Cardinal 1969; Deloria 1969; Frank 1967a, 1967b, 1970; Gonzalez 1969, 1970; Harding 1971; Munsell 1968; Robbins 1968; Steiner 1968; Tax and Stanley 1968. First, there is an increasing awareness that, whatever "full acculturation" means, not all Indians are following the path. Indian nationalism and nativism, concern for Indian identity and cultural revival, and conscious resistance to assimilation or acculturation of any kind are held up as examples of this by Cardinal 1969; Lesser 1968 [1961]; Levine 1968; Lurie 1968; and Tax and Stanley 1968. As Levine observes, even where economic aid

is given to promote acculturation and development, ". . . one often cannot predict what Indian people will make of aid which they are given" (1968:26). McFee, in stressing the inadequacy of the continuum model of acculturation, develops a "matrix model" to demonstrate that

new ways can be learned without abandoning the old. The bicultural reservation community provides a variety of roles and situations for selective use of both (1970:1096).

Second, and more important, a number of these authors maintain, with Jorgensen, that

underdevelopment was caused by the *development* of the white-controlled national economy and that the political, economic and social conditions of Indians are not improving because *the American Indian is, and has been for over 100 years, fully integrated into the national political economy* (1970:2, author's emphasis).

Jorgensen bases his analysis, in part, on Frank's thesis that the present situation of Latin American nations, as well as their own hinterlands and their Indian populations, is characterized by a "metropolis-satellite relationship" (1967a:124). Frank's essential argument is that world capitalism produced underdevelopment in the past and continues to generate underdevelopment in the present by establishing a network of monopolistic, appropriative-expropriative relations that extract economic surplus from the many for the benefit of the few. This relationship links, in chain-like fashion, the ". . . macrometropolitan

center of the world capitalist system [*i.e.*, the United States]" (Frank 1967a:16) with national, regional, and local centres, down through large landowners and merchants, small peasants, landless agricultural and factory labourers, and for our purposes, Indians:

At each step, the relatively few capitalists above exercise monopoly power over the many below, expropriating some or all of their economic surplus and, to the extent that they are not expropriated in turn by the still fewer above them, appropriating it for their own use. Thus, at each point, the international, national, and local capitalist system generates economic development for the few and underdevelopment for the many (Frank 1967a:7-8).

Contradictions of capitalism are recreated on the domestic level and come to generate tendencies toward development in the national metropolis and toward underdevelopment in its domestic satellites [but] the development of the national metropolis necessarily suffers from the limitations, stultification, or underdevelopment unknown in the world capitalist metropolis -- because the national metropolis is simultaneously also a satellite itself, while the world metropolis is not (Frank 1967a:10-11).

Thus, as the gap in power, wealth, and capacity for development widens between metropolis and satellite, the satellite becomes increasingly dependent upon the larger metropolis and increasingly dominated by it.

In applying Frank's concept to Canadian society and

history, Davis refers to a series of metropolis-hinterland oppositions in which

metropolis continuously dominates and exploits hinterland whether in regional, national, class, or ethnic terms [and] signifies the centres of economic and political control located in larger cities. Further, the term may denote urban upper-class elites, or regional and national power structures . . . (1971:12).

Davis defines hinterland as

. . . in the first instance, relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials -- including people who migrate from the country to the city for better educational and work opportunities. Hinterland may also usefully denote under-classes as well as rural peasantries and rural proletariats (1971:12).

Thus, the metropolis-hinterland relationship is not only a spatial concept implying geographical opposition and regional conflict but, as Usher points out, is a distinction ". . . of power as well as of place" (1972:28). Both Davis (1971:28) and Usher (1972:29) include Canadian native people among those in a hinterland consisting of

. . . regions and peoples having, to a greater or lesser degree, territorial and cultural integrity, distinctive ways of life (Usher 1972:28).

The primary implication of the metropolis-hinterland framework for the study of contemporary Canadian Indian

reserves is that, as Aberle notes in a discussion of American Indian reservations, they may be regarded as internal, underdeveloped satellites, or colonies, of the larger society (1969a:228). Harding focusses specifically upon this satellite, or hinterland, status of the Canadian Indian reserve and remarks:

A strong argument exists for viewing Canadian people of Indian ancestry as a colonial people, who have been treated and in effect controlled by outside authorities over which they had no direct control.

Erroneous explanations of the problems of people of Indian ancestry are common in Canada . . . somehow these problems are viewed as arising from the Indian's or Metis' inherent inability to adjust to mainstream life The conventional view . . . completely fails to recognize the cluster of social problems that people of Indian ancestry face, or the fact that these problems are not based on Indian culture. Rather, they are problems resulting from a historical interdependence of the dominant society and this minority, which now lives within 'a social problem milieu' (1971:243).

In these hinterland Indian communities, political, economic, and technological capacity for economic development is decreasing and structural dependence upon the metropolis is increasing (Frank 1967a:10-12; Harding 1971:251; Usher 1972:30). Political power, resources, finances, commercialization, capital goods, and technology remain in the metropolis, outside the reach or control of

native Indian people. With expropriation of resources by the metropolis and loss of ownership of means of production, Indians become more dependent upon wage-labour for subsistence needs (Usher 1972:29). Yet wage income, purchasing power, and food consumption are declining, leaving the Indian in a helpless position of structural, as well as personal, inequality (Frank 1967a:106-111; 123-142). As Usher observes

the growth of metropolitan Canada is largely dependent on the extraction of resources, labour and surplus capital from the hinterland. Consciously or not, metropolitan Canada is now in a position to dictate the terms on which the hinterland population will live Either the hinterland communities conform to metropolitan requirements or they can be left to die (1972:30).

Like other satellite groups commonly considered outside, or marginal to, the national economy of the metropolis but actually fully incorporated into it, Indian people are necessary to the expropriative-appropriative functioning of monopoly capitalism, both as producers who work for minimum wages and as consumers. Frank remarks:

[The] . . . poor are more exploited as consumers than anyone else . . . thus, the low-quality food, housing, and other consumer goods cost more . . . than do corresponding high-quality wares bought by middle and high income buyers in other areas. When they do manage to get jobs

that permit them to produce something, they are of course also exploited to a higher degree as producers than any other members of the population (1967a:111).

Caplovitz' (1967) study of the poor in New York City clearly bears out Frank's position. Caplovitz focusses on merchants, salesmen, unethical practices, inferior products, and credit institutions that are geared entirely to exploiting the low-income consumer. He states:

. . . the poor credit potential of most low-income families combined with their lack of shopping sophistication often results in the irony that they pay much more for a given quality of durables than do consumers in higher income brackets. This does not mean that they spend more, although even this may sometimes be the case, but that they obtain considerably less value for their dollar . . . [We] shall find that such matters as family income, where the goods are purchased, the method of payment, and significantly, race are associated with variability in cost (1967:81).

Adams' (1963:169-70, 305) discussion of the exploitation of the Navaho consumer on the reservation by the trader's protective practices of double-pricing and credit saturation is yet another example of the way in which the satellite Indian reservation supports a segment of the larger metropolis economy -- the trader and the trading post. In a similar vein, Robertson (1970) suggests, more

impressionistically, the numerous, supposedly benevolent, institutions engaged in the exploitation of the Indian -- institutions that provide satisfying roles and high-paying jobs for white representatives of the metropolis but not for Indians. Her conclusion is that

the Indian situation today is the product of a tight, closely supervised economic system, a system which produces not only the wealth of many Canadians, but also the destitution of the Indians (1970:10).

The presence of a metropolis-satellite relationship is implicit in Gonzalez' delineation of neoteric societies -- those lacking structural self-sufficiency (1969, 1970). In her analysis of Black Carib household structure (1969), Gonzalez emphasizes the adaptive nature of social change in these societies. Although she is concerned with criticism of the pathological or social-breakdown approach to neoteric societies rather than with criticism of acculturation studies (1969:10-11; 1970:8), her view that neoteric societies are ". . . functioning, thriving units . . . [that] were created by the very conditions to which they are adapted . . ." (Gonzalez 1969:10-11) echoes Frank's view (1967a, 1967b). With reference to the marginality of neoteric societies, Gonzalez believes with Usher (1972:30) that even though these societies

. . . may be considered to be "on the fringes" of industrial civilization . . . [they are]

completely dependent upon it
and must either find ways of
adapting . . . or die (1970:9).

This position seems applicable to studies of social change on contemporary Canadian Indian reserves, although the specific form of the adaptive responses of native Indian or other cultures may be quite different from those of Black Caribs, as Ehrlich discovered in comparing Black Jamaican and East Indian adaptations to the sugar plantation system (1974).

With Gonzalez' "naturalistic approach" (Aberle 1969b:viii), changes in modern native Indian social organisation and behaviour patterns would be regarded as responses to external socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions. It matters very little, according to this approach, whether a specific change in social organisation brings a society closer to "full acculturation" or not. The important point is that these changes are seen as adjustments to the exigencies of poverty and structural inequality that allow the satellite society to persist in the face of external pressures from the dominant society. In cultural ecological terms, the hinterland Indian reserve culture must adapt structurally to variables in the metropolitan cultural environment, in order to survive.

That studies of these adaptive mechanisms are necessary is stressed by Bennett who states that

this fact, that each society must
adjust not only to its own

internal conditions but also to those set for it by the circum-ambient community of neighbors, is an element in the ecological adjustment of societies and communities that has been inadequately dealt with in the literature (1969:ix-x),

and by Harding who observes that

. . . no one has looked at the status of [Canadian] people of Indian ancestry from the point of view of the organic relationship between reserve society and the larger political economy (1971:248, 251).

One example involving, in part, a brief examination of the particular adaptations of a Canadian Indian reserve to a distinct cultural ecological niche is Bennett's (1969) study of four neighbouring social groups on the Canadian Great Plains -- cattle ranchers, wheat farmers, Hutterites, and remnants of several Plains Cree bands. Along with Braroe (1965), who participated in the research, Bennett characterizes the Indian reserve as a society "without a permanent footing in the economy" (1969:156), that is, without a surplus of capital for investment, without access to stable, adequate wage labour, without natural resources worth exploiting even if capital were available. Consequently, the Indians are dependent upon relief and other "social resources" (1969:169):

Thus, in order to survive, Jasper Indians had to develop ingenious strategies of manipulation of the

socio-economic environment. They were neither more nor less skilled in these strategies than other marginal populations and . . . they were manipulated and exploited, in turn, by the ranchers and other whites (Bennett 1969:166).

This pattern of reciprocal exploitation by which whites, especially ranchers, exploit and swindle the Indians in order to gain land, pasturage, or cheap labour, and Indians, in turn, con the White man whenever the opportunity arises, is detailed by Braroe (1965), but it is undoubtedly only one type of manipulative strategy among many employed by these Indians and others facing the same disadvantages.

Other ethnographic studies such as Aberle (1966, 1969a), Dunning (1959), Harding (1971), Jorgensen (1972), Munsell (1967), Nagata (1971), Robbins (1968), and Schwimmer (1970) have been concerned with depicting the manner in which North American Indian societies that have been pushed out of relatively self-sufficient positions in aboriginal environments into almost entirely dependent positions within the less satisfactory milieu of a wage labour and welfare economy articulate with the dominant society. The attempt in some of these studies (*e.g.*, Aberle 1966; Jorgensen 1972; Munsell 1967) is to focus on the structural dependence of the Indian reserve on the larger North American political economy and to explain certain aspects of reservation social structure, such as religious movements or household organisation, as adaptive responses

to deprivation. Given the broad scope of their investigations, the authors have not concentrated upon the day to day consequences of poverty for reserve inhabitants nor upon the strategies involved in meeting basic needs.

Stack (1974), on the other hand, although her research involves an urban black community in the United States, deals exclusively with the everyday behaviour patterns by which the poor deal with their poverty.

Directing her analysis to

. . . the adaptive strategies,
resourcefulness, and resilience
of urban families . . . [and]
the stability of their kin
networks . . . under conditions
of perpetual poverty (1974:22),

Stack's approach replaces the negative perspective and stereotyped assumptions about social pathology among the poor and the confusing arguments over integration, economic development, and the culture of poverty with a more positive, realistic perspective. She maintains that

. . . The life ways of the poor
present a powerful challenge to
the notion of a self-perpetuating
[and pathological] culture of
poverty. The strategies that the
poor have evolved to cope with
poverty do not compensate for
poverty in themselves, nor do
they perpetuate the poverty cycle.
But when mainstream values fail
the poor the harsh
economic conditions of poverty
force people to return to proven
strategies for survival
to healthy, creative [adaptations]

. . . to unhealthy environmental conditions (Stack 1974:129, 27).

Given this perspective, Stack's treatment of residence and marriage patterns, kinship-based mutual assistance networks, and the role of women in responding to ". . . poverty, . . . inexorable unemployment, . . . [and] scarce economic resources . . ." (1974:124) provides a fruitful model for examination of some of the responses of native Indian people in reserve households, in coping with similar economic circumstances.

Purpose of the Investigation

The objectives of the present study are the following:

1. to investigate the metropolis-hinterland relationship between the Indian reserve and the larger economy in terms of the utilisation of dwindling resources for direct subsistence as well as for commercial purposes, in order to point out the lack of a viable, internal, resource-oriented economic base for the reserve;
2. to describe the general Anglo-Canadian social and economic environment within which the reserve operates and to discuss some of the limitations imposed upon reserve residents by the metropolis-hinterland relationship;
3. to delineate briefly the ethnographic background of the

traditional native culture in order to draw out the contrast between an earlier period of relative self-sufficiency and the present state of political and economic dependency upon the metropolis;

4. to detail the historical development of metropolis-hinterland relations from the period of contact to the present, from several perspectives including: (a) fluctuations in population; (b) a change in the status of the Indian residential site from autonomous winter village to neo-colonial reserve; (c) the shift of the native economy towards increasing dependence upon a wage-labour and government transfer income base; and (d) the effects of special legislation on the status of Indian women;
5. to explore the consequences of these relations by describing the nature and extent of poverty on the satellite reserve and its effects on both native Indian men and women and on reserve households;
6. to examine some of the means that Indian people employ to cope with these consequences, with respect to strategies for obtaining housing, patterns of residence, and child care arrangements.

Throughout the study, attention will be directed towards problems of particular concern to Indian women and to their efforts to deal with persistently adverse circumstances in their daily lives. Undoubtedly, the

problems of coping are faced not only by women but also by all but the youngest members of the reserve. The effects of depleted natural resources, of inadequate income and services, of restrictive legal measures embodied in the Indian Act, and of political and economic powerlessness, in general, are experienced and shared by all those in contact with the dominant, exploitative metropolis. Both men and women suffer from real deprivation of various kinds, most especially from economic deprivation. Nevertheless, as the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada points out,

[Although] poverty affects all members of a family . . . often it is the wife and mother who is subject to greatest stress. It is her immediate responsibility to cope with crowded, inadequate housing and limited budgets. Frequently, she gives priority to the needs of her husband, who must present a suitable appearance to the outside world, and to the children, whose future depends on the care she can give them. Her needs come last, and she may be the last person in the family to receive medical or dental care, to have new clothing, or to enjoy any recreation or interests outside her home. If she takes a job to increase the family income, she can probably earn very little. Usually she cannot afford to pay for household help and so she must do housework in addition to her outside employment (1970:313).

Gelber, in discussing Indian women and poverty, adds:

[While] it is true . . . that such factors as poor housing to which Indian families both on and off the reserves are relegated inevitably affect all members of the family . . . it is the woman who is expected to be the home-maker in this society which still preaches that 'a woman's place is in the home'. [It is the woman] . . . who suffers most . . . (1973a:30).

From a theoretical perspective, Collier (1974), Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974), Smith (1973), and Stephenson (1973) argue that it is essential that ethnographers begin, at last, to pay serious attention to the role of women in the societies studied. Almost universally in ethnographic accounts, women are regarded as theoretically unimportant, because they lack political and economic power in the public sphere (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974:8-9). Collier, in her discussion of the political role of women, maintains that

women's participation in the political life of any group is patterned, but regularities may be hard to detect because native models [and those of ethnographers] tend to discount women's political role (1974:90).

Collier points out that the behaviour of women is frequently relegated, by male observers, to the status of "personal idiosyncracies or to particularistic circumstances" and that the regularities and patterns in women's actions go unnoticed because of this tendency to explain them in terms of

. . . moral injunctions or jural rules, both of which stress woman's duty to obey her male relatives . . . (1974:89-90).

According to Collier, women must be viewed

. . . as actors whose efforts to control the social environment are channeled by cultural rules, by available resources, and by choices of others within the social system (1974:90).

Although there is a growing interest in focussing upon women as the subject of ethnographic literature (*e.g.*, Matthiasson 1974; Reiter 1975; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974), anthropological studies of native Indian women on Canadian reserves are scarce (Abler *et al.* 1974; Jacobs 1974). Even Hawthorn's two-volume *Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada* (1966, 1967) yields few explicit references to native Indian women. There is brief mention of Indian girls who stay home from school to babysit and participation of Indian women in Homemakers' Clubs and other "entertainment and social service" associations (Hawthorn 1967:135). A somewhat lengthier discussion involves the possible relationship between ". . . personal disorganization illegitimacy rates [and] per capita real income . . ." (Hawthorn 1966:128), with an accompanying table (1966:129) showing the percentage distribution of "unwed mothers" among all mothers -- apparently the only tabular presentation, in either volume, of data relating to women. Nor are there separate economic data for women, either as individuals or household

heads, in the Hawthorn survey.

Even the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) has very little material of a factual nature on native Indian women, *per se*. Their special needs are subsumed under other categories relating to women and education, and women and poverty, among others.

For the purposes of this analysis, then, the major concern will be with the women of the reserve, for it is they who are confronted most frequently and minutely with the implications of a cultural environment that is not only legally, but also economically and socially restrictive. Moreover, it is through the active efforts of reserve women to mobilize and manipulate available economic and social resources that the Indian household survives. Without minimizing the important contribution of Indian men, this study argues that Indian women are at least equal participants in those creative adaptations that account for the persistence of Indian culture.

The study will attempt to show that, in a sense, women who reside on Indian reserves in Canada must endure and cope with the weight of multiple sources of discrimination (Adams *et al.* 1971:xi; Cheda 1973:58, 65; Gelber 1973a:36, 1973b:25; Lotz 1970): those associated simply with being female, with all its attendant stereotypes; those stemming from being Indian, and thereby subjected to discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, as

well as sex, through a whole set of special legislative measures with far-reaching effects in terms of the most ordinary aspects of their lives; and those of being poor, for, if women are the poorest segment of Canadian society (Adams 1970:62; Gelber 1973b:25-26; Podoluk 1968:145; Royal Commission on the Status of Women 1970:309), Indian women are the poorest of all (Gelber 1973a:36, 1973b:26; Royal Commission on the Status of Women 1970:328).

To be an Indian in Canada, according to the Canadian Government's policy paper (Canada 1969:3) ". . . is to be a man, with all a man's needs and abilities." To be an Indian woman in Canada, on the other hand, is to be ignored (Cheda 1973:65; Lotz 1970). To be an Indian woman in Canada is to personify the dependent and exploited status of the satellite. Indian women are exploited especially by the larger society: through the Indian Act, which has determined that Indian women will lose their legal status and/or band membership under conditions that do not affect the status of Indian men, thus causing severe socioeconomic predicaments and personal frustrations for these women; by federal and other government agencies, as well as by non-Indian individuals, who fail to recognize either the source of these predicaments or the ways that Indian women contend with them, and who continue to label Indian women, sometimes openly, with derogatory terms; and by employers, who tend to pay the lowest wages and to offer the poorest working

conditions to native women (Gelber 1973a:30; Royal Commission on the Status of Women 1970:330).

Before pursuing the objectives outlined for the investigation, it will be useful to discuss the context and manner in which field research and analysis was conducted.

Method: Fieldwork and Research Procedures

Contract and Ethics²

Field research for this dissertation was conducted on the Tsartlip Indian Reserve, a suburban reserve about 12 miles from Victoria, British Columbia. Tsartlip is also known as West Saanich Reserve, and both names will be used throughout the study. The decision to carry out my research at Tsartlip was based less on scientific considerations of theoretical suitability than on pragmatic grounds. Because it was necessary to live at home, I had to find a reserve within daily commuting distance of Victoria. Tsartlip was thus an ideal location, although there were two major drawbacks to driving back and forth each day. First, I was unable to spend any time living on the reserve and observing over an extended period of time. Second, if the first contact of my day was a discouraging one, or if I was apprehensive about an impending interview, it was much too easy to turn around and go home.

²Portions of the section on Contract and Ethics have appeared in Efrat and Mitchell 1974.

Pragmatic considerations shaped the focus of research to some extent, as well. The chief of West Saanich Reserve, a prominent Indian leader in the province, was outspoken in his insistence that social scientists work on behalf of native people, studying what Indian people wanted studied, instead of designing research projects with no thought of relevance to the needs of the native community under investigation and without consulting members of that community before proposing research. Consequently, when I approached the chief about the possibility of doing anthropological research on his reserve, two important issues had to be resolved. The first concerned the utility of the research for the reserve, and the second involved preparation of an agreement between the band council and the researcher in order to ensure that the native people had at least some control over the activities of the researcher, the conduct of the research, and the publication of results.

The contract is presented as Appendix A. It was drawn up entirely by me without legal advice, both because the band expressed reluctance toward involving a lawyer and because I was unwilling to pay for one. The agreement is signed by the 1971 band councillors and by me and, hence, is a legally valid document. However, the final statement, inserted at the insistence of one of the councillors negates its effectiveness as a legal agreement. Although I pointed this fact out to the band council, the councillor maintained

that it would protect the reserve. The most important points in the agreement involve publishing, royalties, deposition of field notes, publicity, hiring of an assistant and my additional obligations to the band, apart from the research.

Publishing. The agreement attempts a compromise between my professional obligations to publish material and the concern of the native Indian groups to maintain control over what is published. This was accomplished by agreeing that any paper written that is based on research at Tsartlip be given for comments and criticism to the Indian people concerned, before it is submitted for publication and that their remarks be included in the published version, excluding the actual dissertation.

Royalties. The agreement stipulates that any royalties accruing from publication of the research will go to the Tsartlip band. It was pointed out to the council that scholarly publications were unlikely to yield royalties, but the feeling of one councillor was that "books about Indian people are now very popular and we ought to be covered just in case".

Deposition of field notes. It was agreed to provide each participant with duplicates of all information he contributed. Later it was decided to ask participants if

they wished to have copies and to provide this material only to those who indicated they wanted it. Virtually no one wanted the band council to have a copy of the information, not even councillors themselves.

Publicity. Because of newspaper articles about Tsartlip that the chief councillor felt were derogatory, any publicity concerning the research was to be entirely in the hands of the band council. The issue did not arise during the fieldwork period.

Hiring of an assistant. Part-time work was provided for two reserve residents, but only for brief periods.

Additional obligations. At the request of the band council, a report on housing conditions was written for the council early in the research period. Later, after the accidental death of a child, the council requested a map be drawn that would show the locations of all houses on the reserve. The map was to be distributed to ambulance and other emergency services to enable them to locate houses more promptly.

Although it was not stipulated within the conditions of the agreement, informants were paid a small sum (\$2.00 per session) for their participation when formal interview schedules were used. In this, I was following the 1961 fieldwork practice of Suttles, who distributed fifty-cent

pieces to informants at each interview session, and my own earlier experiences with linguistic fieldwork. The aboriginal system of paying witnesses with wealth at a potlatch (Barnett 1955:134; Suttles 1963:517) is still evident in Northwest Coast spirit dancing, funerals, and other modern ritual events. As well, the native practice of "thanking with cash" lent itself readily to the reciprocal nature of everyday assistance among reserve dwellers and to the long history of economic transactions with non-Indians. In addition, it seemed a fairly equitable way to distribute a portion of my Canada Council fellowship among respondents, as Deloria (1969), Cardinal (1969), and others have suggested.

Implications. In terms of facilitating my fieldwork, my willingness to enter into a written agreement with the Tsartlip Band Council was undoubtedly a major factor in obtaining permission to conduct an anthropological study on the reserve. On the other hand, once that permission was obtained, the agreement probably had little effect on establishing rapport with individuals. To some extent, the focus of my investigations was shaped by the chief's own interests, and I was always conscious of the stipulation that I turn over copies of my field notes to the Council. Those copies, and this dissertation, have been altered so that individuals and events cannot be identified in any way

that might adversely affect either residents or the reserve as a whole. Consequently, while the name of the reserve is authentic, I have used fictitious personal names throughout and have changed circumstances and life histories to provide as much anonymity as possible, without distorting the overall picture.

Presumably, the most important aspect of the agreement from the point of view of the band is that it set a precedent and a pattern by which the band can control and guide future research at West Saanich.

From a broader perspective, it is evident that, in British Columbia, native Indian groups are becoming increasingly concerned with the protection and preservation of their own culture as well as of natural resources on their land. Native groups are moving to demand that exploitation of their linguistic, archaeological, and ethnographic resources by social scientists be replaced by a relationship defined in native terms, according to native specifications and regulations.

For example, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs attempted to formulate a set of ethical guidelines by which Indian bands in the province could ensure what they would consider responsible behaviour by anthropologists, linguists, and others who would study native peoples and their cultures, past, present, and future. Although the results of the Union's discussions were set aside for other

more pressing matters, another native organisation, the Council and Cultural Committee of the Hesquiat Band on the west coast of Vancouver Island, has produced a legal document that will have far-reaching repercussions in the academic community. The terms of this contract include:

1. Complete and absolute control over access to the Indian community, over the nature of the research, and over the deposition and publication of data;
2. Penalties for violation of any of the conditions of the contract, including payment of a \$5,000 indemnity and all legal costs, and a court injunction against the researcher;
3. Continuing legal commitment, on the part of the social scientists, to fulfill the obligations of the contract even *after* permission to do research has been revoked by the band, and until relieved of those obligations, in writing, by the band or its agent.

Although none of the scholars currently working with the Hesquiat Cultural Committee has signed this document, it has been circulated to other Indian bands in the province and has served as the model for at least one other contractual arrangement in British Columbia -- an arrangement so stringent that two anthropologists chose to give up longstanding field research interests on an Indian reserve, rather than sign it. My own recent work on this latter reserve was seriously hampered by the controversy surround-

ing the conditions of the contract, although I have not yet been requested to sign it.

Fieldwork and Research Procedures

My fieldwork began at West Saanich Reserve in January, 1971. One of the band councillors was made responsible for introducing me to the people of the reserve, but it became clear that no one person could provide me with entries to all households. Eventually, three reserve residents gave me enough introductions to make a start. In each case, I began interviewing as soon as possible after I received permission to do so -- usually within one week.

Altogether, I contacted people in 48 of the 50 occupied houses on the reserve, but I was refused permission to return in eight of the houses contacted. The most common reason given for refusal was that the respondent did not think the study would do any good, presumably for Indian people. Some individuals gave no reason for refusing. Eventually, I was able to make contact with occupants of all but six of the 50 houses. Through formal interview schedules, with specific questions prepared and duplicated, through less structured interviews, where topics that I wished to pursue were discussed and brief notes made, and through informal conversations, I acquired detailed information on the economic situation of the occupants of 37 (74.0%) of the houses. This represents 70 per cent of the

1971 adult population of the reserve. In another seven (14.0%) of the homes, I was able to obtain some of the information I required from household members and the rest from relatives in other houses. For information on the members of four of the remaining six houses, I relied entirely upon outside sources such as kin, band council files, and Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development³ files. In the other two cases, I had no contact with any residents of either house during the fieldwork period (January, 1971 through June, 1972), but later, through other circumstances, I met an individual from each and was able to gather at least some of the 1971 information I needed.

In addition, census information was obtained from the DIAND District Office in Nanaimo, 70 miles north of Victoria. Data on reserve housing conditions and programmes as well as general information were acquired from the Tsartlip Band Office.

Interview schedules were prepared to obtain information on housing, education, individual work histories and income, household income and economy, household composition, and vital statistics. Data were transferred from these schedules, notes, and recollections of

³Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will be abbreviated as DIAND throughout the remainder of this study.

conversations⁴ to looseleaf notebooks and keysort analysis cards. There were two sets of notebooks -- one indexed alphabetically by respondents' names and the other indexed according to subject category. Notes on keysort cards were edited and maintained for eventual deposition with the band, according to the terms of my agreement. Another two sets of keysort analysis cards were used to code pertinent socio-economic information about individuals and households at Tsartlip, for tabular purposes.

Data collection presented no particular problems, using either formal survey techniques and schedules or informal interviews. Those individuals who were willing to cooperate showed the same willingness regardless of the topic. Questions concerning individual or household economics were answered readily and with considerable interest. On occasion, a respondent would tell me that information being offered was "confidential", and it has remained so. Perhaps the greatest difficulty encountered in the course of my field research was my own reluctance to intrude upon other people's lives. Almost a year went by before I could inquire into the matter of personal income and financial situation without experiencing considerable anxiety. My own cultural biases about what were appropriate

⁴Because many reserve residents expressed opposition to being taped, I did not use a tape recorder except with one experienced respondent, nor did I take photographs.

topics of enquiry caused me to develop an almost Machiavellian proficiency in circumlocution, circumvention, side-stepping, and other dizzying tactics, until it occurred to me that I was receiving vague answers not because of any reticence on the part of the respondents but because I was asking confusing questions. The first time I was able to ask someone directly, "How much money did you make last year?", I received a detailed financial statement that included various sources of income, duration of jobs, and other valuable information. There were other topics, such as winter dancing, alcohol consumption, and problems with the courts that were treated with reticence by respondents, but they were beyond the scope of my research interests, and information that I did acquire on these subjects is not included here.

Similarly, it was my own insistence upon pursuing topics that I thought would be worthy of investigation that led me to overlook, for some time, the problems that Indian people have in finding a place to live. I could not help but be aware of reserve housing conditions, but it was not until I related my difficulties with census-taking to the acute housing shortage rather than to the seemingly exasperating behaviour of people who would not stay put until I could count them, that I began to see the whole issue of housing as a major research concern. In the early stages of fieldwork, many reserve residents mentioned the

housing problem to me, but I was so intent upon "doing research" that I paid scant attention. When their pre-occupation with getting a house fused with my own frustration over census-taking, I stopped "doing fieldwork" and began to listen.

Indian people know better than anyone else what is wrong and where the problem lies. Although I could agree with Harris' statements that

elements of pathology . . . in the life of the lower class have their source in the structure and processes of the total system, mediated by denial of cultural resources to the poor [and] the disadvantaged position of the poor is maintained by the behaviour of the higher strata, acting in their own interest as they see it to preserve their advantages by preventing a redistribution of resources . . . (1971:330-31),

I was unwilling to recognise my own complicity in perpetuating this situation. By imposing upon the native people of Tsartlip my notions of what was suitable research, I was indeed "acting in my own interest." Whether the remainder of this dissertation is truly "in the interest" of the Indian people will be for them alone to decide.

CHAPTER II

THE HINTERLAND ENVIRONMENT

In order to appreciate the economic and socio-cultural difficulties encountered by the native people of West Saanich Reserve and to comprehend the major features of their relationship to the metropolis, the reserve's natural setting and the resources available to its residents will be examined first. This examination is intended to outline how the utilization of the few resources available to native people is affected by metropolitan market controls and by actions and legislation external to the Indian reserve. Incidents that serve to illustrate the restrictions and limitations placed upon Indian resource exploitation are described. The second part of the chapter concentrates upon the contemporary cultural environment in which West Saanich Reserve operates. Interaction with other Indian reserves in the area is described as largely complementary and non-exploitative, in contrast to the character of interaction between the reserve and the metropolitan cultural environment. The ways in which this latter interaction limits Indian alternatives and initiative and hinders the

development of a secure economic base for the well-being of the Tsartlip band are discussed.

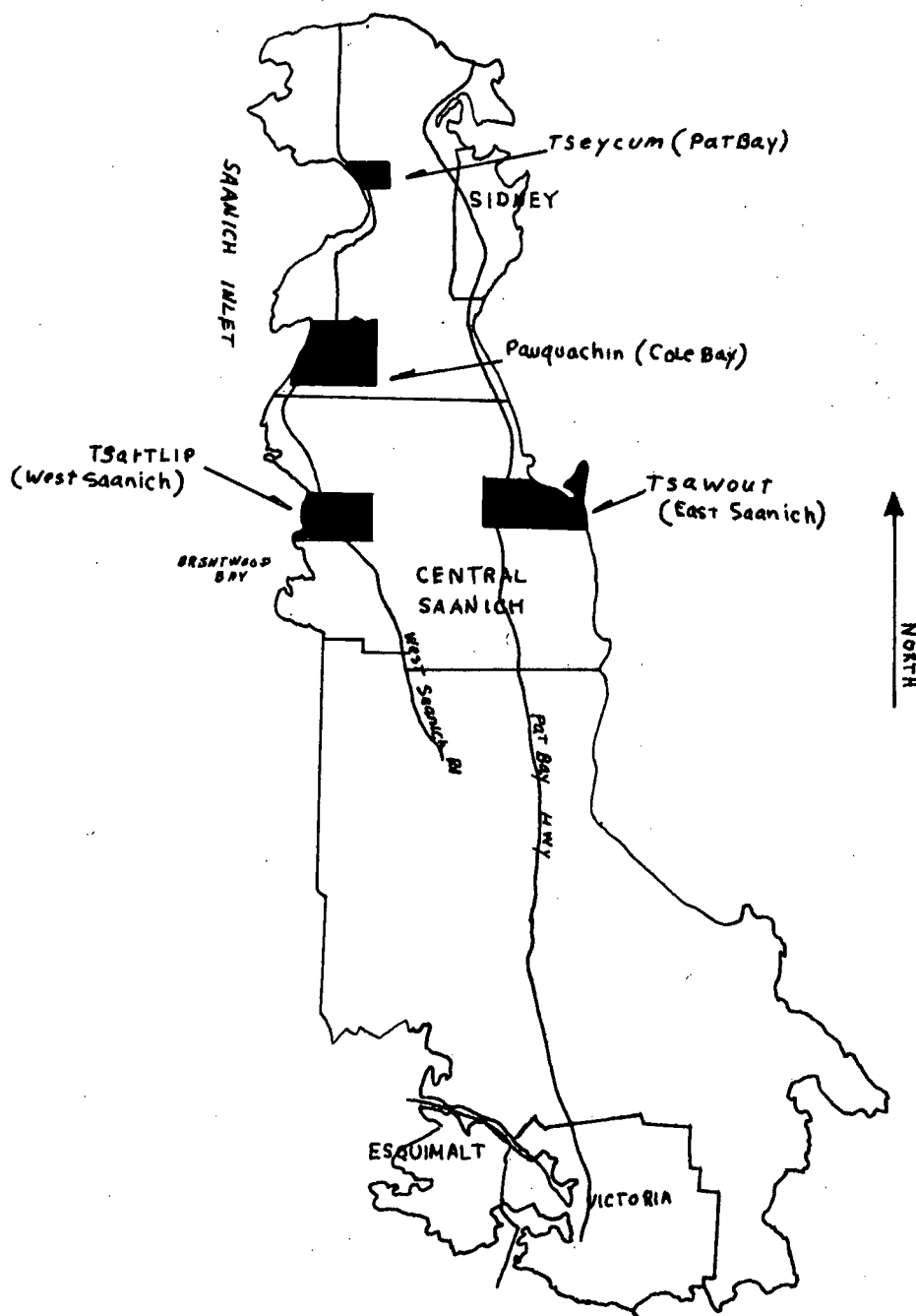
Physical Environment

Location

Located on the Saanich Peninsula of southeastern Vancouver Island, West Saanich Indian Reserve occupies 483 acres on the western shore of Saanich Inlet, along the shallow curve of Brentwood Bay (Figure 1). Tsartlip lies within the boundaries of Central Saanich Municipality, a predominantly rural area, but is only 12 miles, by paved road, from the provincial capital of Victoria, British Columbia, a city of 65,300 people (Figure 1).

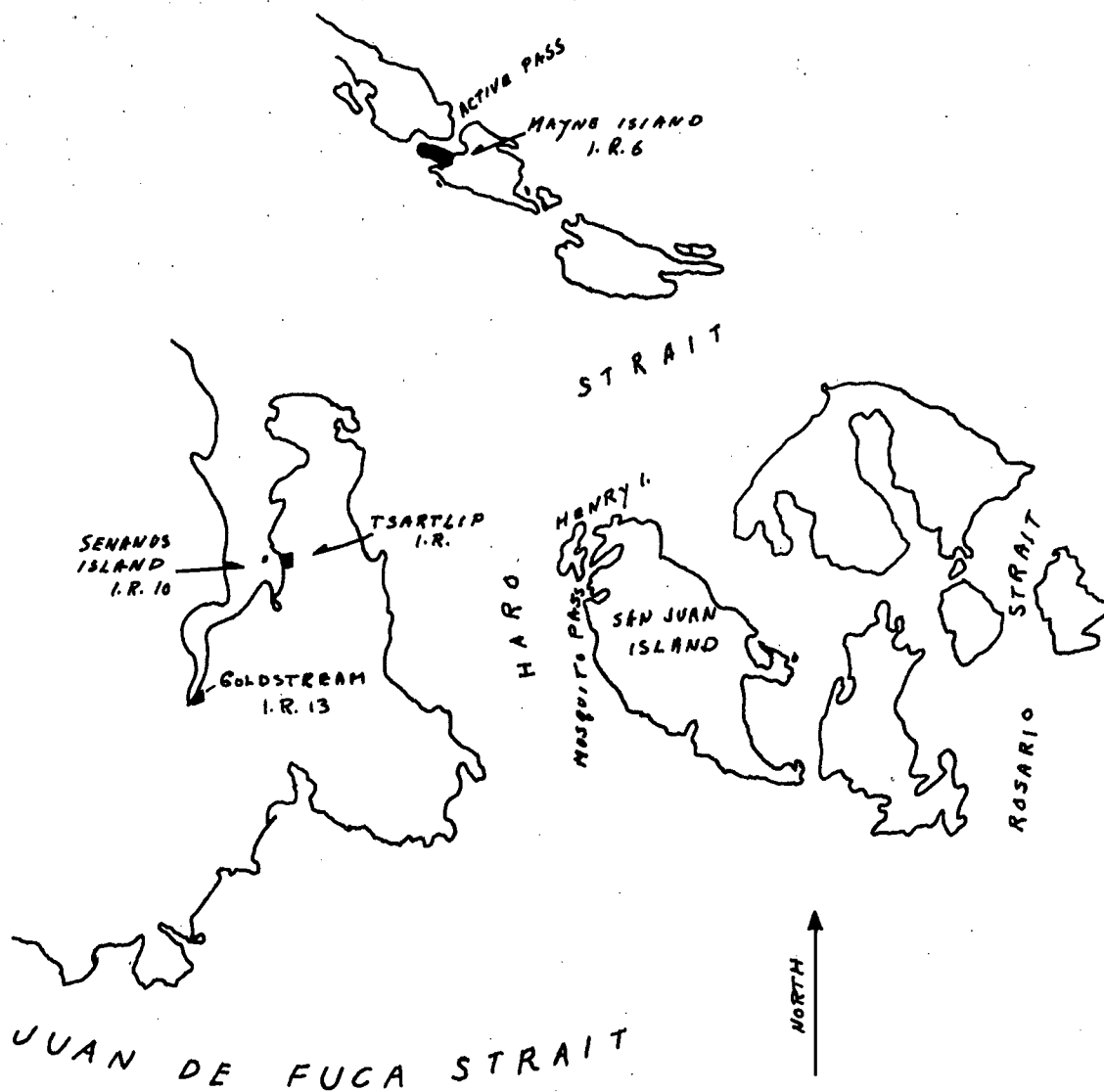
In addition to the West Saanich Reserve, the Tsartlip band has three other pieces of reserve acreage: 323 acres on the northwestern end of Mayne Island in the Gulf of Georgia; all but one-tenth of an acre on Senanus Island, a small rocky islet in Saanich Inlet, used in aboriginal times as a burial place; and 12 acres of wooded hillside and tidal flats on the eastern side of Goldstream, a spawning stream for Chum and Coho salmon and for steel-head trout (Figure 2). The tidal flats are the habitat of clams, mussels, and oysters, offering a shellfish supplement to the diet of the Tsartlip people, almost all year round. Goldstream, at the head of Saanich Inlet, is held in common by the Tsartlip, Tsawout, Tseycum,

Figure 1: Indian Reserves of Saanich Peninsula and Municipalities of Greater Victoria Metropolitan Area



Source: British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests 1951.

Figure 2: Indian Reserves of Tsartlip
Indian Band



Source: Canada, Indian Affairs n.d.

Pauquachin, and Malahat bands (Figures 1, 2).

At present, the Mayne and Senanus Island reserves, as well as Goldstream, are uninhabited, although occasionally individuals or families from one of the five bands use the Goldstream Reserve for salmon fishing and deer hunting, in the fall; and Mayne Island, during the summer, for salmon, herring, and rock cod.

The reserve at West Saanich is cut diagonally by a two-lane, paved road that carries a fairly steady stream of truck and automobile traffic during daylight and early evening hours. It provides an alternative to the main, four-lane highway paralleling it to the east (Figure 1) but, in general, traffic is slower on the road through the reserve because of many winding sections. In spite of a slower posted speed, there are numerous traffic accidents on the stretch of road that passes through the reserve. In 1971, there were seven accidents, involving ten cars, no deaths, and six persons injured and, in 1972, there were four accidents, involving six cars, with no deaths and no injuries (Miles 1974: pers. comm.). It is not known who was involved in these accidents, but this section of highway is clearly hazardous.

The northern edge of the reserve is bounded by Roman Catholic Church property and several farms, all 30 acres or less, except for one very large estate. Along the eastern boundary are a number of smaller farms of about ten acres

each, while to the south of the reserve is Brentwood Bay, a suburban residential area. The shore of Saanich Inlet forms the reserve's western edge (Figure 2).

The loss of aboriginal territory and, later, of reserve land during European settlement is discussed in Chapter Three.

Climate

The Saanich Peninsula, lying within the rain shadow of the Olympic Mountains, is described by Kerr (1951:29-31) as Cool Mediterranean and is characterised by a mean annual precipitation of almost 27 inches, with a dry, two-month summer period of about one inch of rain, mean January and February temperatures of 36°F. and mean July and August temperatures of 67° - 68° F. (Munro and Cowan 1947:33).

In general, the climate is mild, with 307 frost-free days (Munro and Cowan 1947:33). There are frequent high winds from the southeast during fall, winter, and early spring, but there are seldom more than ten snowfalls from December to April (Barnett 1955:14).

Winter rains and the rapid melting of the snow turn the dirt roads and paths of the reserve to mud, and cars frequently must be pushed out of the mire, during the winter months. The high winds, often forceful enough to topple large trees, and the damp, cool winter weather make the

older houses at West Saanich drafty and either uncomfortably cold, if there is no heat, or unpleasantly warm, if oil stoves are kept lit all day.

Flora and Fauna

Falling within the Gulf Islands Biotic area (Munro and Cowan 1947:33), the reserve has vegetation including coniferous stands of Douglas and grand fir, western red cedar, spruce, and hemlock, in the unpopulated northern and eastern sections, with scattered deciduous trees -- largely broad-leaf maple, alder, cherry, and dogwood -- and scrub among the conifers, in the residential, partly-cleared southern, western, and central portions of the reserve. Wild Himalayan blackberries, Oregon grape, and salal grow in abundance, and there are four old orchards that were planted by Indian farmers around the turn of the century.

Economically important fauna immediately accessible to Tsartlip are several species of salmon, including spring, coho, pink and chum, as well as herring, steelhead trout, halibut, ling cod, and such bottom fish as rock cod, sole, and flounder. Various species of intertidal bivalves, including the Japanese oyster, butter clam, horse clam and little neck clam, and mussels inhabit the beaches.

Game birds, such as ducks, geese and pheasant are seen in the vicinity of the reserve but are economically insignificant. Deer and other game are rarely encountered

in the vicinity of Tsartlip, although they are hunted at Goldstream.

Topography

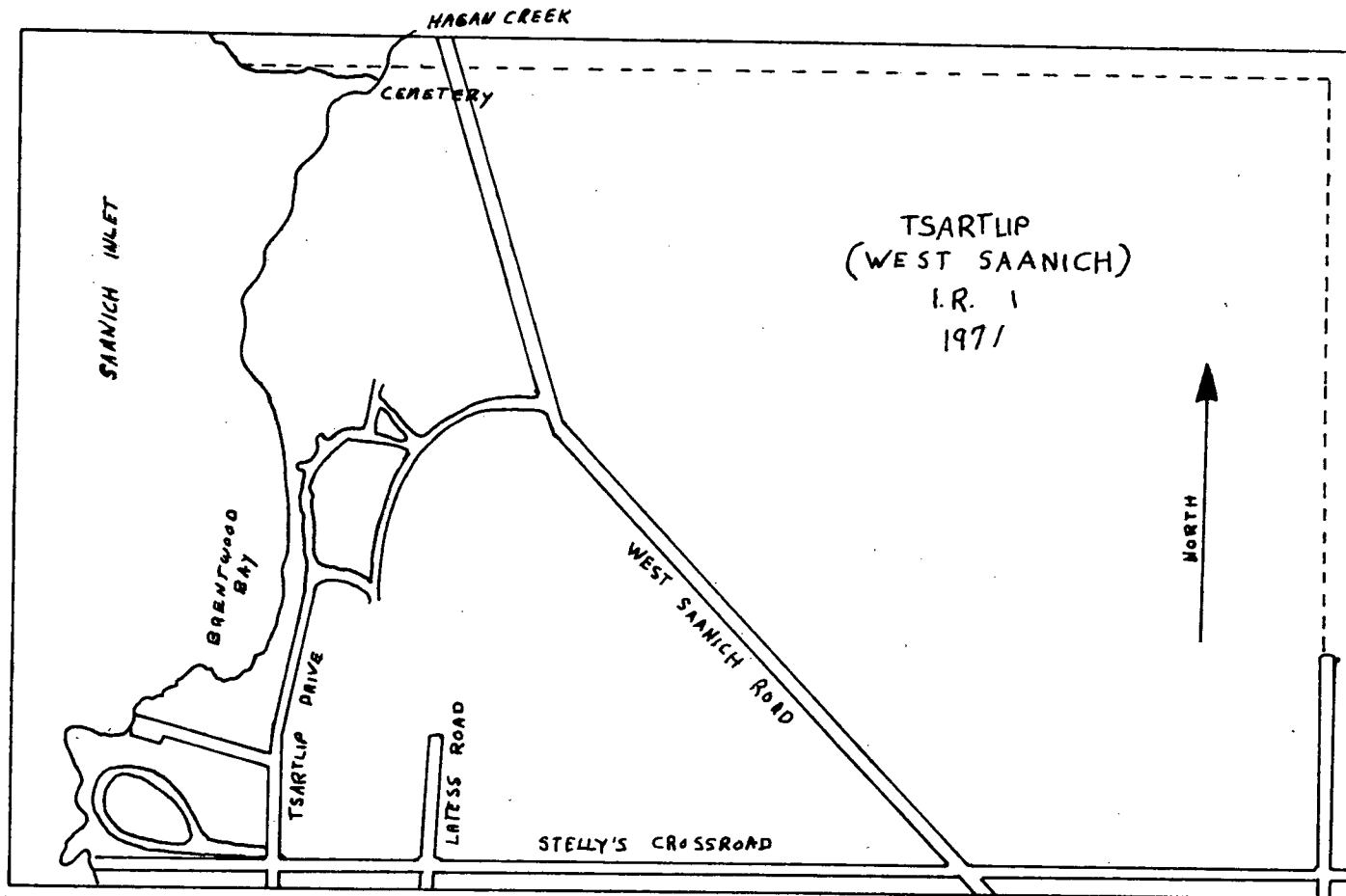
With its western boundary along a 1500-yard stretch of gravel and shell beach, the reserve land slopes gradually from a 25-foot bluff overlooking the water to a 250-foot hill in the southeastern corner.

The cleared fields behind the houses along the western side of the highway slope gently down to the level land along the top of the bluff. Some of these fields are planted with vegetable crops, such as potatoes, for home use, and a few cows, owned by one family, graze in another. Part of the eastern side of the reserve, across the highway, is cleared for two farms, one for berry-crops and the other for hay, but the northeastern part is wooded, beyond Tsartlip School (Figure 3). The extensively forested area covers the extreme eastern and northern limits of reserve land.

An all-year creek at the northern edge of the present Tsartlip cemetery cuts across the extreme northeastern corner of the reserve and, during heavy winter rains, another appears nearby, flooding across a dirt road that parallels the beach.

From the bluff overlooking Saanich Inlet, the reserve has a spectacular ocean and mountain view, marred only, on the opposite shore of the inlet, by a cement

Figure 3: 1971 Boundaries of Tsartlip Indian Reserve



Source: British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, 1951.

factory that periodically coats the forested hillside with a greyish dust. On a sunny day, at any time of the year, the scene over the water provides a breathtaking view that helps to explain why land values are so high along the waterfront on either side of the reserve.

Resources

The Land. At present, West Saanich Reserve occupies some of the choicest and potentially most expensive land on the Saanich Peninsula. From colonial times until the early nineteen-fifties, settlers and their descendants in Central Saanich were engaged almost exclusively in agricultural activities: raising dairy cows and grains for the Victoria market (Canada Census 1882-85: 112-115; Floyd 1969:122, 125, 152). Since 1950, however, land in Central Saanich has been more in demand for residential than for agricultural purposes.

In 1875, one settler, J. Sluggett purchased approximately 1,000 acres to the south of the present reserve for \$7.50 per acre. An acre of farm land in 1971 was selling for about \$4,000, while an acre zoned for subdivision would bring \$9,500. In 1913, one acre of reserve land was valued at \$600, for a total worth of \$289,800 for the entire reserve (Royal Commission 1913: Cowichan Agency Table A)..

The Brentwood Bay area, immediately to the south of

the reserve has been heavily subdivided (Figure 1) with 66-by 150-foot lots selling for \$3,500. Furthermore, although the land to the north and east of the reserve is still predominantly agricultural, the strip of waterfront along the Saanich Inlet is highly esteemed as residential property and has been subdivided into relatively small lots (100' by 200') selling for approximately \$150 per foot of waterfrontage or \$8,000 per acre.

Not only the band administrators but also other residents of the reserve are aware of the potential value of their land and of the dangers of land speculation. All those connected with band administration expressed strong opposition even to leasing the land, as some bands have done. The following remarks by one member of the Tsartlip Band administration seem to represent the feelings of all the members:

Tsartlip people don't want non-Indians to get hold of any permanent stake in the reserve. This is why we won't allow any outsiders to lease land or any industry controlled by whites to move here. We don't want some big company coming in and running things. We get approached by people coming in all the time with big schemes for economic development, but they all mean the same thing -- profit for Whites and nothing for us.

An Indian woman on the reserve described her attitude toward the land in these words:

The land is our safe harbour.
It belongs to us but it is more
than the White man's idea of
owning land. This reserve is
part of us and every inch of it
must be preserved. If we let
just one inch go to the White
man, he will take the whole thing.
That's why we don't rent out or
sell our land.

Another resident, in discussing what he considered
irreconcilable differences between Indian and White people
remarked:

Indian people don't welcome the
White man onto our land because
we know we will lose it. The
Indian and White man can't ever
become brothers because the
Indian will lose his land and
Indian land is the most important
thing to us. We don't want to be
civilized because that means taking
away our land. We want our land
left as it was in the days of our
ancestors. White people want to
civilize us so that we will leave
our land. Then they will civilize
the land for their own use.

A former chief of Tsartlip, quoted in a Victoria
newspaper remarked "land ...[is] an extension of man" (Paul,
quoted in Davy, 1973:1).

Given the strong opposition to any economic
development engendered by the metropolis, it is not
surprising that what development there is on the reserve is
hand-operated. A boat launching ramp was completed in 1967,
and an adjoining picnic and camp site with 40 camping units
was constructed in 1971. Both of these enterprises were

undertaken by the band alone, with DIAND funds for the campground amounting to \$6,000. A local high school built the picnic tables, but clearing of the camping sites and other work was done by band members. Operation of the boat ramp and the campsite provides employment for one person, who receives 25 per cent of each month's total proceeds as commission.

Ironically, even the development of a band-owned and -operated campsite has not proceeded without the intrusion of a metropolis-based multinational corporation known as KOA -- Kampsites of America. Shortly after the opening of the Tsartlip campsite, KOA built two luxurious "Kamps" within a few miles of West Saanich Reserve, but closer to the main highway and more accessible to tourists. The KOA sites boast laundries, hot showers, game rooms with pool tables, fully-equipped playgrounds, trailer hook-ups, and ice -- amenities not available at the reserve campsite (KOA n.d.). Operating at competitive rates and with attractive brochures for distribution on the ferries from Vancouver, KOA is an especially formidable competitor during rainy spells in the tourist season. According to a band councillor, KOA has offered to direct its overflow customers to the Tsartlip Band Campsite, but this gesture is more indicative of the dominant position of the metropolitan corporation than of a policy of cooperation with local businesses.

In 1968, Tsartlip's Mayne Island Reserve was evaluated by a timber company interested in logging the area. The Regional Forestry Officer for Cowichan Indian Agency (Telford 1968), then made comments and recommendations indicating, first, that 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the highest quality timber (Douglas fir) had been logged out since 1940, but that logging of the remaining lower-grade timber would both provide a small income to the band and promote development of a summer resort by removing dead trees. His second major suggestion was that this summer resort be built along the northern shore of the Mayne Island Reserve, with 40 or 50 cottages, each on a lot with 100 feet of water frontage. A marina, store, and marine gas station would provide employment for band members. The band council was then approached by a large real estate company interested in undertaking the development of the proposed resort (Boyl *et al.* 1969). The prospects of a 99-year lease on all cottage sites and of rents fixed for the first ten years and then adjusted upwards six to ten per cent every five years did not seem profitable to Tsartlip band councillors, who rejected the proposal.

During 1971, according to band council members, the establishment of a Christmas tree farm was proposed to the band council, by an outsider from the forest industry. The project involved planting a maximum of 683 reserve acres with 3,000 trees per acre. After ten years, the 2,049,000

young trees were to be sold, at prices ranging from 75 cents to two dollars per tree. The council estimated that, at an average of \$1.50 per tree, the return on the farm would be \$3,073,000 after ten years. When calculations were done on an annual per acre basis, the return came to only \$440 per acre per year. Consideration of the expenses involved in the project, along with the promoter's cut, made the scheme seem less attractive, especially after it was realized that the promoter would market the trees for eight to ten dollars each. As one former councillor remarked, "Without our own capital, the best thing we can do is nothing at all."

The people at Tsartlip recognize, also, that the land of the reserve is exceptionally fertile. West Saanich is surrounded by farms and, even the neighbouring Brentwood Bay housing development is built on formerly rich agricultural land that still produces flourishing gardens. In spite of this awareness, however, commercial farming on the reserve has declined since the 1930's.

The cost of modern farming equipment is one of the major factors prohibiting the development of individually-operated commercial farms. Only four people on the reserve own roto-tillers, and only three of these have larger pieces of farming equipment. As a consequence, there is only one commercial berry farm operating, on a limited basis, at West Saanich. A few non-Indian farmers lease up

to eight acres of reserve land, from time to time, for the hay crop it produces, but the income is economically insignificant for the reserve as a whole. An elderly woman, the matriarch of one of the reserve's wealthiest families, leases five acres of her property along the highway to an auto-wrecker who uses the land for a commercial junk yard. In earlier years, acreage was leased to a non-Indian farmer for the growing of loganberries, but he is no longer in business. On a purely non-commercial basis, five Indian households at West Saanich maintain vegetable gardens for home use, and one individual has two cows.

From the perspective of leisure use, the beach along the western edge of the reserve serves as a picnic and recreation area for the Tsartlip people during late spring and summer. Warm evenings and weekends see the shore and bluff dotted with people who come to relax, to swim, and to watch the Saanich Peninsula crews practice for the canoe races that are held at each Indian Sports Day throughout the summer, on southern Vancouver Island, the lower mainland of the province, and in northwestern Washington (Kew 1970:288). Usually, Tsartlip holds a Water Sports Day during the summer, but they did not do so in 1971 because, ostensibly, they were too late with their plans to reserve a suitable weekend in the southern Island schedule of Sports Days.

The question of land ownership is a complex one. Nearly every one of the adult band members interviewed

claims that he or she has inherited "twenty acres" from a close relative but has been cheated out of the land by DIAND, by the band council, or by wealthy band members practising usury and accepting land as collateral. A total of only 28 band members, 24 (86.0%) of whom are males, are registered, for 1971, as holders of "tickets of possession"¹ that verify their legal possession of a total of 226.66 acres of reserve land. This total amounts to a mean land-holding of 8.1 acres per registered land holder, but actual holdings range from 0.72 to 24.37 acres. The four female land holders possess a proportionate 15 per cent of the total acreage, or an average of 8.4 acres -- slightly more than the overall mean acreage. Four of the land holders, including two women, are now deceased. No descendants have been registered as beneficiaries of the 27.05 acres covered by the four tickets of possession, although in all likelihood, the heirs will all be male.

Aside from 1.08 acres held as a building site by the Shaker Church, the remaining 256.34 acres of reserve land at Tsartlip is held in common by the band. A new housing subdivision, a soccer playing field, longhouse site, and the school grounds are considered band land also, although several people maintain that they are the rightful

¹According to the Indian Act, s. 2(o), Indian people cannot "own" reserve land, for title is vested in the Crown. Indians may hold land on the reserve, if they have a Certificate of Possession. The distinction is between ownership and possession.

owners or that they are descendants of the rightful owners and that these sections of band land have never been surrendered for common use.

Customary title varies markedly from legal title, in terms of control over land. One wealthy individual who apparently possesses no legal Certificates of Possession claims 42.49 acres of land -- nearly 19 per cent of the total private holdings on the reserve -- through purchase. Of this, 23.41 acres are legally possessed by a man and his eldest son, who maintain they yielded this land years ago to the present customary claimant, when they were unable to repay a debt to him. In the past, the most common methods by which customary land holders gained *de facto*, if not legal, control of reserve acreage involved either purchasing the land outright, for a small sum, or claiming a parcel in default of a loan extended to the legal possessor to assist in meeting funeral expenses for close kin.

Although legal ticket holders are aware that their tickets of possession represent valid title to the land in question, they are reluctant to take the dispute to a general meeting of band membership, or to either DIAND or the courts, for settlement. As one person who holds Certificates to over 17 acres, but who effectively controls less than two acres (about 9.0%) of his holdings, remarks:

If I go to the band and ask them
to settle up who owns my land, I
might lose my ticket, and my

land will be gone, for sure. Maybe he [the person claiming the land through default] will bring all his relatives to that meeting. Then there will be too many people against me and my relatives. When the votes come, he might turn really mean to get people to vote for him.

If I take the case to court, the same thing that happened to my cousin will happen to me. The judge will say my ticket is no good because my father borrowed money and couldn't pay it back. There goes my land, for sure. If I don't say nothing, I don't lose that ticket, and that land is mine, even if I can't touch it. Maybe someday they will force that guy to give me back that land.

There is awareness among native people that possession of reserve land is a dubious form of security and that outside confiscation of their land is a lingering possibility. Consequently, Certificate holders are unwilling to challenge informal or extra-legal takeover of their land parcels, for they may forfeit what little proof of possession they have.

Data on land possession and control are inadequate, especially in historical perspective and, given the uneasiness of reserve residents to discuss their land holdings with an outsider, a full-scale discussion of the present situation is not possible.

The Sea. Subsistence fishing at Tsartlip has declined considerably in importance since early contact

times, although there is intermittent food fishing almost all year round by about two-thirds of the reserve families. Reasons for the decline are probably related to the fact that Saanich Inlet and other traditional fishing grounds in the area are now intensively exploited by sport fisherman. In addition, only one or two West Saanich people have boats with outboard motors. All species of salmon except sockeye are caught in Saanich Inlet and Goldstream, along with rock and bottom fish. At present, there are no active commercial fishermen at Tsartlip, possibly because the cost of maintaining a government-approved fishing boat has become increasingly prohibitive.

More important, commercially as well as for subsistence, are clams, especially the butter clam (*Saxidomus giganteus*) and the little neck (*Protothia staminea*). In 17 (33.0%) of the 51 households at West Saanich, individuals dig for clams regularly for subsistence purposes, gathering a bucket or gunny sack full -- enough for a meal of clam chowder or clam fritters, with some left over to shuck, thread together, and hang from the rafters of the house to dry for another meal.

From March or April until late October, clams are dug in every low-tide period, lasting five or six days twice a month. Eight households (16.0%) dig clams regularly for sale during these months. In 1971, commercial clam

diggers from Tsartlip were receiving eight cents per pound for clams, or six dollars for a 75-pound box, down from ten cents per pound, or seven dollars and fifty cents a box, the year before. Today, a single digger does well to dig 100 pounds of clams in a day, digging for three hours. Most settle for one box a day to sell to one of two non-Indian clam buyers who cruise the beaches with their trucks.

According to several older diggers from Tsartlip, only ten years ago clam diggers could average 400 to 500 pounds of clams in a day, while yields of 1000 pounds or more in a three-hour tide were not uncommon before the mid-1950's. With increasing population in waterfront residences on either side of the reserve, tidal pollution from raw sewage has afflicted the clam beds. The spoilage and closure of polluted beaches all along the Saanich Peninsula during the summer, as well as the increased numbers of non-Indian clam diggers, account for the declining yields.

Clam digging from November to early March is undertaken by native people, but it is a painfully unproductive activity. The best tides in the winter months occur progressively later each day, until by December low tide occurs just before midnight. Even regular subsistence or commercial clam pickers are reluctant to endure the cold winds and rain of dark winter nights for a gunnysackful of clams, whether for dinner or for a six-dollar return. Many older clam pickers complain of arthritis or rheumatism in

their hands and feet, attributed to constant exposure to the bone-chilling dampness of clam beaches in winter.

Even in fine weather, on relatively productive and unspoiled beaches, clam digging is not without problems. In recent years, native people have encountered resistance to their clam-digging activities, from non-government officials and from non-Indian residents of waterfront homes along Saanich Inlet. According to some Indian pickers, a family from Tsartlip was ordered by the RCMP to leave one of the beaches north of the reserve, during the summer of 1970, because some White residents had complained that Indians were trespassing on their beaches. The RCMP are reported, by a family member, to have explained to the native pickers that although clam digging is not illegal, the presence of Indians on "White people's beaches" might cause trouble. A member of the family added that they were not forcibly removed but were asked to vacate the beach voluntarily, to avoid trouble. Another digger mentioned that, in 1970, he was "kicked off our own property at Goldstream, by a game warden".

In April of 1971, a similar incident allegedly occurred while I was working at Tsartlip. A band councillor reported, on April 20, 1971, that a group of about 12 Indian clam pickers, including two or three from Tsartlip, were evicted from one of the Saanich Inlet beaches, by a "game warden" who had been following them around for three days.

The next day, April 21st, another family told the writer that "the game warden" had been following them, as they dug.

The councillor asked me to find out why the Indians were being harassed. He was especially interested in determining if foreshore rights entitled waterfront property owners to chase clam diggers from the beaches, if the diggers were below the high tide line. He was concerned, also, about whether oyster leases held by commercial oyster outfits could prevent Indian people from digging clams in lease areas, since clams were below the surface of the beach and oysters were above.

After visits to several government offices, I was directed, finally, to the office of the Deputy Minister of Lands. My field notes for May 3, 1971, summarize the information obtained from this official:²

There are two kinds of foreshore rights. The first is simply "common law" that assures the owner of waterfront property access to that property from the water. It does not give the owner any rights over the use of the beach but only the right to reach his property by water, and to be assured that no one will be permitted to construct a wharf or breakwater in front of his property that would obstruct his passage by water.

The other foreshore rights are leases obtained by sawmills, marinas, etc., enabling them to construct log pens, wharves, breakwaters, and the like where such construction is in the public interest and does not interfere with the use of large stretches of beach for public use. A private property owner could not obtain

² Throughout this study, narrative material taken from my field notes will be set out in this manner, to distinguish it from both the main text and from quotations.

this kind of foreshore lease simply to keep Indian people, or anyone else, away from the waterfront adjoining his property. Fore-shore rights are granted largely to commercial enterprises after due consideration of an application by the Department of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources. They are not easily obtained.

There are no game wardens any more, only conservation officers. They wear a uniform and carry identification which they are required to show if their authority is questioned or challenged. According to Mr. Borthwick, they bend over backwards to be nice to Indians and have nothing to gain by running Indian people off the beaches.

Mr. Borthwick phoned Commercial Fisheries to ask if that department knew anything about the incident I had mentioned. They did not know but suggested another place to phone. Borthwick phoned the people who have jurisdiction over Conservation Officers and was told they knew nothing either about a "game warden" chasing Indians off the beach. The Conservation Officer for the Brentwood Bay area was in the office, however, and when he was questioned he said he had not been involved in the incident but that Federal Fisheries men had had some trouble with Indians in that area.

Borthwick phoned the Federal Fisheries Department and was told that their boats were inspecting the size of clams collected and were also trying to determine whether or not anyone was selling clams without a license. They had caught some Indian people at Sandy Beach gathering clams for sale without a license (how they knew this was not determined by Borthwick).

The federal man also claimed that a number of Indians were trying to claim the beaches in front of reserve property as belonging to the reserve but that this was not acceptable. The beaches were for the use of the general public rather than any one group. Borthwick backed this up by saying that the province had always regarded the foreshore area as for the use of the general public. Riparian rights entitled property owners to rights of access to their

property but not even Indians could own the foreshore as it was solely a matter of user's rights.

Commercial clam digging, under the best of circumstances, is not a profitable business. Although eight households supplement their income regularly by digging and selling clams, no individuals or households rely entirely upon clam digging for cash income. A picker of Indian ancestry who is considered one of the most experienced and efficient commercial clam diggers on the reserve expressed an interest in establishing a band-operated clamming business that would eliminate the white buyer as middleman and return larger sums to the native clam digger:

We are getting only eight or nine cents a pound for clams this year. Last year we got ten cents. Each year, the *hwānitəm* buyers give us less but, each year, we have to work harder to dig the same amount of clams. The harder we work, the less we get paid. The middleman makes all the profit and doesn't have to work for it. Those two *hwānitəm* buyers sell the clams they get from us to a canning and freezing company in Seattle. They get 30 or 31 cents a pound, three times what we get. We should start a co-operative here on the reserve. The government should re-seed the beaches with new clams, and then the Sāanich people could buy a truck and ship the clams they pick to Seattle. We could invest our profits in freezing equipment and freeze our own clams. We could sell them frozen in the States, in Japan, and even here in B.C.

Given the problems of beach closures because of pollution each summer, band councillors regard the idea with skepticism.

As the foregoing discussion of the physical environment has attempted to show, not only are there actual hindrances to native Indian resource development, but also there is considerable uncertainty among Indian people with regard to the accessibility of resources for their exploitation. Whether the concern is with simple possession or development of reserve land or with the gathering of shellfish outside reserve boundaries, a feeling of apprehension pervades the utilisation of what remains of their physical domain.

The historical basis for this uncertainty and for the legal and social restrictions placed upon the West Saanich people will be dealt with at length in Chapter Three. The remainder of this chapter, however, will be devoted to a brief description of the cultural environment of Tsartlip Reserve.

Cultural Environment

In addition to its physical environment, Tsartlip operates within the confines of a complex cultural environment comprising both Indian and non-Indian cultures. Although interaction with the non-Indian cultural environment is considered the dominant ecological relationship in this investigation, the character of relationships

between the native people of Tsartlip and other reserves must be described, at least briefly, for it is to some extent determined by the relationship to the non-Indian environment. Although no attempt will be made here to focus upon the nature of inter-reserve adaptations to the larger society, an understanding of interaction within the Indian community, as defined by Suttles (1963), is important to an understanding of the way in which one reserve, Tsartlip, interacts with the dominant culture.

The Indian Community

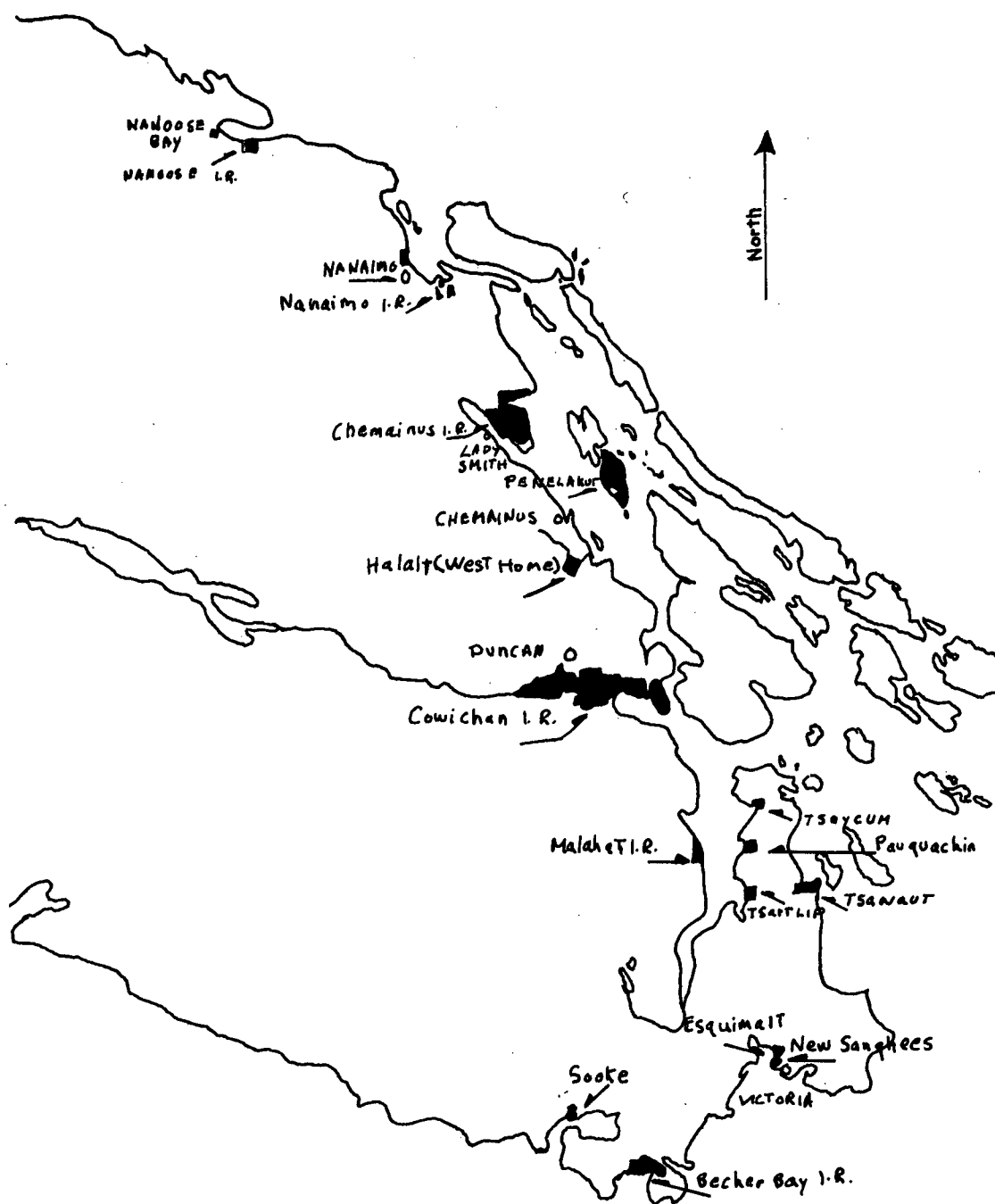
As Suttles argues, the modern Salish Indian reserve is not a self-contained social unit, but is, rather, a part of a wider community, or "social continuum" (1963:513), just as the aboriginal Salishan village was in the past. For the purposes of this description, community is used in this broader sense to refer to a network of Indian reserves, including Tsartlip, that are linked through a variety of social relationships, much as Suttles (1963) describes.

As well as Tsartlip, there are three other Indian reserves on the Saanich Peninsula -- Pauquachin and Tseycum, on the same side of the Peninsula as Tsartlip, and Tsawout, directly opposite, on the eastern side. Ten miles south of Tsartlip, near Victoria, are the adjacent Songhees and Esquimalt Reserves of the Songhees people and, further to the southeast, Beecher Bay and Sooke Reserves, 30 and

35 miles, respectively, from Tsartlip (Figure 4). Across Saanich Inlet, and accessible by car ferry, as well as by major highway, is the Malahat Reserve, from where the Pauquachin (Cole Bay) people came. Up-island Salish reserves, all within the cultural environment of Tsartlip, include Cowichan, Halalt, Penelakut, Chemainus, Nanaimo, and Nanoose (Figure 4).

It is with these fourteen reserves that Tsartlip most regularly and frequently interacts. No attempt has been made to determine any order of regularity and frequency, but my impression is that, on the whole, contact is most frequent and regular with Tsawout, of the Peninsula Reserves, and with Cowichan, of the up-Island reserves. Indeed, there appears to be more contact with Cowichan than with either of the Songhees or Sooke Reserves, although the latter two are closer to Tsartlip. On the basis of legal marriages, members of the Tsartlip band, male or female, seem more likely to choose spouses who are not from Tsartlip, as shown in Table I. If marriage with non-Tsartlip spouses is considered an indicator of frequency, or intensity, of interaction between the people of West Saanich and of other reserves, Tsartlip band members intermarry most frequently with Cowichan band members, from the reserve at Duncan (Figure 4). It is interesting to note, too, that speakers of the Cowichan language (11) are second in number only to speakers of Saanich (25) among residents of West

Figure 4: Indian Reserves of Southern Vancouver Island, South Island District



Source: Canada, Indian Affairs n.d.

Saanich Reserve.

TABLE I
INTERMARRIAGE AND BAND AFFILIATION

Band Affiliation of Spouses	Tsartlip Females		Tsartlip Males		Total (M + F)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tsartlip	11	37.0	11	24.0	22	29.0
Non-Tsartlip	19	63.0	35	76.0	54	71.0
Total	30	100.0	46	100.0	76	100.0

Source: Author's field census (1971).

Although village exogamy is no longer prescribed as it was in aboriginal Coast Salish society (Barnett 1955:184; Suttles 1963:514), inter-reserve marriages continue to unite groups and to provide a basis for much of the inter-reserve system of mutual aid, such as visiting and hospitality, borrowing and lending of cash and goods, and the sharing of food.

As well as other Salish reserves on the mainland, especially in the Fraser River Delta and Valley area of southwestern British Columbia, non-Salish reserves on the west coast of Vancouver Island and in the northern part of the province are, to a lesser extent, part of the Tsartlip cultural environment. Various inter-tribal organisations, such as the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, and DIAND-sponsored native Indian conferences serve to facilitate communication and face-to-face interaction among

representatives of all 192 Indian bands in British Columbia. There is inter-societal contact, also, among segments of the Tsartlip population and some northwestern Washington State Salish Indian reservations, especially Lummi.

Interaction among Salish reserves may involve economic, recreational, religious, ceremonial, or political aspects. Mutual aid between consanguineal and affinal kin probably provides the most frequent and regular links among individuals and households at Tsartlip and on other reserves. Inter-marriage, in part, serves to connect families across reserves, thus providing the rationale for mutual assistance. Where winter works or other government-subsidized make-work projects involve more than one reserve, individuals from several reserves may be employed together on a single task. This is especially true for the four Saanich Peninsula reserves who share a common labour pool and close kin ties, as well as a common cultural background. Reserve house construction, the building of a community long house, a band council office, or a Shaker Church -- all may provide temporary employment for a few men from each reserve, and there is a concerted effort on the part of the four band councils to design projects that involve inter-reserve cooperation. In addition, several men from Tsartlip are employed, in permanent or temporary positions, in a sawmill located on the Songhees Reserve (Figure 4) near Victoria.

The four Saanich bands work jointly, as well, in the operation of an Indian education committee established in 1970 to take over the Tsartlip Indian Day School from DIAND. In addition, Tsartlip is represented in the Southern Vancouver Island Tribal Federation and in the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs.

One of the most prominent and regular types of mutual assistance on the lower Island is that involving Indian funerals. On the occasion of each funeral, people from Vancouver Island Coast Salish reserves are brought together through a funeral collection system, to "help out" the bereaved family of the deceased. Each household donates at least one dollar toward funeral expenses, while individuals who attend the funeral may make larger contributions in public at the funeral feast. Other ceremonial and religious activities, with economic aspects, are the winter dances held on the Island from December or January until Easter. Winter dances draw participants and observers from the majority of the fifteen Coast Salish reserves on the Island, especially on weekends. Shaker Church activities, on the other hand, are more local in nature, but Shakers from a number of the Island reserves do attend services on other reserves. The Tsartlip Shaker Church was not completed in 1971, so meetings were held in private homes or in churches on distant reserves, including

Cowichan, on the Island, and Mud Bay, Washington.³

Sports Days, held each weekend during the summer months, are also occasions for social interaction between reserves. Canoe crews and their supporters from each reserve travel extensively on the lower Island and mainland, and in Washington. Those who play *slehel*, the bone game, follow virtually the same circuit as the canoe crews, and most Sports Days end with an evening of gambling (Kew 1970: 283; Suttles 1963:521-22). Many reserves have soccer and softball teams competing during the appropriate seasons. Tsartlip had three soccer teams during 1971, as well as men's, women's, and youth's softball teams. There is some local travelling from one reserve to another for games, in each of these sports.

Day-to-day interaction is, of course, most frequent and regular among near-by reserves. Southern Vancouver Island reserves, linked by ties of blood and marriage, as well as by cultural bonds, are probably in closer contact with each other than with reserves in other cultural areas of the Island, or with reserves on the mainland, although there is some inter-marriage with mainland groups.

Inter-reserve relationships are, generally, non-exploitative in nature. In terms of Sahlins' (1965:147-148)

³When the Tsartlip Shaker Church was completed in the spring of 1972, the three-day opening ceremony on the Easter weekend attracted Shakers from Washington, Oregon, and California, as well as from the British Columbia lower mainland and southern Vancouver Island.

scheme of reciprocal transactions, reciprocity between West Saanich and other Vancouver Island reserves may be generalised, with the return on an exchange not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality, or it may be balanced, with relatively prompt and equivalent return expected, but it is seldom uni-directional for very long or negative in character. Only when the non-Indian metropolis intrudes upon inter-reserve transactions does negative reciprocity,⁴ ". . . conducted toward net utilitarian advantage" (Sahlins 1965:148), seem to arise among reserves.

Although inter-reserve reciprocity is not the subject of this dissertation, the following accounts illuminate the contrast between a multi-reserve economic assistance programme emanating from an agency of the metropolis and another originating entirely within the reserves themselves. For example, according to Tsartlip band council members, in 1971, 18 Indian bands within the DIAND South Island Administrative District that includes Tsartlip requested a total of \$3,065,700 in funds for new housing, for the 1971-72 fiscal year. DIAND allocated to them only \$333,336 to build a maximum of twenty-nine houses. With only one-tenth of the requested funding for new houses available, the 18 South Island District bands were unable to divide such an absurdly inadequate amount in

⁴No information is presented on individual negative reciprocity.

an equitable and impartial way. Reserves with the smallest populations, where only one or two houses were needed, lost out entirely to larger reserves where housing needs of 20 or more units seemed more critical. Ultimately, seven bands received all the funds for housing, while eleven bands went without. The disputes among all 18 bands were understandably bitter and long-lasting.

By contrast, in 1972, when a young girl was killed in an accident in her home at West Saanich, the inter-reserve funeral network was mobilised immediately to provide emotional and financial support for the bereaved family. Although the girl's mother was living on a meagre social assistance income, contributions from twelve reserves enabled her to provide a proper funeral ceremony for her daughter, with payments to individuals who helped out and with a feast for the 125 or so people who assembled "to share the sorrow". There was even enough money left over after funeral expenses were paid to purchase a headstone for the child's grave. A native explanation for this very tangible expression of inter-reserve cooperation is contained in the statement of one of the speakers at the funeral feast who said, "We are gathered here today to do these things for you in return for what you did for us when we were in trouble." The statement was not a superficial one, for the deceased girl's mother is well-known for her willingness to help out others with preparations for funeral or wedding

feasts, or other events. In spite of her material poverty, this woman, like many others, donates her services whenever they are needed and thus participates in the total funeral reciprocity system, both as a contributor and as a recipient. The same network of reciprocity operates for all other members of the inter-reserve system, regardless of social or economic position. Although the total amount collected and the size of the funeral and feast undoubtedly varies with age and social position of the deceased and the prominence of the deceased's family, one native Indian speaker observed:

It doesn't matter whether or not you are an important person, or a wealthy or poor person, the Indian people do this [contribute to the funeral fund and attend the ceremonies] to show respect in the Indian way. We come because we know the family needs our help and that someday, if we are in trouble, this family will help us.

Although it was not possible to gather sufficient data for a detailed comparison of external assistance programs and internal networks of reciprocity, the examples just given indicate that, in the former case, assistance given by the non-Indian metropolis tends to create a parallel exploitative-appropriate structure among reserves and to perpetuate inter-reserve conflict, much as Usher (1972:30-31) suggests. In the latter case, on the other hand, inter-reserve cooperation and egalitarianism is

expressed not only in native oratory, but also in a multitude of tangible ways.

In addition to interaction between the people of West Saanich reserve and residents of other Indian reserves, there are a variety of ties between those living on the reserve and off-reserve native people. Very little information was collected on the nature and extent of contact between Tsartlip people and their urban relatives and friends, and no attempt to determine its importance will be made here.

The Non-Indian Community

In general, interaction between Tsartlip residents and the non-Indian community is of a much different order than that within the native community, although both involve economic, political, religious, and recreational aspects. The structure of present-day contacts with the non-Indian world can be viewed as a multiplicity of metropolis-satellite relationships that links Tsartlip with federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government, with non-native religious institutions, schools, hospitals, industries, commercial establishments, and recreational facilities.

The following description of the non-Indian cultural environment of West Saanich is not intended as an exhaustive catalogue of concrete units within that environment. Later

sections deal more intensively with the nature and effects of the relationship between the reserve and some specific features of non-native society, but only a general outline is provided here.

Registered Indians at Tsartlip come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act, and their affairs are administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, a branch of the federal government. West Saanich Reserve is within the South Island District of DIAND. The headquarters of South Island District have been moved recently from the town of Duncan, some 30 miles from West Saanich reserve, to the larger community of Nanaimo, 40 miles further north (Figure 4). There is no Victoria office of DIAND, so officials and representatives of that agency must travel approximately 70 miles to reach West Saanich. If a Tsartlip band member wishes to take a request, complaint, or other matter directly to DIAND district office, a trip must be made to Nanaimo to do so. For individuals at Tsartlip, problems involving social assistance, housing, and, for women, changes in band list registration resulting from marriage or the birth of a child are the most common reasons for contacting the Nanaimo office. The band council, of course, interacts with the Nanaimo office of DIAND on a wide variety of predominantly economic matters.

Interaction with the provincial government is

restricted, largely, to the area of education, a provincial responsibility since the 1950 federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement for Indian education. Since *per capita* grants for the schooling of Indian children are turned over to local school boards, provincial involvement with West Saanich, on this matter, is indirect, as far as administration goes.

Non-status Indian residents of the reserve who require social assistance are administered through the Department of Indian Affairs, just as registered Indians are. The province recompenses DIAND for the amounts spent on its behalf, for non-status Indians.

There is one member of the Tsartlip band employed by the provincial government, but her job, a clerical one, is not related to the reserve in any way.

Dealings with Central Saanich Municipality have focussed around the extension of a municipal waterline to reserve houses on Stelly's X Road and providing fire protection for Tsartlip. From time to time, Tsartlip men have been employed by Central Saanich Municipality in laying water lines, building roads, and working on garbage trucks. The Municipality does not provide garbage disposal services to the reserve, however, and only recently has a band-operated, volunteer garbage disposal service been started.

Ambulance service in Central Saanich is privately owned.⁵

Historically, the province and Central Saanich Municipality have been most directly concerned with the transfer of "cut-off" and reversionary band lands for settlement and development, a matter to be discussed in the next chapter.

Forty-six children from Tsartlip attend Grades One to Six at the DIAND-operated day school on the reserve. Another 13 attend nursery school and kindergarten on other Saanich reserves, for a total of 59 Tsartlip children in DIAND schools. Forty-six of them, in Grades 1-12, attend within the Saanich School District, while seven go to a public high school in Greater Victoria School District. Five children attend private or parochial schools in Victoria. Thus, enrollment is split almost evenly between DIAND and non-DIAND schools, with 50 per cent of the total 117 students attending the former and 50 per cent attending the latter (actually, 45 per cent attend public schools and 4 per cent attend private or parochial schools).

There are, as well, eight adults attending the Native Indian Programme at the Institute of Adult Studies, under the jurisdiction of the Victoria School Board, but

⁵In 1973, I was asked to draw a map, for distribution to ambulance, police, fire, and other emergency services, showing the number and location of all houses on the reserve. The map was requested after a child died in a reserve home. An ambulance had been called but was unable to find the house quickly in the dark. The child's life might have been saved if emergency treatment had arrived only a few minutes earlier.

financed by DIAND, and there are five adults financed by Canada Manpower attending classes in provincially-run vocational schools.

Tsartlip wage earners not employed by DIAND or the band council work in a number of industries in the Greater Victoria area. Although they will not be discussed until Chapter Five, most of these industries employ native people in unskilled, low-wage, labouring positions. Tsartlip women sell hand-knit goods to three stores in Victoria, to one in Sidney, and to two or three stores in Duncan.

Within walking distance of the reserve, in the suburb of Brentwood Bay, are two neighbourhood grocery stores, a drugstore, bakery, second-hand furniture store, laundromat, and several small specialty shops, as well as a service station. Those West Saanich residents who do not have cars or regular access to cars, patronize the neighbourhood grocery stores almost exclusively, although they are aware that prices are somewhat higher than in the larger chain supermarkets. Women without cars make almost daily trips on foot to the Brentwood Bay grocers. The drugstore and secondhand furniture store, and to a lesser extent, the laundromat, are used by the people of West Saanich Reserve, but they shop less frequently in the bakery and specialty shops because these stores are rather expensive. West Saanich residents who have cars rely on the Brentwood Bay

grocery stores for emergencies and some do most of their grocery shopping there because of credit saturation.

Although there is a Roman Catholic Church just beyond the reserve cemetery, few Tsartlip adults attend regularly. The large Roman Catholic cathedral in downtown Victoria is used for large weddings and funerals, in part because of its size and elegance, but also because the priest who was formerly assigned to the smaller church beside the reserve is now a pastor in the cathedral, and he is preferred by the people of West Saanich for celebrating mass on these ceremonial occasions. Without attending mass, I was unable to determine how many Indian people worshipped regularly in the little church. A number of native people expressed disapproval of the liberalization of the Catholic Mass and stated that they had not attended since the change occurred. Only two people attend a Protestant church, and their attendance is fairly regular.

Most people at Tsartlip who need medical attention patronize two doctors with offices in Brentwood Bay and use the services of a small hospital in Sidney (Figure 1). Nearly all babies of the reserve are born in the Sidney hospital, but serious illnesses may be treated at one of the two larger Victoria city hospitals.

Tsartlip residents who wish to drink in licenced premises frequent four pubs -- three in Victoria and one in Sidney. These beer parlours are customarily patronized by

native Indian people living in the Greater Victoria area and are regarded by them, and by some non-Indians, as Indian pubs.

The foregoing description of both physical and cultural aspects of the environment of Tsartlip society is intended to establish a framework for viewing the satellite status of West Saanich and to delineate the essence of the reserve's dependent relationship with the metropolis. With the major outlines of this relationship specified, Chapter Three will focus upon the ethnographic background and historical development of West Saanich Reserve as a hinterland.

CHAPTER III

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Before an examination can be undertaken of those aspects of the present satellite position of West Saanich reserve that are the concern of this study, two other topics must be dealt with. It will be useful, first, to summarize what is known of the aboriginal culture and society of the people of Tsartlip, especially with respect to resource utilisation, housing, and the role and status of women and second, to trace the history of Tsartlip's transition from a relatively autonomous Coast Salish village to a settlement defined by and dependent upon the dominant Canadian metropolis.

Ethnographic Background

The people of Tsartlip regard themselves as the descendants of the Saanich people who, in pre-contact times, occupied four winter villages, where the four Saanich reserves are located today: Tsawout (East Saanich Reserve), Tseycum (Pat Bay Reserve), Pauquachin (Cole Bay Reserve), and Tsartlip¹ (West Saanich Reserve) (Figure 1).

¹Spellings of the four village names are those used by DIAND (Canada, Indian Affairs 1970). Barnett uses *tsautw*

Culturally, the Saanich are a sub-division of the Coast Salish. Similar in culture to their Vancouver Island neighbours, the Songhees and the Sooke, and to the Semiahmoo, Lummi, and Samish of Washington, the Saanich spoke dialects of Straits Salish, a sub-grouping of the Coast Salish language family (Duff 1964:15; Suttles 1954:29-31). Suttles (1954:29-31) classifies these groups, and the Klallum of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington, who spoke a slightly more distant dialect, as Straits Salish on the basis of similarities in language and certain important subsistence activities carried on in the waters of Juan de Fuca, Haro, and Rosario Straits (Figure 2). These subsistence activities centred around dependence upon annual salmon runs, especially that of sockeye salmon to the Fraser River. Straits groups, using reef-nets, took sockeye in the many salt-water straits along the southern coast of Vancouver Island and among the Gulf and San Juan Islands. Suttles (1954:31) observes that

this fishing technique contrasts with those used by neighbors both to the north and to the south, fishing in streams with smaller mobile nets or with weirs and traps. Associated with reef-netting were several unique ritual practices and a great stress on the private ownership of the fishing locations. In other respects the Straits tribes

(East Saanich), *saigwam* (Pat Bay), *pakwitean* (Cole Bay), and *teaLap* (West Saanich) (1955:19).

differed slightly from one another
and perhaps only slightly more
from their most immediate neighbors
to the north and south (1954:31).

Some families from Tsartlip village took sockeye within the Fraser River. The remainder of the Tsartlip people, like the other Straits groups, fished only in salt water, outside the Fraser River mouth (Barnett 1955:20, 87).

Origins

An account of the origins of the Tsartlip people that is related by older band members maintains that the Tsartlip, Tsawout, and Tseycum were one people residing in two winter villages on the Saanich Peninsula, of Vancouver Island. Tsartlip and Tsawout people were a single residential branch of the Saanich living at the present site of Tsawout, while the other branch resided at the village of Tseycum (Figure 1). According to native history, the village of Tsartlip was founded several generations ago:

Tragedy brought the Saanich people to Tsartlip. Some Saanich people from Tsawout were camped at D'Arcy Island.² They were raided by the *ləqwiltoq* [Southern Kwagiulth]. The only survivors were a woman and her nine-year-old son, *kwə ləxwənthət*. Her husband and brothers were beheaded in the raid. The woman and her son returned to Tsawout, but they did not stay.

²D'Arcy Island was a Tsawout (East Saanich) resource location for seal and porpoise, in aboriginal times (Barnett 1955:20).

In her grief, the woman wandered aimlessly over the Peninsula with her little son. When she reached the place that is now called Tsartlip, she saw a beautiful, park-like land covered with vine maples and divided by four little streams. She called the place *hwch'aləlp* [Tsartlip] which means 'maple trees.' Then she looked out over the beach to the bay and she said, 'Here I will raise my son to be a man.' And that is how the people who lived here came to be known as the *ch'əsing?sat* ['growing up'] -- the people who were raising themselves up, never to be defeated again. The woman's son grew up to be a prosperous and very progressive man. And that is why the Tsartlip people were such a self-reliant and progressive tribe. They took care of themselves. Until the white man came, they had no disease, no hunger, no immorality, no poverty. They were the richest people on earth. They respected nature and took only what they needed from nature. They were the world's greatest conservationists. There was always more than enough for everyone. Before the white man came, everyone shared, everyone cooperated. There was no greed, because everyone had plenty.

Barnett received a somewhat different version that suggests the Tsartlip site had been occupied at an earlier time in aboriginal history:

Kwalakwanθat was said to be the forefather of all the *tealap* people. He formerly lived on a creek near East Sanetch. A lazy boy, he had finally been shamed into getting supernatural power -- a familiar myth pattern of the whole coast

area. He moved to *teaLap* because 'it was safer' from war attacks, and founded a village. The former inhabitants there were all dead by the time of his arrival. I am not sure who Paul meant by the 'former inhabitants'. He was not explicit (1955:20).

Jenness (n.d.:n.p.) maintains that it was the village of Tseycum, rather than Tsartlip, that was established after 1800 by a group of Tsawout people who moved to Patricia Bay to escape the raids of the Southern Kwagiulth [*laqwilttoq*] and the Cowichan. He states further that around 1850, while the people of Tsartlip were fishing on the Malahat side of Saanich Inlet, their village was burned by northerners but was later rebuilt. Duff adds:

about 1850, most of the Gulf Islanders moved in to Saanichton Bay, so that the three main villages were on Saanichton Bay, Patricia Bay, and Brentwood Bay. The Pemberton map of 1855 [Figure 3] shows these three villages, naming them 'Tetaihit' [Tsawout], 'Saikum' [Tseycum], and 'Chawilp' [Tsartlip], respectively. The village at Cole Bay [Pauquachin] . . . was founded by Malahat Indians who later moved across Saanich Arm. Douglas' list of 117 North Saanich men [who signed one of the Fort Victoria treaties] . . . falls into three parts, which may correspond with the three Saanich villages (1969:51).

There is no archaeological information available on the prehistory of the Saanich Peninsula, but the ethnographic evidence would indicate that Tsartlip did not become

a permanent winter village until rather late, and that Tsawout, on the eastern side of the Peninsula is the oldest of the four villages.

Aboriginal Territory and Subsistence

According to Barnett (1955:251-52) and Suttles (1966:171, 174), among the Coast Salish, resource locations such as reef net fishing areas, sealing rocks, shellfish beaches, bird rookeries, camas beds, and berry patches were owned by certain families who possessed hereditary rights to exploit these sites. Barnett (1955:252) was unable to gain a clear picture of fishing, hunting, and gathering territories for individual families among the Tsartlip, but he does describe the territorial extent of the Tsartlip as a whole:

During July the *tcaLap* people and also those of Patricia Bay moved across the strait to fish for sockeye, humpback, and sturgeon. The location was on the inner side of the narrowest part of the peninsula, just opposite *Twasan* (near Point Roberts) For the fall salmon, the *tcaLap* fished nearer home at camps on Gold Stream (northwest of Victoria) (1955:20).

Within the memory of several long-time residents of Tsartlip, from June through August, some people from Tsartlip lived at Henry Island, which is separated from the northwestern shore of San Juan Island in Washington state,

by a narrow strip of water known as Mosquito Pass (Figure 2). Here, they engaged in reef-netting for sockeye, and also in fishing for humpback, and coho salmon. Mitchell Bay, on the west coast of San Juan Island, is also regarded as former territory of the Tsartlip Saanich. Porpoise were taken on the southern end of San Juan Island, and, in May, seagull eggs were collected from the rocks in the same locality. Salmon, herring, and rock cod were taken in Active Pass from their Mayne Island fishing station. Goldstream supplied steelhead in the early spring, pinks and spring salmon in late spring, and dog salmon in the fall. Deer were hunted there also.

Native Tsartlip people recall the use of certain areas of the Saanich Peninsula during spring and summer for the gathering of plant foods such as wild asparagus, wild parsnips, bracken roots, a wide variety of berries, and camas bulbs. Camas bulbs provided the main vegetable food for the Saanich (Jenness n.d.:n.p.), and fields of camas were "cultivated" each fall by families who owned rights to them. Underbrush was cleared out, and stones were heaped in piles away from the growing areas. These stone heaps are still uncovered today by Saanich Peninsula residents who regard them as "Indian burials" or "forts". The Roman Catholic Church property north of the cemetery was once an important camas bed.

A large swamp, extending along the present eastern

boundary of the reserve was used until almost 1930 by the Indian people of Tsartlip. Its economic importance is explained by one of the older band members, as follows:

The Peninsula gets very arid in summer except for that swamp. As the surrounding area dried out, the game -- deer, elk, and smaller animals -- moved into the swamp. Thousands of grouse, ducks, and geese rested there, too. My mother said that the day darkened with ducks flying over the swamp area. We used to go there to get those tall reeds to make mats to line the walls of our houses, and for cascara bark for medicine. The cascara trees grew very large in the swamp, to three feet in diameter. We used to hunt there, too, during the summer. The last thing we took from the swamp, in the fall, were the cranberries.

When the swamp was drained in 1927 or 1928, I can remember my mother crying, "It will be no more good. It is lost to us."

Cultural Background

Although distinctive in terms of a reef-net technology for sockeye salmon fishing, Straits Salish were similar to other southern Coast Salish groups, both on Vancouver Island and the mainland, as far as other features of aboriginal culture were concerned. Straits groups followed a pattern of regular, seasonal moves to resource locations, returning to their permanent villages for the winter. The village of Tsartlip, like other southern Coast

Salish villages, consisted of a row of large, shed-roofed plank houses, each the dwelling of a patrilineal extended family (Barnett 1955:241-42). Although the descent system was bilateral, there was a strong patrilineal bias in the inheritance of property, as well as largely patrilocal residence (Barnett 1955:242, 250-51).

Private property included both tangible and intangible possessions, as Barnett (1955:250) notes:

. . . the possession of private property and its manipulation according to the accepted patterns of liberality were given great emphasis. Property in goods and property in privilege were both important. To the first category belonged certain hunting, gathering, and fishing sites and the instruments for their utilization; houses and their furnishings; canoes; items of excess such as blankets, valuable skins, slaves, and coppers; and objects of personal ornament and dress. Except for minor articles worn by females or used by them in their occupations, all such property was in the hands of men. To the second category belonged personal names, songs, dances, spirit powers, magic, and ceremonial prerogatives of various kinds. Ownership by sex within this category was about equally divided, but the most important privileges were male owned or governed. Husbands and wives pooled their labor and all proceeds went toward the common family store. In the event of separation, the common property remained with the husband. Daughters inherited the property

of their mothers, and sons and grandsons that of their male predecessor.

The distribution, rather than simple inheritance and possession, of wealth was linked to the validation of one's social status. Suttles (1966:170-71) observes that although ranking was "poorly developed", Coast Salish society was stratified into a clearly defined upper class, a much smaller lower class, with limited upward mobility, and the slaves of the upper class. Suttles contends, further, that high class status was dependent also upon

being of good family, of high birth, . . . that is, having no taint of slave ancestry, low-class ancestry, or disgraceful conduct in the family . . . [and possessing] a stock of good hereditary names and . . . a sort of private or guarded knowledge . . . usually translated 'advice'. Advice consisted of genealogies and family traditions revealing family greatness, gossip about other families demonstrating how inferior they are, instruction in practical matters such as how to quest for the right kind of guardian spirit, secret signals for indicating that someone is of lower-class, and a good deal of solid moral training (1966: 171-72).

Evidence for the existence of a class structure in Coast Salish society ". . . comes from descriptions of village structure . . . in which there was a division of residence between upper-class and lower-class people"

(Suttles 1968:168). Barnett's description of *tcaLap* village provides this kind of evidence:

There were seven big houses at *tcaLap*. Six of these were lined up parallel to the beach and were separated by small creeks. The seventh was back behind the others. The houses of the most important families were in the middle; those on the ends and at the back belonged to lesser men. On the extreme ends were the small houses of the poor and lowly . . . The house at one end was owned by a man with no supernatural power and little influence. The next was occupied by my informant's wife's grandfather and his brother. He was 'smart for . . .' ritual magic. Beyond the next creek in the second largest house lived two brothers and their male cousin. The head was a 'fighting man'. In the next house lived the owner and several of his wife's relatives. He was 'not good -- no power for anything.' On the far end lived another 'good hunter' with his brother and three 'cousins'. Although a good hunter, this man was not very 'high'. The house in the rear belonged to a childless, brotherless individual who was 'not very good -- poor'. In all, or most, of these houses of course there were a number of women and children. Only the principal adult men were remembered (1955:19-20).

The cousin terminology of the Saanich people, as for all southern Coast Salish groups, was Hawaiian (Murdock 1949:229), reflecting the bilateral descent pattern. The most important aspect of the kinship terminological system,

in the view of Suttles (1960:297) was its broadly classificatory nature, in which siblings and cousins were equated in ego's own generation (Hawaiian cousin forms) with corresponding equivalencies for five ascending and five descending generations. Suttles (1960:302) maintains that this terminology, combined with the rules prohibiting marriage between "cousins", was an adaptation to the environmental factor of cyclical variation in abundance of resources, in that it led to marriages between distant villages. Coupled with the special food-wealth exchange relationship between "co-parents-in-law" or "brothers-in-law", the kinship marriage pattern helped to solve the problem of temporary, but critical, regional food scarcity.

Coast Salish religion centred around a belief in a multitude of supernatural helpers who gave aid in hunting and fishing, supernatural causes for illnesses and misfortune, the performance of magical practices by shamans during periods of anxiety or crisis, the concept of soul loss and restoration, and the manifestation of spirit possession in the form of a public display of spirit dancing and singing during winter ceremonies, by individuals who had encountered spirit power during their initiation (Barnett 1955: *passim*).

The Status of Women in
Aboriginal Coast Salish Society

In spite of several ethnographic accounts of Coast Salish culture (*e.g.*, Barnett 1955; Elmendorf 1960; Gunther 1927; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930; Jenness n.d.; Smith 1940; Stern 1934; Suttles 1951), there has been no systematic description of the role and status of Coast Salish women. An examination of the literature reveals discussion of girls' puberty rites and treatment of high-class girls of marriageable age, brief mention of the economic role of women, and of the importance of old women, but little mention of how women were treated or regarded nor of their total role in the culture. Consequently, the depiction that follows of the aboriginal position of Coast Salish women relies largely on inferential statements.

Barnett (1955:150-55) notes that Coast Salish boys had more freedom than girls, especially during puberty, when a girl was expected to prepare herself for marriage. He remarks that pubescent girls

. . . were constantly impressed with the advantages of well-connected in-laws and were taught to wish for a rich husband. They bathed and scrubbed themselves in creeks near home and were under closer watch than their brothers. They did not go on quests which took them away from home overnight (1955:150).

The time of her menstrual period was fraught with supernatural danger, both for the menstruating girl and for

others who might come in contact with her (Barnett 1955:151).

After puberty, girls were expected to remain chaste and modest and ". . . to look upon marriage with a rich gentleman as the consummation of their life interest . . ." (Barnett 1955:180). Barnett observes that, for the upper-class Saanich girl, idleness and "conspicuous leisure" were developed to the fullest as indications of upper class status:

The [Saanich] girl was allowed to go outside only at night and then in secrecy and accompanied by her mother. She did nothing, and her continued inactivity and seclusion made her weak, pale, and incompetent to perform any physical task. As a result of her years of sitting, she often walked queerly the rest of her life. Yet her very defects were valued as marks of the ultimate aristocrat, and noble families sought these secluded girls . . . in marriage for their sons

Premarital sexual relations among wellborn girls were not tolerated. The seduction of an aristocratic girl was regarded as murder (1955:180).

Illegitimate births seem to have been rare until after European contact, when they ". . . brought shame upon the child and the family of its mother" (Barnett 1955:181).

With respect to marriage, Coast Salish girls seem to have had little say in the selection of a marriage partner. Although they ". . . were not forced into

distasteful alliances" (Barnett 1955:181), they were expected to be obedient and to acquiesce to parental decisions.

Among the Saanich, divorce may have been infrequent because of the strong efforts of kin on both sides to keep a couple together, with magic being employed if necessary (Barnett 1955:194). Women who left their husbands were not well received at the homes of their fathers, and even if a woman were mistreated by her husband, the co-fathers-in-law made every attempt to effect a reconciliation, by exchanging gifts and feasting the other side (Barnett 1955:194).

Barnett comments:

the prominence of positive mechanisms for strengthening the marriage bonds does not mean that separations were unknown. As a matter of fact, divorce everywhere was easy, far easier than with us, for it was a private and not a public concern. The consequences of it affected the families involved, not society as a whole. Matters of inheritance and child rearing were the main problems, and these were decided in accordance with patterns of alignment and support applicable to the extended family group. Male children beyond infancy always remained with their fathers, and sometimes the girls did too. They were cared for by aunts, grandmothers, or stepmothers. Infants in arms went with their mothers and sometimes remained with them, but a boy, at least,

was likely to fare better under the guidance of his father.

Men held and manipulated property; and both boys and girls could normally expect greater expenditures of property for their social advancement from their fathers than from other male relatives (1955:195, emphasis added).

The preceding passage is especially important in terms of contemporary patterns of child care arrangements when a Tsartlip couple separate, to be discussed later.

Although Barnett asserts that

the primary food-getting occupations of hunting and fishing, combined with the simpler direct gathering activities, consumed most of the productive efforts of both men and women for the greater part of the year . . . (1955:76).

it is apparent from his description that fishing, hunting, and woodworking were primarily the domains of men, while women were engaged in gathering, food preparation and storage, cooking, weaving, basketry, and other domestic pursuits. Moreover, supernatural helpers were not necessary for women ". . . to achieve pre-eminence in some occupation" (Barnett 1955:78), as they were for men.

Barnett's (1955:250) discussion of private property is used earlier in this chapter, but it should be reiterated that he claims that ownership of important property, both tangible and intangible, was in the hands of males. Furthermore, although "daughters inherited the

property of their mothers, and sons and grandsons that of their male predecessor" (Barnett 1955:250), the inheritance pattern is only superficially bilateral, if what was handed down by women to their daughters was economically and socially insignificant. The fact that "daughters inherited important property only when there were no near male relatives left" (Barnett 1955:251) serves to emphasize rather than contradict the lack of economic power of Salish women on southern Vancouver Island. Similarly, women do not seem to have been politically powerful among the Saanich or other groups. Barnett (1955) describes only men in positions of political power and authority, although he does not say explicitly that leadership roles were male prerogatives.

The roles and status of Twana women of Western Washington were not unlike that of their Saanich counterparts, according to Elmendorf's (1960) account. Girls were under stricter supervision than boys, once they reached puberty, and upper-class girls, at least, were expected to be modest and quiet (Elmendorf 1960:434-35). Menstruation was regarded by the Twana ". . . with awe, fear, and disgust" (Elmendorf 1960:436). After ritual seclusion at the onset of the first menstruation, a girl was eligible for marriage, a fact announced by her father at a special feast (Elmendorf 1960:443).

Marriage was ". . . a negotiated family-contract

affair . . ." (Elmendorf 1960:353) among the Twana, with neither principal being in much of a position to object. As with the Saanich, divorce was rare for the Twana because of family pressures on both sides to keep the couple together. "Permanent separation" (Elmendorf 1960:359) occurred, with the husband keeping the children if he sent the wife away and the wife keeping them if she left her husband.

If a Twana woman committed adultery and was discovered, she might receive harsh punishment, even death, at the hands of her husband, but her lover was not punished. If a Twana man were caught in an adulterous affair, his actions were regarded lightly, although his wife might feel considerable resentment toward him (Elmendorf 1960:361).

Elmendorf (1960:396) records a clear sexual division of labour for most ". . . subsistence activities, handicrafts and manufactures, and household tasks" but

the guardian-spirit basis for occupational skill followed sex labour-division lines to a rather slight extent. There was no definite dichotomy or specialization of spirit powers for male and female occupations. A few guardian spirits were acquired only by women; these conferred power or skill or luck in such things as root digging. More conferred special powers for exclusively male pursuits -- hunting, canoe-making, and the like. But in theory, almost anyone could get almost any kind of spirit . . . without regard to sex. It is true that women

did not receive hunting or canoe-making powers in vision encounters with certain spirits which often accorded these skills to men, but they did sometimes obtain these spirits as guardians in a vision encounter or inherited them from a male ancestor, although their exercise of such spirits was usually purely ceremonial (1960:397).

Economic and political power were concentrated, apparently, in the hands of Twana men (Elmendorf 1960:313, 328-31).

Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) describe the role of women in the Puget Sound area, in terms similar to those for other Coast Salish areas. Instruction in cleanliness, basket-making, and wifely duties, extended seclusion during first menses, and close supervision of unmarried high class girls to ensure premarital chastity, is recorded for Snohomish, Snqualmie, and Nisqually women (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:45, 48-49). Illegitimacy was shameful but did not necessarily result in the woman's ostracism (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:50). Marriages among wealthy families involved ". . . a contract between [the] two families" (1930:50), an exchange of gifts, and a distribution (1930:50-51). Separation and divorce occurred, although the couple were usually urged to re-unite (1930:52).

The division of labour involved women in collection and preparation of all vegetable foods, cooking, weaving,

basketry and mat-making, and men in fishing, hunting, wood-working, and tool making (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:20-36). The only overlap seems to have occurred when men assisted women in serving food at feasts (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:24). According to the authors, "A [Puget Sound] woman could never be chief . . . [and] generally only the men took part in tribal meetings . . ." (1930:58-9).

Finally, although Haeberlin and Gunther are not explicit on this point, they indicate that only a man could be possessed by a guardian spirit and engage in spirit dancing (1930:61).

Jenness remarks that:

a [Saanich] girl's four-day confinement differed in no essential prospect from a boy's, except that her seclusion was more rigid and the prohibition against her eating and drinking enforced more strictly [Families] of high rank announced their daughter's coming of age with special entertainments partly to improve the girl's chances in the marriage market

From the time of her 'coming out' no girl or woman might enter a man's fishing and hunting canoe Neither might she walk on any fish-weir, or touch any tools or weapons used in fishing, hunting, and war

Parents occasionally married off their daughters within a few days of their 'coming out'. More often they waited a year or longer During the interval maidens remained

in semi-seclusion, weaving wool, making rush mats, and busying themselves with other housewifely duties, but never leaving the house unless accompanied by some female relative (n.d.:n.p.).

Saanich marriages were arranged, among upper class families, but seem to have been a matter of choice, among commoners (Jenness n.d.:n.p.).

Residence for the newlyweds was patrilocal, and since village exogamy was the rule among the Saanich, this necessitated a major move for the young woman (Jenness n.d.:n.p.). Jenness continues:

Though there was no real courtship prior to marriage and the young couple might never have seen each other before their wedding, the lack of privacy in a big house and the numerous inmates were in some measure a safeguard; for a man could not abuse his wife, nor she neglect her duties, without incurring the condemnation of the whole household. Always in the background, too, was her family, which would certainly resent any ill-treatment, and in the last resort might offer her an asylum and marry her to some one else. The social code enjoined strict chastity both before and after marriage, and the great majority of Saanich lived up to this code. If a woman proved unfaithful her husband might cut off her nose and mutilate the soles of her feet without interference from her kin, or he might divorce her by sending her back to her people; and he might kill her paramour without starting a blood-feud, if he had the courage to attack him.

Such provocation, however seldom arose. Only the principal nobles could afford more than one wife; and their wives came from different districts and occupied separate rooms (n.d.:n.p.).

Jenness' (n.d.) description of the economic cycle of the Saanich indicated that men were fishermen and hunters, while women were responsible for gathering and preparing berries and other vegetable foods, for cooking, and for home-making and child-rearing in general. Women could be shamans and might also seek supernatural helpers (Jenness n.d.:n.p.). He does not mention the role of women in political matters except to note that an elderly Saanich woman might ride in the bow of a war canoe as it headed out on a raiding expedition (n.d.:n.p.).

Although Puyallup-Nisqually women underwent the same ritual seclusion and treatment as other Coast Salish girls, with menstruation being regarded as a contaminating factor and virginity as a virtue, Smith maintains that:

after marriage the woman completely discarded her bashfulness in the presence of men and returned to the attitude of free give-and-take between the sexes which had characterized her pre-menstrual years. Women were as active in instigating extra-marital affairs as men and as frequently assumed the initiative in bringing about a change of spouse. Actual rough and tumble fighting between two married women over a man, married or single, was not uncommon. Although 'high class' women had fewer husbands and illicit affairs than 'low class',

they used the same tactics in keeping their husbands safe from the public advances and in making such advances themselves Men were extremely jealous of other men of their own generation and threatened overt advances to their wives with death, a threat which was not idle Once a marriage was consummated, therefore, men and women had equal rights and it was up to them to retain their marital status against the challenge of other members of their own sex (1940:198).

There was apparently no clear division of labour on the basis of sex among the Puyallup-Nisqually, and men and women often helped each other, especially with fishing, berry-picking, meal preparation, food preservation, and other subsistence tasks as a matter of convenience (Smith 1940:138-9). On the other hand, a distinct division of labour operated where handicrafts were concerned, with men involved in all aspects of equipment, tool, and weapon construction, and in woodworking, and with women making baskets, mats, and clothing (Smith 1940:139).

Puyallup-Nisqually women were excluded from acquiring economic control or political power, and

. . . although they might obtain prestige as women, [they] were excluded from the public operation of authority, a discrimination against them for sex differences alone which is almost unique in the society (Smith 1940:48).

Moreover, women were "rigidly excluded" from participating

in village leadership deliberations (Smith 1940:35).

In summary, most ethnographers depict the role of Coast Salish women in aboriginal times as that of wife and mother, engaged in seasonal gathering activities, in food preparation, and in other domestic pursuits. There is no indication that the subsistence activities of women were regarded as inferior to those of men. Although they might acquire supernatural power and become shamans, Coast Salish women apparently had less intense and less frequent encounters with the spirit world. Women in Coast Salish society might be of high class status, but their position was dependent upon the status of their fathers and husbands who had the means to obtain wealth and prestige. Wealth lay outside the direct control of Coast Salish women, and consequently, they seem to have had little or no external political power. Leadership and authority roles were essentially the domain of males. On the other hand, available ethnographic literature provides virtually no information about the authority of women within the domestic sphere nor about ". . . women's efforts to achieve power and to influence decisions . . ." (Collier 1974:91) by using every resource that might have been available to them.

While it has not provided a full picture of the multiplicity of behaviour patterns by which women or men operated in their everyday lives, this brief ethnographic account of aboriginal Coast Salish society may enhance an

understanding of the changes that occurred with the arrival of the European on Vancouver Island. The impact of European intrusion and settlement upon the lifeways of the Saanich people of Tsartlip is the subject of the following section.

Historical Setting

Early Contact

Although intensive European exploration of the northwest coast of North America was well underway by 1785 (Duff 1964:55), it was not until 1790 that Manuel de Quimper entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and sailed into the harbour at the present site of Victoria (Floyd 1969:20). Between 1791 and 1795, when Britain took possession of the entire Island, other Spanish ships sailed through Haro and Rosario Straits, as well as Juan de Fuca Strait, and Captain George Vancouver circumnavigated the Island, but contact with the native villages at the Island's southern end appears to have been virtually non-existent. Suttles (1954:38) remarks that the Indians who were encountered in 1791, fishing for salmon at Point Roberts, by the Spanish, were "probably the Saanich and Semiahmoo at their reef-net locations". He notes further, that the Spanish

were told, or believed that they were being told, that larger vessels had been in Georgia Strait before, and from them the Indians had obtained engraved brass bracelets, which the

Indians showed them (1954:38).

Even after the establishment of Fort Vancouver in 1824, and Fort Langley in 1827, specific mention of trade or other contact with the Indians of southeastern Vancouver Island is lacking in the historical record. Suttles (1954:38) suggests that because the Straits Salish had access to so few sea-otter resource locations, Spanish and British trading ships tended to ignore these groups. Tolmie refers to trade with the "klalams" in the summer of 1813, but they were from the Olympic Peninsula rather than from Vancouver Island (1963:213-14, 224-25).

Whatever their direct involvement in the sea-otter trade that flourished from 1795 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the native inhabitants of southeastern Vancouver Island were indirectly affected, during that period, by the introduction of guns to the Southern Kwagiulth. The *laqwiltq*, as they were known to the Saanich, made periodic raids on Indian villages as far south as Puget Sound (Duff 1964:60; Floyd 1969:28; Tolmie 1963:219), carrying off women and children as slaves and beheading the men. In response to these predations, the Saanich, as well as other groups who had not acquired firearms (Duff 1964:59), constructed fortifications, including stockades, around their villages (Floyd 1969:28; Suttles 1951:323).

As well, European disease, especially smallpox, contributed to the estimated population decline amongst the

aboriginal inhabitants of southeastern Vancouver Island, from 2700 native people in 1780 to about 2000 by 1842 (Floyd 1969:29).

Suttles summarizes the effects on the Straits Salish of these two factors, smallpox and raiding:

The Straits tribes themselves seem to have been expanding their territory just before discovery: the Lummi and possibly the Samish had only recently reached the Mainland from the San Juan Islands. Then, when the smallpox wiped out a small tribe on Boundary Bay, the Semiahmoo took over their territory. After the introduction of firearms there seems to have been some fighting at the western end of Straits territory; according to one account, the Sooke employed the Makah to wipe out another small tribe on Sooke Bay so that they could expand westward. But the combination of epidemics and raids from the north produced some empty pockets in the centre of Straits territory. The Gulf and San Juan Islands were particularly vulnerable to attack from the north, and probably for this reason the Saanich villages at Active Pass and elsewhere in the Gulf Islands moved to the Saanich Peninsula. In the San Juan Islands two or three Lummi villages and one or two Samish villages were nearly wiped out by smallpox, and the survivors moved to Mainland villages. These tribes still used the islands seasonally, but no longer built their winter villages there; that is, they no longer made them their bases of operation. Epidemics left another gap on the south shore of Vancouver Island, between the Sooke and the Songish. A part of this was filled, just

after Victoria was established,
by Klallum from across the
strait (1954:42).

European Colonization in
Straits Salish Territory

According to Floyd (1969:1), with the visit to southern Vancouver Island of Sir James Douglas, in 1842, and his establishment, one year later, of Fort Victoria as a Hudson's Bay Company post, aboriginal culture in the region was irrevocably altered. Nevertheless, during the first two decades after construction of the fort, the Indians of the Saanich Peninsula were affected to a much lesser extent than were the Songhees, who soon found that some of their winter villages and seasonal resource sites were occupying locations coveted by the European intruders (Duff 1969: *passim*; Floyd 1969:28). The Songhees were forced to move, in 1844 and again in 1850, to less desirable areas further west. The Saanich, residing in villages some 12 to 18 miles from the site of Fort Victoria, were at sufficient distance from this centre of Anglo-Canadian activity to escape being dispossessed of their winter settlements. Their aboriginal territory, however, lay directly in the path of White colonial expansion.

The opening of the lands of Vancouver Island for settlement as a Crown Colony, in 1849, led to the drawing up by Douglas of 11 treaties that were signed, ostensibly, by native people in the vicinity of Fort Victoria, in 1850 and

1852. As Duff observes:

. . . before any settlers could be given title to lands, it was considered necessary to conform with the usual British practice of first extinguishing the proprietary rights of the native people. This was done by negotiating agreements by which they were paid compensation and reserved whatever portions of land and special rights they were considered to need; in short, by making treaties with them. The task fell to James Douglas, chief factor of the Company (and also, after September 1851, governor of the colony) In the spring of 1850 he concluded nine agreements covering Victoria, Metchosin, and Sooke: . . . in 1852, two covering the Saanich Peninsula (1969:6).

According to Floyd, the Fort Victoria treaties

. . . reflected the Hudson's Bay Company's desire to acquire title to all agricultural land to ensure development of the area as a food supply depot of the North Pacific Ocean (1969:51).

Regardless of their intent, the treaties effectively transferred control of most of the lands on southeastern Vancouver Island from the aboriginal occupants to the British Crown.

Although all of the treaties stipulate that

. . . our village sites and enclosed fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our children, and for those who may follow after us [and that]
. . . . we are at liberty to

hunt over the unoccupied lands
and to carry on our fisheries
as formerly (B.C. Dept. of
Lands and Works 1875:10),

Duff remarks that the bands under the Fort Victoria treaties have not benefitted much more greatly than those not covered by treaties (1969:54-55). The questions of "unoccupied lands" and of carrying on with fisheries "as formerly" remain unresolved and undefined, as the problem described in the previous chapter, concerning native peoples' access to shellfish beaches, illustrates.

The treaty with the North Saanich tribe, affecting the present day Tsartlip band does not differ appreciably in terminology from any of the other Fort Victoria treaties, except with respect to actual territory and, more important, in that ". . . the amount of payment and the place [of signing] are not specified, although space was left for that portion of the text" (Duff 1969:22). Duff suggests that the three lists of names totalling 117 signatories, below the terms of the North Saanich treaty, correspond to ". . . the men of the three Saanich villages on Saanichton Bay [Tsawout band], Patricia Bay [Tseycum band], and Brentwood Bay [Tsartlip band]" (Duff 1969:22). He then points out:

The Saanich treaties leave us with a number of puzzles. The 50 blankets noted as paid to the South Saanich, at 16/8 each, do indeed total the £41. . . 13 . . . 4 on the face of the treaty. But only ten men are listed and 5 blankets each would seem more

than their share. Later, 117 more men were paid. The total cost to the Company was £109. . 7 . . 6. That amount was worth 386 blankets (at 5/8) plus two pence left over (another arithmetical error?). That number of blankets would be 3 each for the 127 men who made their marks, with 5 left over; or 3 each for the 128 men Douglas thought he had paid, with 2 left over. But by now we have reached the realm of pure speculation, and have run out of clues (1969:26).

Reserves in British Columbia were laid out between 1876 and 1908. In contrast to other areas in Canada, where each family was allotted either 160 acres or one square mile of reserve land, reserve Indian families in British Columbia received a maximum of only 20 acres each, on the provincial assumption that coastal tribes would not farm and therefore did not need large tracts but were better off with small, scattered areas suitable to their migratory economic patterns (Duff 1964:67).

Colonial Settlement

In spite of the far-reaching implications of the treaties, European influence did not extend very far beyond a five-mile radius of the Fort, well to the south of Saanich territory, until 1854 (Floyd 1969:42). For example, only one Roman Catholic missionary, presumably Rev. Father J. B. Z. Bolduc (Brabant 1908:1-2), seems to have reached the Saanich Indians by 1851, and, until 1857, when the

Oblate Fathers established a mission in the Victoria area, contact with Christianity did not occur on a regular basis (Morice 1910:29; Suttles 1954:40). Another six years were to pass before the Oblate Fathers constructed the little church at "Saanich Ferry", for the conversion of Indian souls (*The British Colonist*: June 25, 1863:3).

By 1849, from the point of view of native Indian culture, two trends that were at first to take opposite directions began to emerge. Initially, they seem to have had more effect on the Songhees, but by 1863, their impact was felt by the Saanich as well. The first was a steady downward trend in aboriginal population and corresponding upward trend in colonial population. A report to Sir James Douglas in 1849 predicted that venereal disease, spread by the prostitution of native women, would cause a serious increase in the already high death rate developing among Indian adults (Grant 1857:283). Douglas' 1853 census estimates 1,885 Indians on southeastern Vancouver Island, a six per cent decrease in estimated total population, down from approximately 2,000 in 1842 (1853:5-6). Prostitution of native women increased after the Gold Rush of 1858 (Floyd 1969:86), although by that time, large numbers of Haida from the Queen Charlotte Islands were living at Fort Victoria, and there is evidence that the women of this northern tribe were more involved in prostitution than were local women (Suttles 1954:47-8). There is no available

evidence that any women from the four Saanich villages were engaged in prostitution and, as Suttles argues:

Prostitution is not universal and was probably lacking in aboriginal Straits culture. Where it exists, it is culturally defined; from the viewpoint of European culture it is difficult to draw the line between prostitution and marriage by purchase. From the Salish view-point even a marriage of short duration was still a marriage if some formal exchange of property had taken place and the intent to establish a bond had been announced. If it did not last, it was merely a poor marriage. In time some Salish slave-owners learned to prostitute their slaves to the whites, and some free women undoubtedly entered the profession themselves, but I am inclined to believe the Salish when they deny that men consciously prostituted their daughters as the northern people did so systematically for many years. The northern peoples' willingness to prostitute kinswomen may in part be due to a kinship system that readily substitutes one member of a kin group for another, so that in the native society a man's brother and nephews might legitimately have sexual relations with his wife; adultery was defined as relations with someone of another group. Among the Salish the principle of equivalence of kinsmen was not carried to this extent, and adultery appears to have been defined about the same as among Europeans (1954:47-48).

Thus, commercial sexual exploitation of Indian women living

in the vicinity of Fort Victoria, regardless of their origins, was, apparently, a colonial phenomenon reflecting not only ". . . the great surplus of marriageable [non-Indian] males compared to [non-Indian] females" (Floyd 1969:53) but, more important, the tendency for women to bear, very directly, the initial brunt of a general lowering of social status and disruption of traditional roles, in the early years of the establishment of a colonial relationship.

On the other hand, of course, it is not prostitution, but venereal disease, that causes a population decline, through death, sterility, and infant mortality; and Indian males, as well as females, were fatally infected, as syphilis and related diseases spread. There is no historical record to indicate that venereal disease was a serious problem, if it existed at all, among the Saanich people.

The opposite trend, in the early years, was an expansion of the native economy. As early as 1849, Victoria farmers were hiring Indians, probably Songhees, as farm labourers (Floyd 1969:42). Floyd finds that, in 1854, Indians from the Fort Victoria area were working on road construction for the colonists and that:

while the European economy appeared stagnant, the economy of the Indians of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854 was considerably more diversified than it had been twelve years earlier. The arrival of the

Europeans had not led to any substantial reduction in the native resources; rather, it had opened new avenues of economic activity. Local Indians could now work for the companies or individual settlers or could sell fish or game. They were usually paid with manufactured goods, particularly knives, guns and gun powder, and blankets. These goods quickly became prestige items within the native culture and were accepted into the potlatch system. The result was inflation and potlatching became much more common and elaborate. The Indians still relied on fishing for the greater part of their diet and still had access to roots, bulbs and berries, except in parts of Esquimalt and Victoria land districts. The supply of deer and elk was apparently still sufficient to meet the demands of both the Indians and the whites (Floyd 1969:60, 66).

Moreover, in spite of treaty stipulations, the aboriginal subsistence patterns of local native villages remained unchanged in these early years (Floyd 1969:69). Except for white settlements in parts of Esquimalt and Victoria, traditional land-based resource locations, such as deer and elk hunting grounds, remained accessible and adequate to the native population, and fishing continued to provide the staples of the Indian diet (Floyd 1969:69, 74).

Apparently, then, in the initial period of European settlement, the economic situation of the Indians

of southeastern Vancouver Island was not adversely affected. In addition to traditional resource exploitation, Indian people were able to participate in certain colonial economic activities, albeit at the level of manual labour, that provided some cash income, as well. In at least one instance, aboriginal and colonial economic pursuits merged, as native people became fish mongers, selling their catches ". . . on the main street and from door to door" (Floyd 1969:95).

The extent of participation by Saanich Indian people in this diversifying economic base is unknown, but by 1863, approximately 200 European settlers had moved into the Lake and South Saanich Districts, the latter extending north of the villages of Tsartlip and Tsawout (Floyd 1969:92), and it seems likely that native people on the Saanich Peninsula would have moved into economic niches similar to those of the Songhees. Historical evidence to support this statement consists of newspaper accounts of pioneers who reportedly used Saanich Indian labour on their farms, in the first days of settlement. One of these settlers, William Towner,³ began the first commercial hop cultivation in British Columbia, at the north end of Saanich Inlet (Figure 2), sometime between 1864 and 1871 (King 1955:15). According to

³Towner is referred to as "William Turner" by King (1955, 1970), but the site of the old farm is Towner Park, overlooking Towner Bay, and he is Towner in all the other sources consulted.

local newspapers (King 1955, 1970; Victoria Daily Colonist 1922), Towner employed local Indians from the four Saanich reserves, as well as from Cowichan, to cut and gather the hop. He ". . . paid them in food and clothing on the theory they had no idea of the value of money" (King 1955: 15), a manoeuvre requiring no further comment.

At some point, however, native hop pickers began to receive cash for their work, perhaps when they began to migrate to Washington State hop fields just before the turn of the century. The income depended upon the number of hours and the amount of effort each picker put into the work, but some rough estimates of earnings are possible. According to one report,

the hop picking began the first week in September, lasting about three weeks, and about 200 pickers were engaged, who earned approximately \$2,000 during the season [in the 1890's] (Victoria Daily Colonist 1922:n.p.).

Total earnings of \$2,000 for 200 pickers would yield only \$10 per person for the three-week season. This amount seems small, but not in light of individual earnings of \$3 per day in 1913 (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:4), or of \$60 - \$80 per person, for the entire 1920 hop season, reported by an elderly reserve resident who recalls his own hop-picking days. Even in 1952, towards the end of Indian involvement in this agricultural activity, experienced pickers in the Fraser Valley of the British Columbia main-

land could seldom earn more than ". . . \$7.50 for an average 13-hour day" (Young 1952:25) or a total of perhaps \$157.50 for 21 days of work.

Another important factor to consider in hop picking is that

pickers who benefit most from the harvest are large family groups who work jointly in the fields for total season earnings which may reach \$600 or \$700 (Young 1952:25).

If each picker in 1952 was earning approximately \$150 for the season, then only a family of four or five would be large enough to earn \$600-\$700. This estimate is consistent with native accounts of no fewer than four and frequently six or more members of a family travelling as a group to the hop field and with statements that hop picking was unprofitable for single people or couples who apparently would "barely break even" by end of season.

From the scanty information available, it seems evident that, if hop picking was typical of early native employment, Indian entry into the colonial economy was characterized by tendencies towards economic subordination and a structurally dependent status. *Per capita* earnings were extremely low and, according to former hop pickers, a good portion of each picker's wages went back to the hop grower to pay for perishable foodstuffs that pickers were obliged to buy from the grower's store. Some former

pickers recounted situations that seem to indicate heavy credit saturation, to the point that "breaking even" was the best to hope for.⁴

Furthermore, whereas the Indian economy did undergo considerable expansion in the first two decades after Douglas arrived, by 1880 restrictions on native participation in the colonial economy were becoming apparent. Floyd notes that

while the Indians continued to find employment on road gangs and as farm hands, few were hired as domestic servants. These positions were taken by the Chinese, who had also opened a number of retail stores and such services as restaurants, tailor shops and laundries (1969:118).

He remarks further that by 1890,

the Indians filled only the least skilled occupations in the non-Indian economy. The women of the Songhees reserve competed with the Chinese in washing and charwork. The Saanich tribes were much better off, as a number of families grew fruits and grains for the Victoria market, while others laboured on some of the nearby farms. The fishing industry still offered the best means for the Indians to take part in the local economy and members of the Sooke and Cheerno tribes in particular were actively

⁴Employment of Indian people in the hop growing industry ended shortly after World War II, with the mechanization of the picking process.

employed. Another source of income closely related to fishing was provided by the northwest sealing industry which had its headquarters at Victoria during the late 1880's and which hired many Indians as hands (1969:152).⁵

According to elderly Saanich, approximately ten men at Tsartlip farmed commercially, selling their produce to hospitals, restaurants, hotels, and markets in the city as well as to individuals, on a door-to-door basis. Several Saanich people cut cordwood for sale to farmers, while others found a market among the Chinese for edible seaweed that the Indians gathered by canoe for their own use, as well. One Saanich person suggests that cascara from the swamp on the Saanich Peninsula was sold to Europeans for medicinal purposes before the turn of the century, as well as after.

Canneries employed at least some Tsartlip men, women, and children in the late nineteenth century, while logging and sawmill operations, the Nanaimo coal mines, cement works, and Island road and railway building employed others, from time to time (Campbell 1883: *passim*; Canada, Indian Affairs 1885:98, 1890:100, 1893:233; Floyd 1969:118-119, 152; Vullinghs 1895-1908:n.p.).

⁵Most native sealers were from Songhees, according to Indian accounts, but the fathers of at least two elderly Tsartlip men spent some time aboard sealing vessels in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Although data are scanty, a picture emerges of seasonal native employment in unskilled, predominantly agricultural and manual labour occupations, of additional income from exploitation of such aboriginal resources as fish, seaweed, and cascara, and of limited commercial truck gardening. In addition, it is likely that Saanich women were involved, perhaps as early as the 1850's, in the Cowichan knitting industry described by Lane (1951). Although no written information is available, several of the older knitters at Tsartlip remember their mothers and grandmothers knitting "in the early days."

The development, in the nineteenth century, of this "multiplex occupational structure" (Carstens 1969:371) among the native Indian inhabitants of the Victoria area foreshadows the emergence of marked occupational versatility that is a distinctive feature of present-day Indian employment. Carstens argues that this feature is evidence of the colonial status of native people and is a product of exploitation of internal, native colonies by dominating nations (1969:367, 372-73; 1971:129). The relationship between occupational versatility, unemployment, and reserve poverty will be explored in a later chapter, but here it is important to note that although the initial effect of colonialism upon the Saanich people may have been one of economic expansion, their movement into a multiplicity of low-wage, menial occupations was indicative of

the shrinking of their aboriginal economic resources and pursuits and their inevitable entrenchment in a dependent satellite status dominated and exploited by the world market.

The Indian Act

In addition to the dual effects of population decline and changing economic patterns, the development of certain provisions of the Indian Act after 1880 had considerable influence on the native population of British Columbia, including the Tsartlip Indian people of West Saanich. Carstens asserts that

the social position of the Indian peoples of Canada . . . has been created, often consciously, through time by an administrative design which culminated in the formulation of the Indian Act of 1876 and its subsequent amendments (1971:127)

and that any study of status Indian people

unavoidably involves one in a study of the evolution and application of the Indian Act . . . (1971:130).

While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine all of the restrictive sections of the Act, even as they apply to the Tsartlip band at West Saanich reserve, the sections, now removed, outlawing the sale, distribution, or consumption of alcohol, the potlatch, and Indian winter dancing deserve brief mention here, in terms of their past importance to the

people of Tsartlip. Moreover, other sections, still in effect, relating to the status of Indian women, will be discussed in other chapters, in an attempt to show their relationship to such fundamental economic matters as the acquisition of housing.

With the revision of the Indian Act of 1880, Sections 93 and 94 prohibited the sale, barter, or supplying of intoxicants to (i) any person on a reserve, or (ii) an Indian outside a reserve, the manufacture of intoxicants on a reserve, the possession or manufacture of intoxicants by a registered Indian, and the intoxication of a registered Indian (Canada 1880, 1884). These prohibitive sections were in effect between 1884 and 1969. The two most fundamental effects of these sections were, first, that many Indians received criminal records for offenses that did not affect non-Indians and, second, that many Indians enfranchised in order to be able to purchase and consume alcohol in the same manner as non-Indian Canadians.

The introduction of alcohol to Indian people in the Victoria area is recalled vividly by a West Saanich chief councillor, now deceased, in a 1934 manuscript. The incident occurred in 1842, when a canoe party of Songhees boarded the sailing vessel Cadboro, at the invitation of some of the sailors:

. . . the natives were invited
on deck where they were offered

drink. When . . . [they] hesitated the white leader poured a drink into a tumbler and tossed it down. A young [Songhees man] named Gietluck, who later became their chief, took the bottle, poured the tumbler full, and tossed the drink down his throat. He strangled, gasped for breath and fell to the deck. His frightened fellows threw him over side into a canoe and fled to shore. By the time the canoe was beached Gietluck was insensible. He was carried ashore amid cries of wrath and grief. Women started wailing and messengers were sent to all the tribal groups for Medicine Man. One Doctor lived with the Brentwood Bay Colony of the Saanich Indians and when an exhausted messenger arrived all we boys started running to Cordova Bay to see the horrid sight. When we got there we found the vessel gone. Instead there were five tribal doctors making incantations over the paralyzed Gietluck, amid an alarmed circle of old folk. After prayers the medicine men took turns rubbing the sleeper's face and hands, they slapped him, poured water on him and, then rubbed him warm again. Gietluck slept through it all until the evening of the next day. He was the first Indian to taste the white-man's fire water. He later became a confirmed drunkard and slain [sic] in a brawl at Esquimalt (Latess 1934:n.p.).

By 1908, Father Vullinghs, a Roman Catholic priest in Saanich, could write:

I took severe measures against intoxicating liquors being

supplied, had several arrested, 'broke down' the 'Mount Newton Hotel', went to court against it with all the Saanich Indians at Victoria once for 3 days. Drove once 30 of them home from said saloon, while on horseback myself, without speaking a word. Took bottles from them on the road and in their houses (1895-1908:n.p.).

Vullinghs observes, somewhat morosely, that many Saanich Indian people joined the Shaker Church for ". . . 'the liquor cure'. . . ." (Vullinghs 1895-1908:n.p.). In spite of Vullinghs' anxieties about alcohol consumption among the native population, reports of the Indian agents for the Saanich reserves, during the early twentieth century, refer almost unvaryingly to the generally temperate behaviour of the native people and indicate that there were only ". . . a few who will procure intoxicants whenever possible" (Canada, Indian Affairs 1909:215; also, 1912:274; 1915:89). Whatever the extent of alcohol use among the Saanich people, it was apparently insufficient to merit extensive comment by Indian Affairs personnel. Moreover, the concern of the agents seems to have been directed towards the suppliers -- "white men, negroes, and Chinese" (Canada, Indian Affairs 1912:274).

The persecution and prosecution of Indian people for possession or consumption of alcohol continued until 1969, when those sections of the Indian Act pertaining to intoxicants were judged by the courts to be discriminatory and were removed (Canada 1969). Among middle-aged and older

Tsartlip band members are several who recall arrests and convictions among their own people, under Section 94, as well as harassment from various representatives of non-Indian agencies. It is not possible to ascertain if any Tsartlip people enfranchised because of the intoxicants sections of the Act, but it is likely that a few may have, especially after World War II.

The "anti-potlatch law", Section 140 of the Indian Act of 1884, which also made Indian spirit dancing, or *Tamanawas*,⁶ illegal, disrupted the aboriginal redistributive system of the Northwest Coast rather considerably (Codere 1950). While no attempt will be made to assess the law's implications for Coast Salish economy in general, nor for that of Tsartlip in particular, at least three after-effects of the law must be noted. First, if Vullings (1895-1908:n.p.) is to be believed, the West Saanich people continued to hold "Black Face" and other winter spirit dances well after 1884, at first openly, later in secret. In fact, according to elderly Tsartlip informants, winter spirit dancing, as an expression of supernatural power, continued, albeit secretly, until the law was rescinded in 1951. No estimate can be made of the exact number who were initiated as spirit dancers during the 67 years that the

⁶ '*Tamanawas*' is Chinook jargon for spirit power. The term is used to refer to Indian winter dancing, or 'spirit dancing'.

custom was illegal, but at least 13 (39.0%) of the 34 present-day dancers on the reserve were ritually taken and "put down" as dancers, during that period.

Moreover, even today some Saanich Indian people are reluctant to discuss either modern potlatches or the winter dances, in part because they are not convinced that these two ceremonial activities are, indeed, legal. Given the fact that the police have been called in, occasionally, to investigate initiation ceremonies and that very negative and biased accounts of Indian dancing have appeared in Victoria newspapers in recent years (*e.g.*, O'Neill 1967:37; Victoria Daily Colonist 1961:7; Victoria Daily Times 1961a: 17, 1961b:15), the reluctance is understandable.

With respect to the potlatch, it is apparent that potlatching did not so much disappear from Indian culture as change into a form acceptable to missionaries and government agents. Accounts of the tactics used by White government and church representatives to suppress potlatching, as well as spirit dancing, are well documented in such studies as those of Codere (1950) and LaViolette (1961). As well, a scanning of Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs for several years between 1883 and 1927 yields evidence that at Tsartlip and other reserves in Cowichan Agency, "tickets" for obtaining land allotments were withheld from Indian people who practised either aboriginal custom, regardless of individual eligibility for an

allotment. For example, in his 1884 report, W. H. Lomas, Indian Agent for Cowichan Agency reports:

The law prohibiting the 'potlatch' is very much opposed by many men in all the tribes, but I am happy to be able to say that there are, in nearly all some who see the folly of these customs The fact that, though I am allotting lands to each family, *only such as give up the ruinous customs of the 'potlatch' and 'tamanoes' dances are recommended for location tickets*, is having a very good effect (Canada, Indian Affairs 1885:99; emphasis added).

In spite of such blatantly extra-legal measures, potlatching persisted in modified form, especially for funerals, while spirit dancing, according to elderly respondents, went underground. Funeral potlatches, such as those described by Barnett (1955:217, 226-27), were replaced by ". . . free collection of money . . . altogether on their [*i.e.*, the Saanich people's] own accord . . ." (Vullinghs 1895-1908: n.p.), by 1905. It is not clear from whom the "free collection" was taken nor to whom it was given. Present-day residents of West Saanich who were living in 1905 suggest that either the priest or the family of the deceased, or both, may have been recipients. Whatever the case, the collection seems to have been a form of mutual aid in times of crisis and financial need that is comparable to the reciprocity involved in potlatching, as described by Suttles (1960) and that may have led to the inter-reserve

network of funeral assistance still evident among southern Vancouver Island bands.

A detailed assessment of the effects of withdrawal of these restrictive sections of the Indian Act from active legislation is not the topic of this study. In general, however, Carstens' statement that so-called "improvements" in Indian administration are specious when compared with developments in the larger Canadian society seems applicable (1971:136). The removal from the Act of the anti-potlatch section and other restrictions upon native people has not resulted in more freedom nor, obviously, has it resurrected the Indian past. From the perspective of Indian autonomy and cultural revival, such changes in the Indian Act more likely reflect an implicit and unstated federal policy of "mature segregation [and] retribalization", as Carstens (1971:137) suggests, with the illusion of more cultural freedom and revival only thinly veiling increased government control over Indian lives.

The Early Twentieth Century: 1900 - 1929

The period from 1900 to 1929 was marked by a reversal in the decline of population in the southern Coast Salish area, with a gradual increase in births over deaths from 1890 to 1912, followed by the steep upsurge that has continued into the present. Nevertheless, the first quarter of the twentieth century is recalled by many people of West

Saanich reserve as a time of sickness and death. According to one native person:

In my young days, this was a sad place to live. Our people were dying off by the hundreds because of disease and discrimination. Measles killed young and old alike. Then tuberculosis spread like wildfire among the Saanich. There was death from tuberculosis nearly every day. Almost every day you could hear the mourners wailing and singing funeral songs in one house or another. Everyone was crying in those days. I can't remember a time in those early years when we weren't attending a funeral. The only fortunate thing was that we didn't get smallpox. The Songhees were free from smallpox, too. Our leaders were wise enough to avoid it, even though in some areas it was systematically given to the Indians. Tuberculosis was our worst enemy. We almost lost the will to live.

This account is borne out by Indian agents' reports in 1912 and 1915 of whooping cough epidemics and outbreaks of measles on the Saanich Peninsula reserves (Canada, Indian Affairs 1912, 1915).

During this period, as native people languished under the effects of disease, other pressures from the dominant cultural environment began to impinge upon them. These pressures included: the activities of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, which held hearings throughout the Province and published its report in 1916; increased Roman Catholic

missionary efforts, involving the establishment of an up-Island industrial residential school near Duncan, in 1890 (Figure 4) and zealous conversion efforts in the Saanich area; and the continuing effects of the restrictive provisions of the Indian Act.

Royal Commission. Duff explains the creation of the Royal Commission of 1913 as a response to the Federal-Provincial dispute over allocation of Indian reserve lands and the Province's insistence on reversion of "cut-off" lands from reserves to the Province:

The Province now asked for an adjustment downward in the size of existing reserves. Also, the reversionary interest clause, by which the Province immediately became the owner of any land surrendered by the Indians, was causing difficulties of administration. It meant, for example, that the Dominion was not able to sell reserve land for the benefit of the Indians involved, because the land could not be sold until surrendered, and once surrendered it was the property of the Province. In 1912 a special Dominion Commissioner, Mr. J. A. J. McKenna, was appointed and met with Premier Richard McBride to settle these problems. The result was the 'McKenna-McBride Agreement.' A five-man Royal Commission was to be appointed to make the final and complete allotment of Indian lands in the Province. Upon settlement of the number and size of reserves, title was to be conveyed to the Dominion free of reversionary interest, except in the case of lands belonging to bands which

might become extinct. This Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, now usually referred to as 'the Reserve Commission,' was named in 1913, and laboured for three busy years, travelling to all parts of the Province and interviewing virtually all bands. Some of the northern coastal people refused to discuss their reserve requirements until the question of Indian title had been settled, and their needs had to be judged from information given by the Indian agents. In most cases the Commission confirmed the existing reserves, but it also added about 87,000 acres of new reserve land and cut off some 47,000 acres of old.⁷ Its report, in four volumes, was published in 1916, and was ratified by both governments in 1924. The reserve lands were formally conveyed to the Dominion by Order in Council No. 1036 in 1938. With some minor adjustments since then, this was the final settlement of Indian land questions between the two governments. In 1963 British Columbia's 189 bands owned a total of 1,620 reserves (of 2,241 in the whole of Canada) with a total area of 843,479 acres (1964:68).

Duff remarks, as well, that by allocating and defining Indian reserves, the government "created" these communities, giving them fixed and largely unchangeable boundaries (1969:30). He continues

⁷As Hawthorn *et al.* (1960:55) note, there was considerable difference between the value of the added and the cut-off lands. The added property was worth \$444,838 (about \$5.10 an acre) while that cut off was worth \$1,522,704 (\$32.36 an acre).

by writing the Indian Act, it defined who could join the community (birth, marriage, and band transfer only) and in what circumstances members could leave it . . . In effect our society has created . . . unnatural [communities] . . . (1969:30).

The Royal Commission on Indian Affairs held hearings at Tsartlip on June 13, 1915. Several points emerge from an examination of the proceedings on that day. First, the Chairman of the Commission, in his opening remarks, states:

. . . you [the people of Tsartlip] present more evidence of prosperity than any Reserve we have visited yet . . . [illegible line] . . . Your fields look in good order as if they were properly attended to. Possibly this is due to the fact that your land may be better than a great many of the other Reserves which we visited, and, therefore, you had more initiative to go in for farming than the others (1913-16:4).

Second, there are references to a number of economic activities involving Tsartlip Indian people, including farming, stevedoring and mining, commercial fishing, log-sorting, hop-picking, and other wage work. When asked how Indians at Tsartlip made their living in 1916, the speaker for Tsartlip, Christopher Paul, replied, "they work around for wages" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:230). There is no indication of whether their wages were comparable to non-Indian workers. Annual income is estimated for only one person -- the speaker's father, Tommy

Paul -- who was involved in farming rather than wage labour. Tommy Paul's farm was reported to ". . . [compare] favourably with any of the whites' farms" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:231) and included 40 acres in hay, oats, strawberries and potatoes, and an apple orchard of 170 trees. Tommy Paul testified that, in the summer of 1914, he made a total of \$900 -- \$200 from strawberries and \$600 from oats and hay, supplemented with \$100 from fishing after the harvest. Comparable figures for non-Indian farm income during this period could not be determined.

In 1914, the average annual wages of farm help in the province of British Columbia were \$324.44 for females and \$459.72 for males (Canada 1915:203). The average income for Canadian non-farm workers was approximately \$800 a year (Canada 1915:534). The most lucrative pursuit for Indians in Victoria during World War I was, apparently, fishing, when each fish netted fifty cents from the cannery. Most fishermen brought in about 1000 fish per week, or a weekly income of \$500. Canneries in the Victoria area seemed to have bought fish only during a one or two-month period so that a maximum of \$4000 could be earned.

According to Tommy Paul, a Tsartlip resident who testified at the Commission hearings, a "syndicate" of 16 Indian people from the Saanich Peninsula owned ". . . ploughs, mowing machines, binders [and] a steam threshing machine . . ." (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:

237). This last piece of equipment was operated by a non-Indian but was used by the syndicate to thresh for "the white people" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16: 237). A number of Tsartlip elders remarked to me in 1971 that by co-operating in farm work, "that generation was really well off . . . they were good gardeners and farmers". Some of the Saanich Indian farmers sold their entire berry crop, under contract, to a local white entrepreneur, while others peddled the fruit in town, from a wagon.

At the same time as farming is mentioned as the source of "prosperity" at Tsartlip, in the early years of the twentieth century, reference is made, also, to the demise of farming among Indian people on the Saanich Peninsula because of ". . . the high wages offered for Indian labour outside" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:291). Lucrative though wage work may have been initially, however, it led eventually to increased Indian dependence upon the cash economy.

The failure of farming as a widespread economic activity among Indian people at Tsartlip is recalled by a native observer:

Farming was never a full-time occupation at Tsartlip and not many of our Saanich people were involved. Most people made their living from the sea, even after the whiteman arrived. Only a handful farmed as an occupation.

The most farming was done during the later nineteenth century through to the 1930's when the depression wiped out everyone.

The Department [of Indian Affairs] expected us to make a living at farming, but the Saanich people weren't used to a land diet. We couldn't live without fish and shellfish. Whenever we were down and out, we turned to the sea, not the land. Some people had orchards, two or three acres in size, but they were non-commercial. We grew apples, prune plums, and pears and stored them for winter eating, either cut and dried, or made into preserves. The orchards were an improvement over the wild fruit and berries the people used to collect, but we couldn't make any money on it. The orchards were for our own use. We couldn't afford to go into the fruit business commercially unless we gave up the sea and we weren't willing to risk that. A few people sold fruit and vegetables in Victoria but most produce and animals were kept only for home use. If we needed a few dollars, it was easier to hire out to a white farmer.

Before the turn of the century, the Saanich people bought a steam thresher outfit with their own money. They hired it out to white farmers. Several families owned it together. They gave it up because all the profits went to pay the wages of the white man who operated it. The Department wouldn't let an Indian operate it.

A third observation, drawn from the Proceedings of the Royal Commission of 1913-1916, concerns the pre-occupation of the commissioners with the disposal of Indian land. A distinction made by the Commissioner between "cultivated" and "unoccupied" land was used, apparently, as the basis for determining "overplus" acreage, to be sold at public auction, the proceeds being divided equally between the Provincial Government and the Indian band on each reserve. Clearly, any land that was simply in timber, or not being exploited actively in some way, was regarded as "unoccupied" by the Commission. Just as clearly, from the Indian point of view, the distinction between "cultivated" and "unoccupied" land was a Euro-Canadian one:

. . . some [land] is timber, some is rocky, some of it is good for cultivation *It is all occupied* (Christopher Paul, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:229; emphasis added).

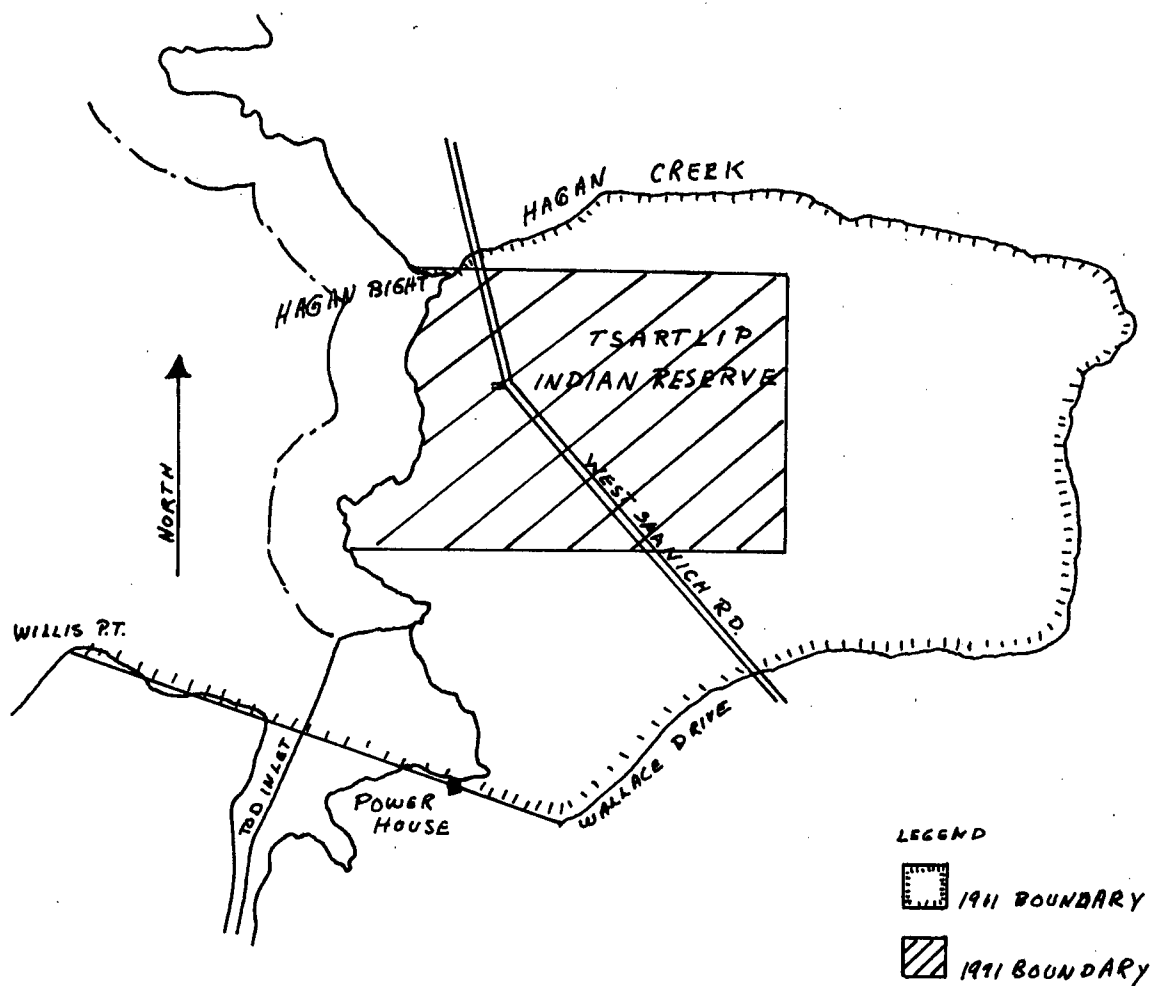
Also related to the land question is Indian testimony that land occupied by white settlers, Verdier and Hagan, ". . . used to be included in this Reserve [*i.e.*, Tsartlip]" (Tommy Paul, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:231, 266). No explanation is given in the Commission Proceedings to account for this loss of 337 acres from the reserve, nor of Sluggett's, another settler's, acquisition of 1,000 acres from the southern portion of the reserve (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16:231,

266). According to information received in 1971 from a longtime resident of Tsartlip, the land presently held by the Roman Catholic Church, to the north of the reserve (Figure 5), was never relinquished by the Saanich people of Tsartlip.⁸ Apparently, part of the acreage for the church was donated by the settler, Hagan, but the Indian people of Tsartlip assert that it was not Hagan's to donate in the first place.

One Tsartlip band member who remembers the extent of the reserve prior to the Royal Commission hearings gives the boundaries of West Saanich reserve in 1911, as follows (Figure 5): the southern boundary was the B.C. Electric Steam Plant chimney, two-thirds of a mile south of Stelly's X Road (the present boundary). There is now a B.C. Hydro Company powerhouse on the site of the old chimney. From the Steam Plant chimney, the boundary line extended west, across the mouth of Tod Inlet to Willis Point where, in colonial times, the people of Tsartlip took their livestock each year, before going to the mouth of the Fraser River, on the mainland, to fish commercially. Horses, cows, and sheep were put ashore and confined to the point by a snake fence that stood until the 1940's. The boundary line of the

⁸ Goldstream and Mayne Island territory (Figure 2) may have been considerably larger before 1913, also, according to reports of the native people. Both sides of Goldstream apparently belonged to the Saanich people in aboriginal times and until about 1910, while the Mayne Island territory covered almost double the present 323 acres.

Figure 5: 1911 Boundaries of Tsartlip Indian Reserve



Source: Author's 1971 field notes; District of Central Saanich 1967.

reserve stretched east from the Steam Plant chimney, along the present Wallace Drive to its intersection with West Saanich Road. The 1,000-acre Sluggett farm formed the south-central and southeastern boundary, including all of the present Brentwood Bay community. The small creek draining, from the south, into Hagan Creek, was the eastern boundary, and Hagan Creek, the northern.

It is virtually impossible to estimate aboriginal territorial area, or even pre-reserve size, without much more research, but there is no doubt that the Tsartlip Saanich lost a considerable number of resource areas between 1852, when the treaty with Sir James Douglas was signed, and 1916. If the farms of a number of settlers, including Sluggett, Verdier, Hagan, and others, as well as the Roman Catholic Church property are considered as having been part of the aboriginal winter village and environs of Tsartlip people, that settlement diminished by at least 1500 acres. The Royal Commission of 1913-16 deducted another one-tenth of an acre from Senanus Island (Figure 2) for "lighthouse purposes" (1913-16:299) and noted Agent Robertson's recommendation that "road deductions of 68 acres should be made from all reserves of the Tribe" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16: Table A). Presumably, he meant a total of 68 acres, or an average of 17 acres per reserve, rather than 68 acres for each of the four Saanich Peninsula reserves. Whether more than this amount for road rights-of-

way was deducted or not is unknown. The request of the combined members of the four reserves of the "Saanich Tribe" for an allotment of 160 acres per adult male was ". . . not available . . . [and] not reasonably required (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16: following Table C). Possibly, the comment of E. L. Wetmore, one of the commissioners, that Tsartlip was "intelligently farmed . . . [with] the best cultivation known by Indians of the Cowichan Agency" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16: Table A) worked against the application of the Indian people for increased acreage. Certainly, the statement that the population of Tsartlip had increased by 15 per cent since 1887 was not considered a valid reason for enlarging individual allotments from their pre-Commission size of 72.3 acres per adult male (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-16: following Table C).

Increased missionary effort. A Roman Catholic church was established in 1863 in the Brentwood Bay area, near the reserve, and many of the West Saanich Indian people seem to have been converted during the next 23 years, until the church was abandoned in 1886 (Vullinghs 1895-1908:n.p.). Nonetheless, when the Reverend A. J. Vullinghs took over the West Saanich ministry at the end of July, 1893, he found not only the church building ". . . abandoned and dilapidated", but the Indians ". . . much given to drinking . . . many

with two wives, [and] hardly any married [in a Christian ceremony]" (1895-1908:n.p.). Within a year (1894), Vullinghs built a new church and took upon himself the task of converting the Indian people of the Saanich Peninsula, thus saving them from what he considered the multiple evils of alcoholism, polygamy, Indian dancing, Shakerism, and Methodism (1895-1908: *passim*). According to Vullinghs' journal, the priest considered

the immediate vicinity of a City
[i.e., Victoria] . . . a
constant menace . . . took severe
measures against intoxicating
liquors being supplied, had
several [Saanich Indian people]
arrested, . . . [did] away with
the "Black Dance" . . . modified
their usual (common) dances
(after Christmas . . . before
Lent) [i.e., winter spirit
dances] (1895-1908: *passim*)

and battled Methodists, Anglicans, and Indian Shakers with equal vigour.

A Tsartlip band member who served as an altar boy for Vullinghs remembers that the priest punished anyone whom he caught "putting up a dance" by fining him twenty-five or fifty dollars. Whether Father Vullinghs was collecting the fines for the church or merely reporting infractions to the authorities and collecting for them is unclear. In any case, the priest's authorization to exact this penalty could not be discovered.

By 1897, Vullinghs had established an Indian Day

School at East Saanich (Figure 1) and, by 1901, another at West Saanich for native children whose parents were reluctant to send them to residential school on Kuper Island. Resistance among Indian parents to the Kuper Island Industrial Residential School was not only a matter of cultural conservatism nor of parental anxiety over children being away from home for a considerable part of the year, but was based upon a very real fear that attendance at the White man's school meant exposure to his diseases. Many older Saanich people can recount the loss of several siblings and other kin who died of tuberculosis, measles, whooping cough, chicken pox, and other diseases during epidemics at Kuper Island, and all of the Tsartlip Saanich who never attended school there commented that their parents were afraid to send them for that reason. At least four present-day residents of Tsartlip actually ran away from home in order to attend residential school, contrary to their parents' wishes. As one person recalls:

My brothers and sisters and some of my friends were going to school at Kuper Island. Then we heard that my sisters had died of T.B. Lots of the children there got T.B. that year. I heard about it and decided I didn't want to go. My father said the germs collected in the school buildings and that was why so many of our Saanich children died.

Finally, a friend of my father's asked, "What's going to happen

to your son?" My father was laughing and he said, "Oh, we'll make a fisherman out of him. He doesn't need any White man's education." That's when I made up my mind to go to school, when they teased me like that. I didn't want to be uneducated. But my father said, "Go to school here. You will learn just as much, and I won't lose another child." My sister ran away from us to go to that school, and she got sick and died there.

The first day-school at West Saanich was eventually closed down, apparently because Indian parents kept taking their children out of school for hop-picking and other farm labour in the fall and for fishing in the spring. For some years after, Saanich children who did not attend Kuper Island Residential School went to public grammar schools on the Saanich Peninsula, with White children. According to Saanich elders, Indian students were not permitted to attend public high schools, possibly because Indian education was a federal, rather than a provincial responsibility until 1950, when Indian children began entering provincial schools under a cost-sharing agreement between DIAND and local school boards. This does not explain why Indian children were permitted in the grammar schools, but it may be that a more active discrimination was directed at older native children who were close to adulthood.

Although church records are not available and other information on religious affiliation is lacking for the

early twentieth century, attempts to convert the Saanich to Christianity through missionary effort in church and school must have been nominally successful, for all of the older people interviewed agree that everyone at Tsartlip was baptized Roman Catholic by about 1920, except for a few very elderly people who clung to the aboriginal faith. Only five of the 345 registered Tsartlip band members are listed as non-Roman Catholic in 1969 (Canada, Indian Affairs 1969), and even these five are listed as Christians -- three as Shakers and two as Pentacostalists. Moreover, three of the five non-Catholics are in-marrying women from other bands.

The Depression Years

By 1930, Indian people were definitely tied to the non-Indian cash economy but were able to subsist on fish, shellfish, and game as they had traditionally, though with some new restrictions imposed by the Canadian government. Although the Depression years could be described from historical accounts, it seems preferable to relate two native Indian reports of conditions at Tsartlip during the Thirties. The first observer, a former commercial fisherman recounts:

There was nothing for Indian people during the Thirties. If you were old, disabled, or sick, you got four dollars a month, not in cash, but in goods. The goods came from a list decided upon by the Indian office, and you couldn't

substitute another item. A 25-cent soup bone was the 'meat' item on the list, but even then, only old Indians and sick ones got that.

We were fortunate in having the sea beside us. We couldn't find work but, in the Thirties, salmon were still plentiful in Saanich Inlet and the Straits. We dug for clams, too, and dried them. Then the government made us stop digging clams in certain areas. They said they were enforcing 'conservation', but it was really just more government waste. Clams only live so long -- six or seven years maybe. When they die, they take the whole beach with them. If they aren't harvested, the whole beach dies and goes to waste.

We were fishing commercially during the thirties, for pinks in Johnston Strait. We sold them to B.C. Packers and Millard Packing for five cents a piece. Both of these companies were subsidiaries of a big American company -- Booth Fish Company. We fished for dogfish; they were used for cat and dog food. We sold them for four dollars a ton and seldom earned more than ten dollars a day, for the whole crew.

A second person remarks:

In the Depression, which they call the hungry Thirties, even the best of men, well-trained men -- the carpenters, the engineers, the surveyors -- had nothing to do. Carpenters worked for two dollars and a

half a day. That's how bad it was. Most labourers got a dollar and a half a day, but some would even accept a dollar and a quarter. It was awful hard to get a job. There was nothing moving at all. Even farmers could give us only one or two weeks work, from time to time. I worked three days a week chopping wood and made two-fifty a day. Farmers who grew potatoes or strawberries couldn't sell them. I picked loganberries for a cent a pound, with my wife and son. We made \$70 between the three of us for the whole season, picking 7000 pounds of logans. Even if we fished, we were offered only 25 cents a fish, at best. We couldn't afford to sell them for that, so we took our fish back home and pickled them. Things were really bad in those days; everyone suffered. Finally, the Second War came, and things picked up again right away. We did pretty good in the war.

Few of the women interviewed were able to find other than occasional employment during the Depression. One woman cleaned house once a week for a non-Indian woman in Sidney, for one dollar a day. Aside from the meagre wages to be earned from berry-picking each summer with parents, husbands, and children, the Depression income of Tsartlip women seems to have been derived almost entirely from knitting. Cowichan sweaters sold for \$4.50 each, leaving a profit of \$3.00, after deducting the cost of the wool. Many women recall the Thirties as a time of "tea, bread, and gravy."

World War II

In response to questions about the impact of the Second World War on conditions at Tsartlip, reserve residents noted that not only did regular employment opportunities open up but that income from wages and self-employment rose dramatically for Indian men and, to a lesser extent, for Indian women. A former commercial fisherman of Indian descent comments:

from 1940 to 1947, I was occupied full-time fishing for dogfish. Dogfish livers were used in making Vitamin A and D. It was possible to make as much in one day as I now make in a month [\$600]. One hundred dollars a day was common for my share. I had a crew man and paid him a third of the catch, after expenses. I could do that and still have more than enough to feed my family In 1947, the bottom fell out of the dogfish liver market, because Vitamin A was manufactured synthetically. Before that, the dogfish season was a full twelve months a year, all through the war. The Canadian government put an embargo on dogfish livers, because U.S. companies were coming up here and paying us three times as much as the Canadian government, for the livers. Our government pegged the price at 25 cents a pound, but even that was pretty good money. In the Thirties, the dogfish industry was not so profitable. I fished for dogfish then, but only because

I had to. We sold them for four dollars a ton, and sometimes we only made ten dollars a day, for the whole crew.

Jobs in new fields became available, also, because of the war. Two shipyards in the Victoria area began to employ native men, but for Tsartlip wage earners, the Canadian Air Force Base at Patricia Bay, only a few miles north of the reserve, was an even better source of employment. There were between fifteen and twenty Tsartlip men employed, most on a regular, full-time basis. They worked on construction and installation jobs at the Base, and as firemen in the boiler rooms. According to one man,

it seemed like everyone had a job in those days. The pay was good, too, and some of us were fairly wealthy for the first time since the White man came. My wife's father had been earning two dollars a day, during the Thirties, and suddenly, he was earning two dollars an hour.

Although not many women from Tsartlip found wage work during World War II, there were, apparently, more jobs for women in canneries, because of the male labour shortage. According to some women, in the war years, during the summer and early fall, American growers came over with buses and advances of money that they offered to women who would go to the States as pickers. Women who were involved remember bitterly that "once you accepted the advance, you were hooked. That small advance was the only cash you ever

saw, all summer long. It was slave labour."

More profitable to women was the increased demand for Cowichan knitted goods, especially men's socks and sweaters, in very large sizes.⁹ Depression prices for both socks and sweaters tripled and even quadrupled during the war years, and some women supported themselves and their children entirely from knitting income by working straight through two or three days and nights, before the buyer was due to visit. The socks and sweaters were plain, without design, and were knitted loosely, with very thick wool, on very large needles, to hasten production of each item.

In spite of increased wage labour and higher incomes, the war years did not bring about any noticeable changes to physical conditions on the reserve. There was neither piped water nor electricity in any of the houses at Tsartlip until the 1950's, and almost no house construction seems to have occurred until the early Sixties.

Very few men from Tsartlip enlisted in the Canadian Forces during the war because

the war wasn't ours; it was started by White men and fought by White men. We knew that it didn't matter to us which side won the battle; Indian people lost the only battle that mattered a long time before.

⁹According to some Indian people, the extra large sizes were needed to accommodate servicemen.

The Years Since World War II

What has occurred during the twenty-five year period since the Second World War has not altered the dependent position of Tsartlip reserve in any significant way except, perhaps, to increase it further. Thus, changes in the Indian Act and in DIAND policy, initiated as a result of post-war Senate Hearings and court cases, have eliminated the illegality of the potlatch and of spirit dancing (1951), removed restrictions upon the consumption, purchase, and possession of intoxicants (1951, 1961, 1969), and increased autonomy for bands with respect to control of band funds and band administration, but no changes have been made to alter the basic satellite status of Indian bands. Canadian citizenship and federal-provincial voting privileges have been conferred upon Indian people, along with programmes for social assistance, reserve housing, and economic development, but the economic gap between reserve hinterland and Canadian metropolis remains and widens. Later chapters will examine this gap and Tsartlip's hinterland status in depth for the year 1971, but here a brief description of the period from 1945 to the late Sixties is necessary.

For example, until 1952, Tsartlip band had no capital funds, either for reserve improvements or for economic development. All repairs and improvements to the reserve, such as they were, came from general DIAND funds.

During 1952, logging on Tsartlip's Mayne Island and West Saanich Reserves accumulated a trust account of \$23,000 for band members. This sum amounted to approximately \$125 per member, in that year. As well as using the interest from this account for minor improvements to roads and water supply, Tsartlip band was eventually able to develop its own campsite and boat launching ramp, between 1967 and 1971. The modest income generated by this enterprise pays the wages of its two employees and, more important from the metropolis-satellite perspective, supplements the inadequately-financed DIAND reserve-housing programme. As Usher points out, "where the hinterland population is engaged in activities profitable to the metropolis, it is encouraged or at least permitted to continue doing so" (1972:29).

That a housing programme was desperately needed at Tsartlip by the early 1950's is verified by a 1953 newspaper article reporting deplorable living conditions on that reserve. Lack of potable water, roads and houses in need of repair, and overcrowding are mentioned as serious problems. Only two houses were found to have electricity in that year, and none had running water or indoor toilets (Victoria Daily Colonist 1953:5). Ten years later, in 1963, only one house possessed an indoor bathroom (Coplick 1965:3). Ironically, between 1958 and 1971, in spite of DIAND's housing programme, the number of reserve houses rated as poor at

West Saanich increased from one out of 39 (3.0%) to 22 out of 50 (44.0%), while the number of houses considered in good condition declined from 38 (98.0%) to 7 (14.0%).

Little information is available regarding income of Tsartlip residents for the Fifties and Sixties, but employment histories gathered in 1971 would indicate that wages, earned predominantly for casual and seasonal labour, ranged from 75 cents to \$1.50 per hour, for all but a few residents. Until 1957, furthermore, social assistance in the form of relief

was generally supplied in kind rather than in cash, and was deliberately kept low in order to ensure that a welfare payment would be of an amount below the earnings of the lowest paid wage-earner (Hawthorn 1967:318).

Not until 1964 did DIAND-administered social assistance to Indian people reach a par with provincial rates and eligibility regulations (Hawthorn 1967:319), and even then, allowances for "free-housing" on Indian reserves have frequently resulted in lower cash payments to native welfare recipients (Canada, Indian Affairs 1969b; Community Action Group 1971).

The remaining chapters of this investigation are devoted to an intensive discussion of certain aspects of reserve life and conditions in 1971. As stated in Chapter One, emphasis is on a description of reserve poverty, with particular attention to its effects on women. The main

theoretical position assumes the development of a metropolis-hinterland relationship, and the historical background provided up to this point has attempted to show, from the meagre information available, the way in which one Indian village society has become locked into an essentially unfavourable economic and political position. In view of superficial changes in this position since World War II, Carstens' observation seems applicable:

It is true that the qualifications of teachers have been improved, that welfare has been increased, that housing and economic development programmes have been established, that the budget of the [Indian Affairs] Branch has been enlarged, etc. But none of these changes proves anything since far more extensive developments in all these areas are found in the mainstream of Canadian society -- with the exception of the disproportionate growth of the overall size of the bureaucracy managing the Indian peoples (1971:136).

Thus, the loss of political autonomy and economic self-sufficiency, loss of territory and of access to resources, loss even of the right to determine for themselves who shall be regarded as legitimate members of their society has forced the people of Tsartlip into an increasingly dependent, yet alienated position. An account of this last-mentioned loss of the right to self definition must now be discussed, in order to comprehend the exceedingly difficult conditions under which the women of the reserve must live. At the same

time, other aspects of demography and ethnicity can be considered.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHY

The following is a brief discussion of the demographic development of Tsartlip reserve, with respect to population growth and characteristics and ethnic and band affiliation. The chapter provides a picture of the size of the reserve population and its composition, in terms of age and sex. In addition, considerable attention is given to the complex question of determining Indian status in Canada. The legal definition of Indian is presented as a basis for understanding the special position of women among native people and for comprehending some of the ramifications of possessing or not possessing legal status that will be examined later. Similarly, criteria for membership in an Indian band are examined as a preliminary for discussing the circumstances under which women must function on the reserve.

Size and Composition of Reserve Population

Population Growth

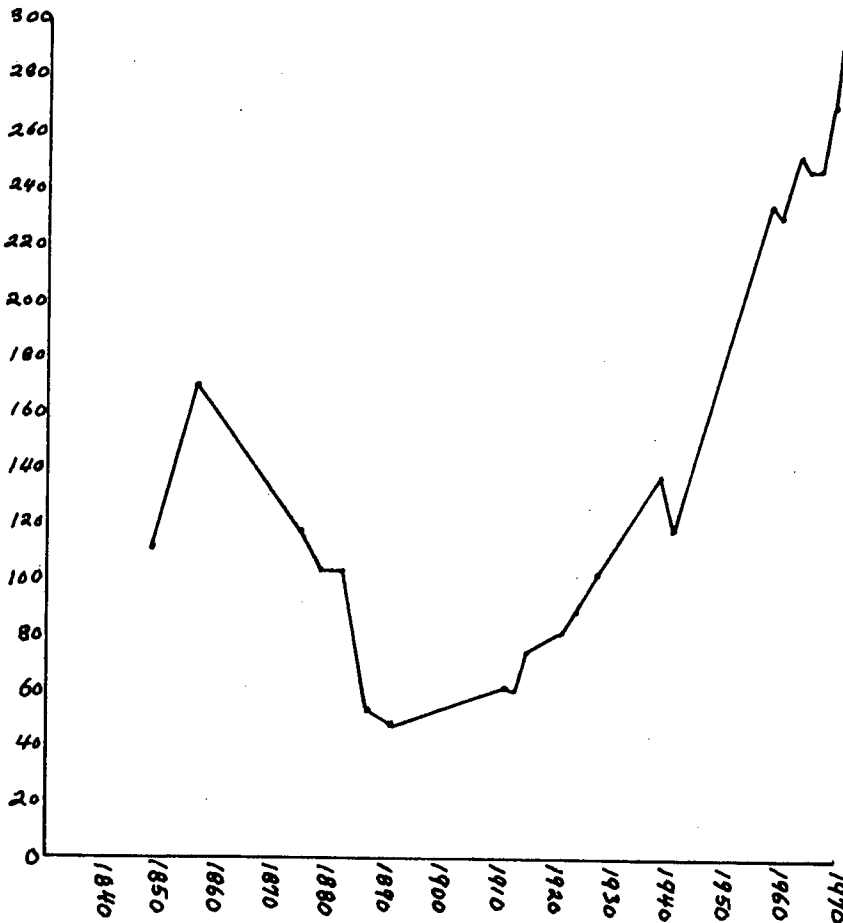
Population estimates for the Saanich people of Tsartlip village can be traced back as far as 1848, when a figure of 111 is recorded for the "Tsolup tribe of

Saanetch" (Finlayson 1848:n.p.). There is some difficulty in determining population between that year and 1878, because figures are given for clusters of villages rather than for each village. Consequently, the 1856 figure of 683 for "Sanetch Arm" (Helmcken 1856:n.p.) is probably for either the four Saanich villages on the Peninsula (Figure 1) or the four villages on Saanich Inlet (Figure 4). In either case, the figure would include Tsartlip village, with possibly one-fourth, or 171, of the 683 counted being Tsartlip people (Duff 1969:51; Pemberton 1855:Figure 3). As Figure 6 indicates, population declined among the Tsartlip, from an estimated 171 in 1856 to 104 in 1878-1882, and then slid still further to a low point of 49 in 1891, a decrease of 43 per cent in 35 years (Canada, Indian Affairs 1883:258, 1892:233). No recorded explanations for this decrease were discovered but, since the other Saanich villages experienced similar declines during that time, the most likely reasons are death from disease, out-migration, possibly to the United States, or the fact that at least some censuses were taken while large numbers of villagers were dispersed to summer resource locations, leaving the winter village site virtually unoccupied.

By 1913, there were 61 people¹ living at Tsartlip,

¹Native testimony during the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs mentions 60 people for 1913 (1913-1916:C3 and Table A).

Figure 6: Tsartlip On-Reserve Population,
1848 - 1970



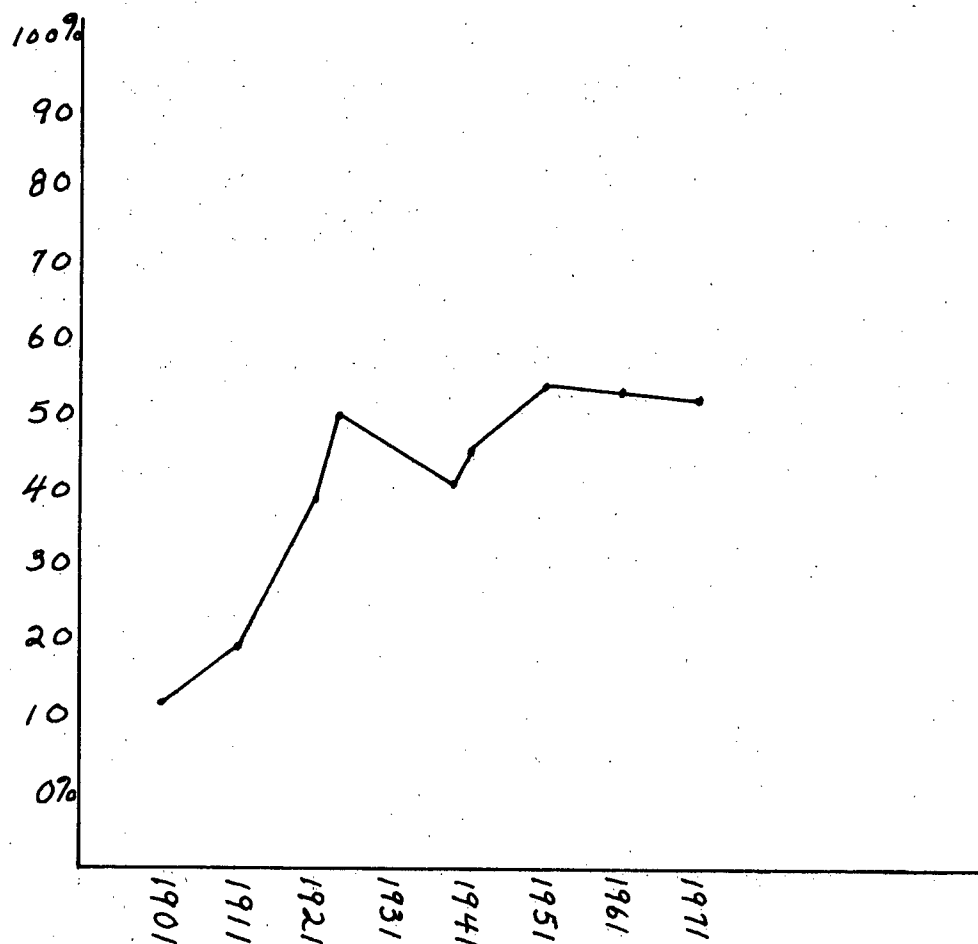
Source: Author's 1971 field census; British Columbia, Department of Lands and Works 1875; Canada, Indian Affairs 1901-1924, 1936-1969, 1969a; Finlayson 1848; Helmcken 1856; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1913-1916.

an increase of 24 per cent in 22 years. The population of the reserve has been rising since the early twentieth century. If only Tsartlip band members living on reserve are counted, as in Figure 6, census figures from 1890 to 1970 indicate a growth rate of nearly 600 per cent, over the 80-year period. In the 30-year period from 1940 to 1970, the population of Tsartlip has increased by about 100 per cent. For Canada as a whole, natural increase in population between 1891 and 1971 was approximately 300 per cent and, for the period 1941 to 1971, approximately 75 per cent (Kalbach and McVey 1971:21, 65; Statistics Canada 1972:7-1). Considering that the population of the reserve was precariously low in the late nineteenth century, the high growth rate since then must be regarded as a process of replacement and restoration of population health and stability.

Age Profile

The age profile of Tsartlip Reserve, as for the entire registered Indian population of Canada, shows an overall increase in the proportion of infants, children, and teen-agers (Duff 1964:48). At Tsartlip, between 1901 and 1951, the proportion of band members under 16 years of age rose from a low of 12 per cent to 54 per cent, although it has levelled off in the period 1951 to 1971 (Canada, Indian Affairs 1901-1924, 1936-1969) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Percentage of On-Reserve Tsartlip Band Members Under Sixteen Years, 1901-1971



Source: Canada, Indian Affairs 1901-1924, 1936-1969, 1969a.

The 1971 figure, obtained during fieldwork, of 52 per cent of all on-reserve Tsartlip members being under 16 years of age coincides with a 1969 DIAND figure of 50 per cent for both on- and off-reserve members of West Saanich Reserve (Canada, Indian Affairs 1969a) and is in line with Hawthorn's finding that

for Indians in Canada as a whole,
 the proportion of the
 population under sixteen years of
 age is about 50 per cent
 (1966:97).

The youthfulness of the reserve population at Tsartlip, as of December 31, 1971, is even more striking if cumulative frequencies are tabulated. Table II presents data for on-reserve band members of West Saanich, and

TABLE II: AGE AND SEX OF ON-RESERVE BAND MEMBERS, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Age	Female		Male		Total		Cumulative Frequency (Less than)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	22	19.0	17	14.0	39	17.0	39	17.0
5-9	18	15.0	19	16.0	37	16.0	76	33.0
10-14	16	14.0	19	16.0	35	15.0	111	48.0
15-19	16	14.0	20	17.0	36	15.0	147	63.0
20-29	16	14.0	16	13.0	32	14.0	179	77.0
30-39	8	7.0	10	9.0	18	8.0	197	85.0
40-59	15	13.0	10	9.0	25	10.0	222	95.0
60 & over	5	4.0	7	6.0	12	5.0	234	100.0
Total	116	100.0	118	100.0	234	100.0		

Source: Canada, Indian Affairs (1969a)

Table III for the total on-reserve population of 293 individuals, including band members and other residents.

TABLE III: AGE AND SEX OF ALL PERMANENT RESIDENTS, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Age	Female		Male		Total		Cumulative Frequency (Less than)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	32	22.0	22	15.0	54	19.0	54	19.0
5-9	23	16.0	23	16.0	46	16.0	100	35.0
10-14	19	13.0	20	14.0	39	13.0	139	48.0
15-19	17	12.0	25	17.0	42	14.0	181	62.0
20-29	23	16.0	23	16.0	46	16.0	227	78.0
30-39	10	6.0	14	9.0	24	8.0	251	86.0
40-59	17	12.0	13	8.0	30	10.0	281	96.0
60 & over	5	3.0	7	5.0	12	4.0	293	100.0
Total	146	100.0	147	100.0	293	100.0		

Sources: Canada, Indian Affairs (1969a); author's field census (1971).

For on-reserve band members, 63 per cent are less than 20 years old, while 77 per cent are under 30 years of age. Only 15 per cent of the on-reserve band members are 40 or older.

If the ages of all permanent² residents of West Saanich Reserve, whether band members or not, are considered, as in Table III, an almost identical distribution occurs.

²Permanent residents, for purposes of this study, are those individuals who lived six months or more at Tsartlip in 1971, and those infants born during 1971.

Those under 20 years of age form 62 per cent of the population, while 78 per cent are under 30. Fourteen per cent of all permanent Tsartlip residents are 40 or older. It should be mentioned, as well, that there are no individuals on the reserve between 65 and 69 years of age, and only ten residents have reached their seventies. All ten are Tsartlip band members, a point reflected in the observation of the band manager that "we take care of our own old people."

Table IV compares Tsartlip's population with that of Canada's registered Indians and with the general population

TABLE IV: YOUTHFULNESS OF TSARTLIP POPULATION
COMPARED WITH REGISTERED INDIAN AND GENERAL
CANADIAN POPULATIONS, 1971

Population	Under 10 yrs %	10-19 yrs %	20-60 yrs %	Over 60 yrs %	Median Age
<u>Tsartlip</u>					
Resident band members	33.0	30.0	32.0	5.0	15.2 yrs
All reserve residents	34.0	28.0	34.0	4.0	15.9 yrs
<u>All Canada</u>					
Registered Indians	31.0	25.0	32.0	6.0	15.5 yrs
General Population	19.0	20.0	49.0	12.0	30.0 yrs

Sources: Canada, Indian Affairs (1969a); author's field census (1971); Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1970-1971).

of Canada, for the year 1971, with respect to youthfulness. The table underscores the contrast between Indian and non-Indian populations. Not only is the median age of Canadians in general almost twice that of either Tsartlip residents or registered Indians of all Canada, but the proportion of the population under 20 years of age at Tsartlip (about 62.0%) is almost the same as the proportion of the Canadian non-Indian population 20 years of age or older (61.0%).

Similarly, Hawthorn remarks that, in 1966, the proportion of registered Canadian Indians under 16 years of age was approximately 50 per cent, while the proportion of non-Indian Canadians under 16 years of age was only 28 per cent (1966:97).

In general, the high proportion of young people at Tsartlip is indicative of a rapidly growing population. If Tsartlip is typical of most Canadian Indian reserves, its birthrate is about double that of the general, non-Indian population of Canada (Hawthorn 1966:97). One important aspect of this high rate of increase at Tsartlip is that it intensifies an already severe housing shortage, brought about by the inadequate federal housing subsidies available to native people. As the chief councillor points out, since most of the reserve residents are either unemployed or not earning sufficient income to qualify for mortgages, they must depend upon federal funds, and the result is "... a

continuing cycle of deteriorating housing conditions" (Paul, quoted in Victoria Daily Times 1970:2). Reserve housing conditions and the shortage of homes will be discussed in a later chapter, as a product of the metropolis-hinterland relationship and in terms of the particular hardships for native Indian women.

Sex Ratio

The proportion of males to females living at Tsartlip is virtually equal for both the 234 on-reserve band members (118 males, 116 females), the 59 residents who are not band members, and thus for the total West Saanich population of 293 (147 males, 146 females). There are 68 male and 63 female residents 18 years of age or older by December 31, 1971 who comprise the adult population as it is defined for purposes of this study, but this difference in sex ratio is still negligible.

As Tables II and III demonstrate, age distribution for males and females is almost identical, also.

Sex differences in natal band membership, in 1971 band membership, and in possession of Indian status are examined below.

Ethnic and Band Affiliation

In order to discuss comprehensibly the ethnic and band affiliation of Tsartlip residents, consideration must be given first to the legal definition of the term "Indian",

as it applies in Canada. According to the Indian Act,

Indian means a person who
pursuant to this Act is
registered as an Indian or is
entitled to be registered as
an Indian (Canada 1969:s.2[g]),

on a Band or General List of Indians maintained by the
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, a
federal agency. Any person whose name is recorded or is
entitled to be recorded on a List is commonly referred to as
a "registered" or "status" Indian and comes under the
jurisdiction and administration of the Indian Act.

Section 11 of the Act (Canada 1969) sets out who is
entitled to be a registered Indian, as follows:

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

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

(b) is a member of a band
(i) for whose use and
benefit, in common, lands
have been set apart or since
the 26th day of May, 1874,

have been agreed by treaty to be set apart, or
 (ii) that has been declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act;

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

(d) is the legitimate child of
 (i) a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or
 (ii) a person described in paragraph (c);

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

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

Any person, regardless of racial or ethnic origins, whose name is not registered on a List does not come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act and is thus "non-Indian", by definition. The term "non-Indian" is, in reality, a huge residual category encompassing all people in Canada who are not registered on a List. "Non-Indian" will be used in this study to refer to Euro-Canadians and is differentiated from not only "Indian" but also from another term, "non-status Indian".

"Non-status Indian" is a narrower, popular term for people of Indian or even of non-Indian ancestry who consider themselves, or are considered, Indian but whose names, for

some reason, are not on the Indian Register. Although it has no legal standing, the term "non-status Indian" is in common use by government agencies, Indian organisations, and Indian people themselves. It is less clearly understood and used by the general, uninformed, Canadian public.

A person may be designated non-status on the basis of criteria outlined in the Indian Act, as follows:

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

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

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

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

(1a) The addition to a Band List of the name of an illegitimate child described in paragraph (e) of

section 11 may be protested at any time within twelve months after the addition, and if upon the protest it is decided that the father of the child was not an Indian, the child is not entitled to be registered under paragraph (e) of section 11.

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

(3) Subparagraphs (i) and (ii) of paragraph (a) of subsection (1) do not apply to a person who

(a) pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian on the day this subsection comes into force, or

(b) is a descendant of a person described in paragraph (a) of this subsection (Canada 1969:s.12).

For all 12 non-status Indians living at Tsartlip, their non-status position is the result of the complex set of conditions contingent upon sub-section (b) of Section 12 that involves the way women are regarded in the Indian Act.

The legal status of Indian women is considerably more precarious than that of Indian men, for several reasons. According to the Indian Act, a woman loses her Indian status and band membership automatically if she enters into a legal marriage with a non-Indian man (Canada 1969:s.14, s.108[2]). This is not the case should a status Indian man marry a non-Indian woman. Moreover, the children of

a legal union between an Indian woman and a non-Indian man are also non-Indian, and at the discretion of the Minister of DIAND, "all or any" of her registered Indian children from previous unions may lose their Indian status, as well, when she marries (Canada 1969:s.108[2]). If her non-Indian husband should die or if they should divorce, the woman remains non-status, regardless of her own wishes, as do the children.

If a registered Indian woman enters a non-legal, consensual union with a non-Indian man, she retains her Indian legal status, and her children are also registered as Indians and as members of her band. Nevertheless, a perusal of DIAND files yields the information that, until very recently, DIAND attempted to obtain the signature of the putative non-Indian father on a statement acknowledging his paternity. If a non-Indian male agrees to sign the statement, all children for whom he acknowledges paternity are struck from the band list and considered non-Indian. This seems to occur even if the mother denies that the non-Indian in question is the father of the children. At least six cases of this practice were unearthed in the DIAND South Island District Office in Nanaimo, as the writer was going through Tsartlip census records. In only one case was DIAND actually successful in obtaining a signature, and the child involved is now a non-status Indian, although her mother and sister are Tsartlip band members and registered Indians.

In a similar manner, a status Indian woman who legally marries a status Indian man from another reserve automatically becomes a member of her husband's band, and their children will also belong to their father's band. At the time of marriage, a *per capita* share of the funds of the woman's natal band is transferred to the funds of her husband's band (Canada 1969:s.14, s.16[3]). The dissolution of the marriage, through either divorce or death of the husband, does not alter her band membership, nor that of their children. She can regain membership in her natal band only by marrying a man of that band.³

A non-Indian woman who legally marries a registered Indian man automatically is registered and becomes a status Indian and a member of her husband's band, even though she may have no Indian ancestry. Her husband's legal status and band membership remain intact. Any children of this legal union are also status Indians and members of their father's band. Neither divorce nor widowhood changes the woman's Indian status, unless she later marries a non-Indian man and loses the legal status accorded her by her former marriage.

Another aspect of the Indian Act that ignores the consequences for women involves enfranchisement (Canada 1969:

³A number of women at Tsartlip told me that a woman who lost her band membership through marriage to a member of another band could regain her natal band membership if her husband's band were willing to return her *per capita* share to her natal band. No instances of this were found among the residents of Tsartlip.

s.108-s.110). Enfranchisement is defined as voluntary relinquishing of one's Indian status in return for a *per capita* share of the funds of one's band (Duff 1964:48). Upon enfranchisement, an individual's name is removed from the Indian List. Enfranchisement is not a reversible action, in that once a person has relinquished legal Indian status, it cannot be reclaimed. Duff refers to enfranchisement as a "voluntary" process (1964:48), but it can only be considered as such if the enforced loss of status of an enfranchising man's wife and children is disregarded and if the obligatory enfranchisement of registered Indian women who marry non-Indian men (Canada 1969:s.108[2]) is ignored. The only way that a woman can maintain her Indian status if her husband wishes to enfranchise is by satisfying the Minister of DIAND that she ". . . is living apart from her husband" (Canada 1969:s.108[3]). If the reluctant wife returns to her husband after his enfranchisement, an order is subsequently declared for her enfranchisement (Canada 1969:s.108[3]). Moreover, while Duff's statement that enfranchisement is now "obsolete" seems safe enough, in that few Indian people are willing today to enfranchise voluntarily, the statute pertaining to enfranchisement remains an active piece of legislation and, as such, is a potential restriction upon native women.

Finally, if a status Indian man applies for transfer to another band, and he is accepted, his legal wife and

their minor children must also transfer band membership involuntarily, because band membership, as well as legal status, is decided with reference to men. That is, a woman becomes a member of her husband's band upon marrying him. If he changes his band affiliation, so must she, because she must be a member of his band. Even if he dies or they divorce after the transfer, the woman cannot regain her natal band membership, unless she legally marries a member of her natal band or her natal band "adopts" her, enabling her to regain her own band membership. The latter is an extremely rare occurrence and has not happened in recent years at West Saanich reserve.

The purpose of the preceding discussion has been to focus upon those sections of the Indian Act that define Indian status and band membership, in order to bring to light certain legal and administration biases that have far-reaching consequences for women. Few of these consequences have been the subject of intensive anthropological scrutiny. Those consequences that related to housing on the reserve will be examined in detail, in Chapter VI. For purposes of this section, it is important only to understand that there is a strongly male-oriented bias within the Indian Act, that Indian status and band affiliation may change once or more during an individual's lifetime and that these changes are more likely to occur for women. In addition, it should be understood that Indian legal status is not necessarily

dependent upon Indian racial or ethnic affiliation and that individuals listed as Tsartlip band members may have been born and raised in a White Euro-Canadian racial and cultural milieu, while individuals listed as members of other bands, or not possessing legal status at all, may have been born and raised as Tsartlip band members.

For 1971, band membership and status of West Saanich reserve residents may be described in terms of present legal affiliation, as in Table V. Nearly 80 per cent of all

TABLE V: PRESENT BAND AFFILIATION, TSARTLIP RESIDENTS, BY SEX, 1971

Affiliation	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tsartlip	116	79.0	118	80.0	234	80.0
Other Saanich	4	3.0	3	2.0	7	2.0
Non-Saanich, Vancouver Is. Salish	11	7.0	10	7.0	21	7.0
Mainland Salish	7	5.0	9	6.0	16	5.0
Non-Salish	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1.0
Non-Status Indian	7	5.0	5	3.0	12	4.0
Non-Indian	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	1.0
Total	146	100.0	147	100.0	293	100.0

Source: Author's field census (1971).

residents of the reserve are presently members of the Tsartlip band. About 15 per cent are currently members of

other Indian bands, almost half of them affiliated with non-Saanich bands of Vancouver Island Salish. Only 14 (5.0%) of all 293 residents are not registered Indians. It is clear from this table that there is very little difference in 1971 band affiliation between males and females, but the two tables that follow indicate more marked sex contrasts, when other aspects of band membership and legal status are considered.

For example, Table VI presents information on ethnic origins of permanent adult residents of West Saanich

TABLE VI: NATAL BAND AFFILIATION AND/OR
NATAL LEGAL STATUS, TSARTLIP ADULTS, BY SEX

Natal band and/or Natal Status	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tsartlip	27	43.0	46	68.0	73	56.0
Other Saanich	5	8.0	3	4.0	8	6.0
Non-Saanich, Vancouver Is. Salish	15	24.0	7	10.0	22	17.0
Mainland Salish	6	10.0	2	3.0	8	6.0
Non-Salish	3	5.0	3	4.0	6	5.0
Non-Status, Indian descent	4	6.0	6	9.0	10	8.0
Non-Status, Non- Indian descent	3	5.0	1	2.0	4	3.0
Total	6	100.0	6	100.0	131	100.0

Source: Author's field census (1971).

Reserve, according to natal band affiliation and/or natal legal status.⁴ Notably, of the 63 adult women residents, 29 (46.0%) were born members of other Indian bands, while of the 68 adult men, only 15 (22.0%) were born into membership in other bands. Although information was not obtained to determine the number of living, Tsartlip-born women residing off as well as on reserve, who lost membership in their natal band, there are clearly more on-reserve women who were born non-Tsartlip (36, or 57.0%) than were born Tsartlip band members (27, or 43.0%). For men, on the other hand, twice as many were born members of Tsartlip band than were born non-members.

Coupled with the data in Table VII, Table VI suggests a tendency for wives to reside on the reserves of their husbands. Furthermore, Table VII reveals quite explicitly that there is much more likelihood for men than women to maintain natal band affiliation and status through adulthood. While 90 per cent of the men of the Tsartlip band have maintained their natal Tsartlip affiliation, only 37 per cent of the women of the band have done so. Moreover, all of the 17 men who reside at West Saanich Reserve but are not Tsartlip band members were never band members, but 8 (67.0%) of the 12 women residents who are not band members were born with Tsartlip membership but lost it through

⁴The adult population is defined here as those individuals who reached the age of 18 years by December 31, 1971.

TABLE VII: 1971 BAND AFFILIATION OF ADULT POPULATION,
BY NATAL BAND AFFILIATION AND SEX, TSARTLIP RESERVE

Natal Affiliation	1971 Affiliation											
	Tsartlip						Non-Tsartlip					
	Male No.	%	Female No.	%	Total No.	%	Male No.	%	Female No.	%	Total No.	%
Tsartlip	46	90.2	19	37.3	65	63.7	0	0.0	8	66.7	8	27.6
Non-Tsartlip	5	9.8	32	62.7	37	36.3	17	100.0	4	33.3	21	72.4
Total	51	100.0	51	100.0	102	100.0	17	100.0	12	100.0	29	100.0

Source: Author's field census (1971).

marriage.

Finally, 68 per cent of all adult male residents of West Saanich reserve have maintained lifetime Tsartlip band membership, but only 30 per cent of all adult female residents have done so.

Marital Status

A final aspect of demography that is important for understanding what follows involves examination of the marital status of reserve inhabitants. Table VIII summarizes these data. The distinction between legal and consensual marriage requires explanation. Native people at West Saanich make a distinction, usually for the benefit of

TABLE VIII: MARITAL STATUS, TSARTLIP ADULT
POPULATION, BY SEX, 1971

Marital Status	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	13	21.0	23	34.0	36	28.0
Legally Married	29	46.0	29	43.0	58	44.0
Consensually Married	10	16.0	10	14.0	20	15.0
Separated	2	3.0	1	1.0	3	2.0
Widowed	6	10.0	2	3.0	8	6.0
Total	63	100.0	68	100.0	131	100.0
Marital Status Change in 1971	8	13.0	7	10.0	15	11.0

Source: Author's field census (1971).

non-Indian outsiders, between being "legally married" (*i.e.*, with a valid marriage licence) and being married "in the Indian way" (*i.e.*, in a union of consent). The term "common-law" is also used by Tsartlip people to refer to all consensual unions. The term is avoided here because it has certain complex legal connotations involving duration and circumstances of the union. At any rate, the people of Tsartlip generally do not view one type of marriage as being more acceptable or preferable than the other, although they recognize that non-Indians may do so. Many of the consensual unions are of considerable duration and stability. With Gonzalez (1967:73) and Kew (1970:41), I regard marriage as any conjugal relationship that has the approval or recognition of the society in which it occurs. Nevertheless, I distinguish between legal and consensual unions in Table VIII and throughout this study, because the type of marriage relationship between a couple has implications for women especially, with regard to Indian status, band membership, and access to housing facilities.

Because marital status changed for some individuals during 1971, the categories listed in the table imply more than six months duration. Thus, the 36 people who are listed as single are those who have never been legally married, were not living openly in a consensual union, and who remained single for more than half of 1971. No one at Tsartlip has a legal divorce, and the three who

are classified as separated do not have legal separations but simply did not live with a legal or consensual spouse for more than six months of the year. Of the 20 people in consensual unions, 60 per cent were previously legally single, 20 per cent were previously legally married and separated, and the remaining 10 per cent had been widowed before entering the consensual marriage.

If the number of legally married and consensually married persons are combined, 59 per cent of the adult residents may be considered married. Other than slightly more widowed women than men, and more single men than women, sex differences in marital status are negligible.

Of the six people whose marital status changed during 1971, two women entered legal marriages, one man was widowed, one legally married couple reconciled after seven years of separation, and five couples separated.

The median age of women at first legal marriage is 20 years and of men is 22 years. Moreover, it is interesting to note that 15 of the 39 women who are married are married to younger men. The age difference ranges from one to seven years younger, but the average age difference where the husband is younger is only two years. The marriage of a woman to a younger man is usually greeted with some scorn and derision, largely directly toward the woman, by reserve residents. Yet, with nearly 40 per cent of all married women married to younger men, the practice cannot be

regarded as idiosyncratic. No explanation for this pattern could be ascertained.

The preceding chapters have been concerned with outlining the problem to be investigated and the perspective to be used and with providing a detailed picture of the environmental setting, ethnographic background, post-contact history, and demography of the Tsartlip people of West Saanich Reserve. The major purpose thus far has been to focus upon the metropolis-hinterland relationship as it has developed between the larger Canadian society and the reserve. The chapters that follow will attempt to describe the major consequence stemming from that relationship -- namely, widespread, chronic poverty among reserve residents -- and to examine some of the implications of being poor, specifically as they affect reserve women. Some of the ways that women attempt to deal with poverty and its effects will be discussed, as well.

CHAPTER V

THE LEVEL OF POVERTY: WORK AND INCOME

Defining Poverty

A discussion of economic and social conditions on West Saanich reserve leads inescapably to a description of the poverty of its inhabitants for, at West Saanich, those conditions reflect little else. In order to provide that description it will be necessary, first, to define poverty as the term is used in Canada.

The world-wide economic depression of the 1930's led to an interest among some economists and others (*e.g.*, Cassidy 1932; Innes and Plumptre 1934; Whiteley 1934) in the effects of the depression upon wage earners, unemployed workers, and farmers and in measures for combatting poverty. Nonetheless, poverty in Canada as a whole was not even officially defined for statistical purposes until 1968 (Podoluk 1968:179-84), when concerns with the decline in the post-war economic boom brought to light what had always been there -- a pervasive and widespread economic inequality among Canadians. Along with the emergence in the 1960's of such agencies as the Economic Council of Canada, the Canadian Welfare Council, and the

proclamation of such poverty-oriented policies as the Agricultural and Rural Development Act, a federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement to bring economic prosperity to depressed areas of Canada, came a growing number of publications touching, directly or indirectly, upon the existence of the poor in Canada (*e.g.*, Blishen *et al.* 1964; Borovoy 1966; Cardinal 1969; Dalhousie University 1962; Economic Council of Canada 1968; Fraser 1964; Godfrey 1965; Hawthorn 1966, 1967; Honigmann 1965; Mann 1961; Menzies 1965; Eleen 1965; Podoluk 1965, 1968; Porter 1965; Whyte 1965).¹ Porter's assertion that only

. . . a very small proportion (about 4 per cent) [of the Canadian population] could afford . . . the middle class life that is portrayed in the world of the slick magazine . . . (1965:112)

is one of the earliest understatements of the extent of Canadian poverty. Adams regards 1968 as the year when poverty was made "official [and] fashionable" (1970:17) by the publication of the Economic Council of Canada's *Fifth Annual Review* (1968), a contention borne out by the complaint of Harp and Hofley that even at the end of the sixties

¹Possibly because the very existence of Indian reserves makes their poverty too obvious to miss, some of the earliest studies that deal with poverty in Canada are those concerned with Indian people (*e.g.*, Hawthorn *et al.* 1958; Lagasse 1959).

. . . there is a paucity of sociological data on . . . lower socio-economic groups [because they] have not been given a high priority within Canadian sociology (1971:3).

Adams' journalistic account of the Canadian "poverty wall" (1970) heralds the genesis of a number of volumes focussing entirely upon the nature and extent of that wall (*e.g.* Adams 1970; Adams *et al.* 1971; Harp and Hofley 1971; Mann 1970; Robertson 1970; Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971).

Describing its nature and determining its extent requires that poverty be defined. Most nominal definitions refer to the relativity of poverty to the general standard of living within the population and to the lack of command over economic, political, and social resources necessary for the provision of accepted and conventional requirements of life (*e.g.* Adams *et al.* 1971; Galbraith 1958; Harp and Hofley 1971; Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971). These definitions resemble the statement of the Economic Council of Canada that poverty means

insufficient access to certain goods, services, and conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living (1968:104-105).

Precise measurement of the scope of poverty, on the other hand, requires a definition based on quantitative criteria. Although it is recognised that

. . . poverty is not simply a matter of low income but also a matter of relative lack of command over resources . . . , neither the data nor the methodological tools are available to measure the complex relationships in these definitions (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:2).

Moreover, as Adams *et al.* make clear through oversimplification,

. . . the simple truth is that people are poor because they don't have enough money. There may be other reasons for poverty - lack of education, opportunity, and so on - but these are all consequences of not having enough money to maintain an adequate standard of living. And by 'adequate', we do not mean enough for bare survival (1971:8).

Since not having enough money is frequently related to being an underpaid wage earner or an unemployed worker, the remainder of this chapter will examine employment patterns and income levels for individuals and households. In addition, some estimate will be made of the relative degree of poverty at West Saanich compared to the standard of living of "everyone else".

Reserve Economy

Tsartlip is by no means an economically self-supporting reserve. There are no major, band owned and operated industries to employ all or even most of those residents who wish to work. Nor was it feasible, by 1971, for a resident of the reserve to subsist entirely in the

traditional manner, by exploiting natural resources. Some residents obtain at least part of their food supply through digging clams, salmon fishing in Saanich Inlet, taking shrimp from docks and wharves, hunting deer in the Malahat area, growing vegetables and keeping fowl, picking berries, and gathering culls on the large potato farms of the Peninsula. The amounts collected fall far short of daily subsistence needs. Even where there is a fairly heavy reliance on these resources, they are regarded as a supplement to store-purchased food. Only in cases of dire emergency, do people attempt to live entirely on gathered foodstuffs and then only until relief can be found in the form of government transfer payments, employment, or help from kinsmen. One man in his early forties, with a history of chronic unemployment, observed that he could go four or five days without food when necessary. He said that he had been trained as a young man to do this and that when he ran out of money, he "went back to the old ways of fasting." Because he lives alone, such drastic measures are possible, albeit on a short-term basis. For adults with children, there must be other solutions.

In describing the economic position of West Saanich residents, I encountered considerable difficulty in arriving at classifications comparable to those used by Statistics Canada economists. Such questions as those pertaining to size and composition of the labour force,

employment and unemployment, occupational categories, sources and amounts of annual income, and an array of other problems appeared hopelessly entangled in the detailed information collected from the reserve. The accumulation, from job histories and chronicles of daily domestic life, of seemingly amorphous data regarding Indian income, employment, and other economic variables forced a shift in perspective from Euro-Canadian, middle-class categories of regular employment, in conventional occupations (such as those outlined in Statistics Canada 1971 Census Monographs ([1971-1973]) with stable income, to the realities of economic survival in an exploited and dependent satellite society.

For the women, especially, Statistics Canada economic classifications are usually inappropriate. Aside from the problems of calculating the economic contribution of the woman who is employed as an unpaid homemaker, there are many women living on the reserve who do bring additional income to the household through a variety of pursuits that are not easily subsumed under conventional headings. Moreover, not only is the cash income received by these women difficult to estimate reliably, but strategic non-cash revenue, in the form of goods and services, is frequently controlled by women, both in terms of acquisition and distribution, through participation in networks of mutual aid among kinfolk and friends. Manipulation of the

"social resources" that are available involves women in daily exchange transactions that are often crucial to survival, for, as Stack (1974:107) observes:

those living in poverty have little or no chance to escape from the economic situation into which they were born. Nor do they have the power to control the expansion or contraction of welfare benefits . . . or of employment opportunities, both of which have a momentous effect on their daily lives. In times of need, the only predictable resources that can be drawn upon are their own children and parents, and the fund of kin and relatives obligated to them.

Thus, the apparent aberrations in economic data gathered at Tsartlip reflect the uncertain and capricious conditions imposed upon Indian labour by the dominant economy, and the prodigality of the data regarding economic aspects of Indian life styles at Tsartlip reflects what Stack (1974:43) calls ". . . a profoundly creative adaptation to poverty."

The material that follows delineates the predominant features of employment and occupational patterns for men as well as women and of income, at the individual and household levels. In addition, consideration is given to the degree of poverty at West Saanich, in relation to so-called "poverty lines" that have been developed for the Canadian population in general.

Employment and Occupational Patterns

While total income is the most crucial factor in determining lifestyles on the reserve, employment and the lack of it determine adequacy and regularity of that income. Moreover, the occupational alternatives available to native people are, in themselves, reflections of the economic status of West Saanich people, a point argued by Carstens (1970) with reference to South African reserves. Consequently, a description of employment characteristics and occupations seems an appropriate starting point.

Annual Employment

Employment for the total reserve labour force, during 1971, is notable for its tendency to be unreliable, irregular, and desultory. Table IX summarizes the picture of employment and unemployment at West Saanich for 1971. One of the most noticeable contrasts shown in Table IX is that although percentages of women and men employed less than one month or from one to four months are virtually equal, only 13 per cent of the female labour force is fully employed, while nearly three times that percentage (37.0%) of the male labour force is fully employed, for nine months or more. The rate of part-time and self-employment is much higher among women than among men, as Table IX indicates, because of such entirely female-centred domestic crafts as knitting.

TABLE IX: ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT PATTERN BY SEX,
TSARTLIP ADULT LABOUR FORCE, 1971

Employment Status	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	% of Female Work Force	No.	% of Male Work Force	No.	% of Total Work Force
Fully-employed (9-12 mos.)	5	13.0	23	37.0	28	28.0
Under-employed ²	30	77.0	33	63.0	93	91.0
(5-8 mos.)	(0)	(0.0)	(7)	(11.0)	(7)	(7.0)
(1-4 mos.)	(7)	(18.0)	(14)	(22.0)	(21)	(20.0)
(Less than one month)	(8)	(20.0)	(12)	(19.0)	(20)	(20.0)
(Part-time or Self only)	(15)	(38.0)	(7)	(11.0)	(22)	(21.0)
Unemployed but sought work	4	10.0	0	0.0	4	4.0
Total in Labour Force	39	100.0	63	100.0	102	100.0
Total not in Labour Force	24	-	5	-	29	-
Total Adult Population	63	-	68	-	131	-

Source: Author's work histories, collected in 1972.

²Under-employment is defined here as employed less than nine months, employed part-time, or self-employed. Sub-totals for categories of under-employment are shown in parentheses.

Generally speaking, women in the work force seem even more likely to be unemployed or under-employed (87.0%) than are men (63.0%). In fact, if the category of unemployed is restricted to those who sought work but were unable to find it during 1971, none of the men on the reserve can be considered unemployed. It should be noted, also, that 24 (38.0%) of all 63 adult women at West Saanich are not part of the labour force, according to its traditional definition as those who worked or sought work during a given period (Labour Canada 1971:6). Because they did not look for work, for whatever the reason, these women did not have access to wage incomes of their own, although they may receive federal family allowances in their capacity as mothers, and may be recipients of other forms of government transfer income.

Finally, no attempt has been made to calculate unemployment rates according to either Labour Canada measures (1971:6) or Stanbury's *et al.* broader definition (1972:25), because information was not gathered in a comparable manner at West Saanich.

Job Histories

The following selection of anecdotal job histories provides a narrative picture of patterns of employment for the men and women of the reserve -- patterns characterised by dependency upon frequently anomalous jobs of short-term

and unpredictable duration, under wearisome, stultifying, and often hazardous working conditions, and upon sporadic and uncertain income sources that may be simultaneous, or consecutive, or more frighteningly, sometimes non-existent. Case histories were chosen to provide a cross-section of household types and occupational diversity, a variety of age levels,³ information on both male and female situations, and a range of income levels. Moreover, only job histories that seemed relatively complete and detailed were selected. All anecdotes are taken from work history interview schedules and field notes. Certain information has been altered to protect identities, but each job history is accurate in essential character, if not in specific detail.

Each history is preceded by a diagram of household members indicating the following characteristics: Income recipients, ▲ ● ; Dependents, △ ○ ; Deceased persons, ~~△~~ ~~○~~ ; Non-residents of household, △△ ○○ .

1. The Davis Household

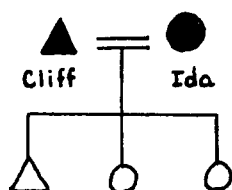


Figure 8

³Ages are as of December 31, 1971.

Cliff Davis: 30 years old;
Level of education - Grade Eight;
1971 personal income - \$1,398.

Cliff began working with his parents in the potato fields when he was nine years old. As a child, he earned about \$4.00 a week, money his parents allowed him to keep for "goodies". By allowing him to keep his earnings for spending money, clothes, and leisure activities, Cliff's parents were relieved of these expenses. After he dropped out of school at the age of 16, he weeded and picked potatoes for "10 or 11 summers", from 1957 to 1971. His wages were 50 cents an hour, in 1957 and \$1.50 an hour, in 1971. Work on potato farms lasts from mid-May through September, sometimes 12 to 14 hours a day, 10 days in a row, other times, only a few days per week.

For two or three summers, Cliff worked on a dairy farm, cleaning out the barns and doing other chores, for \$1.00 an hour, but his employer was ". . . very strict. He took a dollar off for everything, if he had a chance. He never told me why he was always docking my pay, and if I asked him, he just said 'Smarten up and I won't have to'. I didn't ever find out what I was doing wrong".

In 1966 or 1967, Cliff got a job weeding vegetables at \$1.50 an hour, but he was laid off because ". . . the lady at the place didn't like Indians". During the same period, he managed to get a job at \$2.10 an hour unloading tuna fish at B.C. Packers, in Victoria. He worked there ". . . on and off, about two days a week, for about two months, until there was no more work".

Since 1965, when Cliff got together with Ida, he has worked sporadically every winter sacking coal, at \$1.75 to \$1.92 an hour. He never gets more than two weeks at a time at the coal yard, so that he is never eligible for Unemployment Insurance.

From time to time, Cliff digs butter clams on Peninsula beaches, with his father-in-law.

He may dig two or three boxes a day that he sells for \$5.50 each, during a ten-day tide.

In early 1971, Cliff took a two month heavy equipment operator's course that he estimates would pay \$400 to \$450 a month, if he could find work. However, not only are jobs of this type scarce in Victoria area, but shortly after Cliff completed the course, he was afflicted with a respiratory ailment caused, according to his doctor, by inhalation of coal dust. Cliff spent nearly three months in the hospital. According to Cliff, he is not eligible for Workmen's Compensation because the relationship between his illness and his work in the coal yard is not conclusive. He worked two weeks on the potato farm after his discharge, had a relapse and spent another four months in hospital.

His wages, in 1971, were \$120 (9.0% of total income).

Ida Davis: 23 years old;
Level of education - Grade Seven;
1971 personal income - \$1,706.

When Ida was small, her mother had to keep her home from school quite frequently, to help with the preparation and knitting of wool for Cowichan sweaters. Ida's father, Homer Peters, worked in the coal yards for 31 years but his earnings were hardly enough to support a family of 11 children. Knitting sweaters and digging clams for sale supplemented the family's meagre income.

Ida quit school after Grade Seven, when she was 16, because "I was losing too much school by helping out at home. I couldn't keep up with the rest of the class". She found summer work picking berries and vegetables on the Saanich Peninsula and in Washington State, at \$1.00 an hour. Now that she has three pre-school age children, she no longer picks, because she cannot find a babysitter who would charge less than she could earn by working.

In 1971, she and Cliff lived on government transfer payments (student allowance, social

assistance, and family allowance) for all but one month. While Cliff was in hospital, reduced social assistance payments were made to Ida, for herself and the children. Cliff worked for two weeks (see above), and for two weeks they had no income other than what Ida made selling knitted hats, at \$2.00 each. Whenever she and Cliff run short of money - a frequent occurrence - she borrows enough wool from her mother to knit five hats.

Her cash earnings, all from knitting, were about \$100, in 1971 (6.0% of total income).

2. The Peters Household

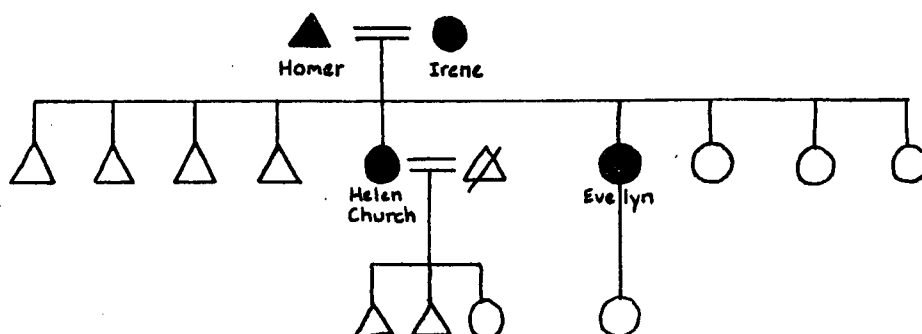


Figure 9

Homer Peters: 63 years old;
No formal education;
1971 personal income - \$7,550.

From the time he was 19, in 1927, until 1959, Homer was employed each winter sacking coal in a Victoria coal yard. His wages increased over 31 years from \$3.25 a day (about 40 cents an hour) to \$16.80 a day (\$2.40 an hour). For the last six years of his employment at the coal yard, he worked steadily, all year round, as a foreman. The company folded in 1959 and, since that time, Homer has not had steady work.

During spring and summer lay-offs from the coal yards, Homer and his wife, Irene, dug for clams. From 1950-1954, Homer was in business

for himself, as a clam buyer. He purchased clams from a number of Indian clam pickers and then sold them to a company buyer. Homer sold about \$5000 worth of clams each week, but after paying the pickers, the box handlers, and a bookkeeper, renting boats and a scow, and buying gas, there was little left over. Occasionally he could net \$200 a day, but he estimates that his average income was about \$20 a day. Over the four years, he feels he lost money, for red tide and water pollution were already spoiling the most accessible clam beds.

For several years, during the Thirties, Homer owned a fishing boat, trolling for salmon that he sold for about four cents a pound. "The best I ever made was \$60 in a day but in the long run, I went in the hole. I wound up owing money to the fish company". In the Forties, Homer worked two years as a logger on Mayne Island, when the reserve's timber was being sold (Figure 2).

Nearly every summer until 1963, Homer, Irene, and their older children picked berries and vegetables, making just enough to live on and bringing home about \$200 in all. They no longer go picking, because they don't earn enough to make it a worthwhile endeavour.

In 1963, Homer was a construction foreman for seven months, earning an average of \$12 a day, but when summer came, and White students were employed on the crew, they refused to work for an Indian boss. Homer quit when they began to refer to him as "Indian Chief". Since that time, over the past eight years, Homer has been on social assistance, supplementing government transfer payments with odd jobs for DIAND, clam digging, and money he receives on ritual occasions.

During 1971, Homer earned approximately \$1200 building DIAND houses, on the four Saanich reserves. In addition he is a renowned Indian speaker, whose services at spirit dances, funerals, and other events command as much as \$25 per hour. Homer is also collector for funeral donations from Tsartlip, and he

travels frequently in connection with this position. His earnings as a prominent speaker are difficult to determine precisely, but during the winter ceremonial period, he may receive an additional \$200 - \$300 per month in "thanks".⁴

His earnings, including those from clam picking and ceremonial activities, were approximately \$2,000, in 1971 (26.0% of total income).

Irene Peters: 46 years old;
Level of education - Grade Three;
Personal annual income - \$1,328.

Irene depends upon family allowance cheques totalling \$528 per year to augment her earnings from knitting. She has been knitting since her teens and still makes at least two Cowichan sweaters each month. She sells them for \$28 each, to a store in Duncan.

At times, Irene's income from knitting has been the mainstay of support for the Peters' household. Even now, she is reluctant to stop knitting, because the additional \$800 represents 60 per cent of her total income.

Helen Church: 24 years old;
Level of education - Grade Seven;
Personal annual income - \$2,236.

Widowed in 1969, Helen is largely dependent upon monthly payments of \$180 from social assistance and \$18 from family allowance to support herself and her three small children. Because she is a member of an up-Island reserve, by marriage, Helen is not entitled to a house at Tsartlip. She lives with her parents most of the time but, in 1971, lived with a married brother for nearly four months, caring for his children, after his wife left him. She received no cash for

⁴Kew (1970:188, 227) observed payment of ritual speakers at spirit dances and funerals at Musqueam, a Salish reserve on the mainland.

"helping out", but her brother bought most of the groceries during her stay.

Before she was married, in 1966, she worked summers picking berries and vegetables, but she has never had a steady job. With three pre-schoolers, she cannot afford a sitter, even if she could find work, and her mother ". . . has her hands full with the other kids and helping my dad".

Evelyn Peters: 18 years old;
Level of education - Grade Seven;
Personal annual income - \$1,380.

Evelyn quit school in Grade Seven, just before her fifteenth birthday. She and her infant daughter are on social assistance, and Evelyn surmises that she has not made more than a few dollars in wages since she picked berries when she was fourteen.

3. The Baker Household

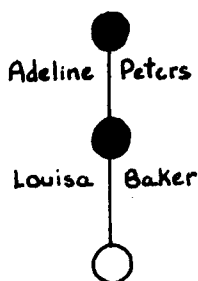


Figure 10

Adeline Peters: 71 years old;
No formal education;
Personal annual income - \$1,980.

Adeline is Homer Peter's elder sister. She lives with her daughter, Louisa Baker, and Louisa's 14-year-old daughter, Rosemary. When Adeline was a young woman, she worked as a domestic help in several homes in Sidney (Figure 1), earning 25 cents an hour scrubbing floors, doing laundry, and ironing. During the Depression, she supported her six

children by knitting Cowichan sweaters, a skill she learned at the age of ten, and selling them for \$4.50 each. She still supplements her pension with knitting, a daily activity that nets her about \$400 per year (20.0% of total income).

Louisa Baker: 41 years old;
Level of education - Grade Six;
Personal annual income - \$2,212.

When Louisa quit school in Grade Six, at 16, she got a job in a medicine factory, bottling medicinal salve, at 50 cents an hour. The factory closed down after a few months, and Louisa has not had steady work since. She does not have a car, so it is difficult for her to go into Victoria, should she wish to look for work or receive job training.

She used to pick berries during the summer months, but she is reluctant to leave Adeline alone for long periods and she feels that berry picking doesn't pay, "unless you have lots of small children to help pick". Louisa's daughter earns summer spending money by picking berries, however.

In 1971, Louisa cared for her brother's teenage daughter for four months, receiving \$85 a month as a foster child allowance, an amount almost equal to the total monthly social assistance allotment of \$88 for her and her own daughter.

Louisa's major source of earned income is from knitting. She nets about \$800 a year (27.0% of total income) from the sale of sweaters, ponchos, hats, and socks.

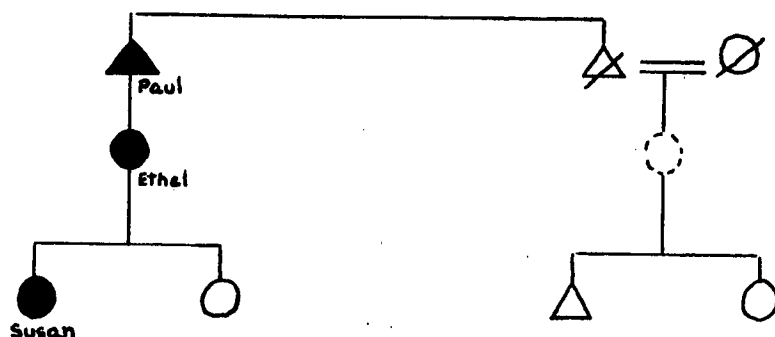
4. The Johnson Household

Figure 11

Paul Johnson: 81 years old;
 No formal education;
 Personal annual income - \$1,500

As a young man, Paul lived with his mother at Becher Bay, fishing, and selling his catch to a man in Victoria's Chinatown for 20 cents a pound. When Paul moved to Tsartlip in the Twenties, he made his living digging clams and selling them to the Sidney cannery for \$2.50 per 200 - pound box. Every summer he picked berries, earning \$50 in two months.

During the Depression, Paul hayed for local Saanich farmers for \$3 a day. He continued to fish and to dig clams for sale, in the winter months when there was no farm employment. When World War II started, Paul obtained odd jobs in maintenance work and construction, at 50 cents an hour. With other Indian men, he worked at the airforce base for 50 cents an hour, during 1943-45.

After the War ended, Paul worked on the construction of an ice arena and a warehouse, in Victoria, mixing cement at \$1.00 an hour - his only two major jobs between 1945 and 1956, when he "retired".

His present income source is entirely Old Age Pension.

Ethel Johnson: 51 years old;
Level of education - Grade Four;
Personal annual income - \$3,135.

Paul's daughter, Ethel, worked at a fish cannery in Esquimalt, filling cans and lining them up on a conveyor belt, for five cents an hour, during the late Thirties. She worked at the clam cannery in Sidney during the War and went berry-picking in the States every summer, earning just enough (about \$60) to pay living expenses and get back home.

Government transfer payments from social assistance and family allowance make up over \$2900 of the yearly income that supports Ethel, her younger daughter, Margo, and two of Paul's brother's daughter's young children.

She was taught to knit by her stepmother and, in 1971, Ethel was clearing about \$15 - \$20 a month selling knitted socks, hats, and mitts (6.0% of total income). She does not knit sweaters because they take too long.

Susan Johnson: 18 years old;
Level of education - Grade Ten
Personal annual income - \$1,140.

Susan is Ethel's eldest daughter. She dropped out of school in Grade 10, in 1970, but when she couldn't find a job, she returned to the Institute of Adult Studies in Victoria for upgrading, in January of 1971. She had difficulty in obtaining a student living allowance for her return to school because, she is, unlike her mother and younger sister, non-status. Both she and her sister have the same non-Indian father, but he is not married to Ethel and has never contributed to the support of her or her daughters. Shortly after Susan's birth, DIAND contacted her father and obtained a statement from him acknowledging paternity of Susan, that excluded her from the Indian register. When Margo was born, he refused to acknowledge paternity, so Margo has her mother's Indian status.

Through the influence of the Tsartlip chief, Susan obtained a DIAND educational assistance

allowance of \$171.43 per month for five months. She passed some of her courses, but she was often absent or late for classes, because her ride didn't show up in the morning.

During the summer, she applied for steady work in a bank, but was not hired. In the fall, she decided not to return to school because of the problems of finding reliable transportation. She picked potatoes for 13 days in September, earning \$36 for the first five days and \$77 for the next eight days, for a total of \$113. Working between eight and nine hours a day, she came home each night too exhausted to eat supper or to wash the dust from her hair and skin.

In December, she found a babysitting job with a non-Indian family, at \$5 a day, but her grandfather fell ill on her first day of work. His condition worsened rapidly, and Susan quit her job after only two days, never bothering to collect her wages. Thus, her earned income for 1971 totalled \$113 (10.0% of total income).

5. The Andrew Household

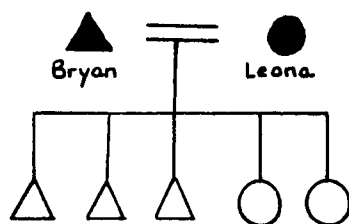


Figure 12

Bryan Andrew: 31 years old;
Level of education - Grade Ten;
Personal annual income - \$4,816.

While Bryan was still in Grade Seven, he worked nights in a coal yard, where his father and older brothers were employed. His hourly wages, in 1956, were \$1.70, including

overtime for night-shift. By the time he was 18, Bryan was working full-time in the coal yard, unloading trucks. Only once, in 1960-61, did he work a full 12 months without a lay-off. In the other years between 1958 and 1965, he averaged only seven or eight months employment each year. His wages, over that seven-year period, increased by ten-cent increments from \$1.37 an hour (day-shift, 1958) to \$1.87 an hour, the sum he was paid for only two weeks in 1965 when he drove a coal truck. Swamping 200-pound sacks of coal eventually strained his back and caused an enlargement of his heart that forced him to quit. According to Bryan, he was not eligible for Workmen's Compensation, because there was no conclusive proof that either his back ailment or his enlarged heart stemmed from work.

From 1965 to 1968, Bryan did odd jobs, "keeping one step ahead of welfare," working as a farm labourer at \$1.25 an hour, for a 12 hour day, during the five-week haying season. With his wife, he picked berries, vegetables, and potatoes for \$1.00 an hour, at other times in the summers.

DIAND Winter Works projects on the reserve have provided casual labour since 1968. For two and one-half months in 1968, Bryan earned his highest wages - \$2.85 an hour - laying a municipal water line in Central Saanich.

In 1969, Bryan apprenticed to a small ship-builder under a DIAND subsidized programme. He realized that he was earning only \$2.10 an hour, while White apprentices were getting \$2.70, but he was afraid to complain for fear of losing his job. In August of 1969, he injured his weakened back and had to have surgery, forcing him to go on welfare for the first time in his adult life.

From then until January, 1971, Bryan was on social assistance. He returned to school for upgrading in January, completing Grades Eight through Ten by May.

Although he was training as a shipwright, Bryan cannot find employment with any of the Island's shipbuilders, so he and his wife depend upon the commission he earns from managing the Band's boat ramp and campsite. The commission amounts to 25 per cent of the gross, but they must share the job on an alternate-month basis with another family. Consequently, in 1971, the job provided an additional income of only \$800 - \$900, (about 17.0% - 19.0% of his total income), over and above government transfer payments.

Leona Andrew: 27 years old;
 Level of education - Grade Seven;
 Personal annual income - \$1,760.

Leona, a non-Indian before her marriage, did not have a paying job until after she met Bryan in 1960 when she was 16. Her first job was picking daffodils in the Spring, at a large Saanich farm, but she quit after only three days because the hourly wage of 75 cents ". . . made me feel discouraged before I even got started". After that, Leona and Bryan went berry-picking from June to September, but the cost of food in the picker's camps was so high and the wages so low that they had to borrow money to get home in the fall.

During her first pregnancy, in 1961, she and Bryan picked potatoes, earning up to \$300 a week between them. Leona worked until one month before the baby was born.

Her mother-in-law helped her to get her "first real job", in a greenhouse, where she worked for six weeks at \$1.25 an hour, in 1965. After her third child was born, in 1966, Leona obtained another greenhouse job through her sister-in-law, working on a part-time basis for several months at \$1.50 an hour.

Since 1970, Leona has worked part-time making herring-strip for bait in a fish tackle firm within walking distance of the reserve. She prefers to be paid on a piece-work basis, earning up to \$27 in four or five

hours. In 1970, when she was new at the work she made only \$10 a day, earning a total of just over \$400 for the year. In 1971, she earned \$1200 at the same job, because she was able to work faster. She acquired another \$200 from room and board paid by her sister and brother-in-law, a non-status Indian couple who were unable to find housing. Her total earnings for the year were \$1400, or 79 per cent of her total annual income. Family allowance payments of \$30 a month provide another supplement.

6. The Arnold Household



Peter

Figure 13

Peter Arnold: 77 years old;
Level of education - Grade Eight;
Personal annual income - \$2200.

From the time he was a small boy, Peter Arnold has been working for a living. With his mother and three brothers, he picked berries for White farmers on the Saanich Peninsula, for several summers. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Indian families from Tsartlip often lived on the berry farms through the strawberries of June, the raspberries and logans of July, and the blackberries of August. For each 12-pound crate of berries that he picked, Peter was paid 25 cents which he turned over to his mother.

After the berry season, he worked with his mother and brothers in a cannery in Sidney (Figure 1), earning five cents an hour filling trays with cans of fish. "In one season

[about six weeks], I made close to \$18. The money was for school clothes."

In his early teens, Peter's mother started him on his lifelong occupation of berry farming, with a gift of 500 strawberry plants and some fruit trees.

In his first year, before World War I started, Peter cleared \$30, selling his berries to the hospital in Victoria. By the war years, he was making \$500 a season. In the winters of 1916 and 1917, Peter worked for \$3 a day as a boom man in a local saw mill.

After he married in 1918, Peter began growing potatoes and corn and, except for the worst years of the Depression, made an average of \$800 each season from the sale of fruit and vegetables. Each fall, he supplemented this income by cutting wood for White farmers. He earned 40 cents an hour chopping firewood and fence posts. Peter worked on the same farm for 12 years, for the same wages.

During World War II, Peter gave up his farming for more lucrative work as a fireman in the boiler room at the Royal Canadian Airforce base on the Peninsula. Working eight-hour shifts, unbroken by coffee or meal breaks, Peter earned \$140 a month and was able to save a portion of his earnings, for the first time in his life. He held the job from 1943 until 1948, when the base closed.

Peter's last farm wage work was driving a horse-drawn plow on an 80-acre loganberry farm on the Peninsula. His earnings increased from 75 cents an hour in 1949 to one dollar an hour, when he left in 1954.

In the late 1960's, Peter began teaching the Saanich and Cowichan languages at two schools, the Institute of Adult Studies, and the University of Victoria. He was paid \$100 annually by each of the schools, \$300 by the Institute of Adult Studies, and \$440 by the University. Because he was

earning additional income, however, he turned down an Old Age Pension supplement of \$50 a month.

His earned income in 1971, from teaching and berry farming, was \$1240 (56.0% of his total income).

7. The Peters Household

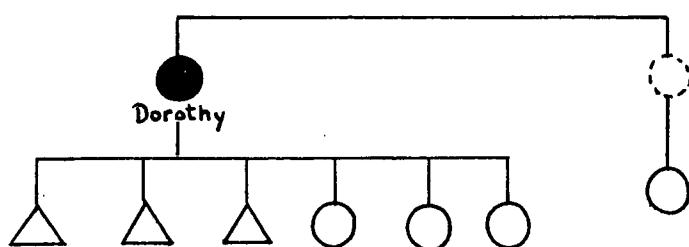


Figure 14

Dorothy Peters: 38 years old;
Level of education - Grade Eight;
Personal annual income - \$5,778.

After leaving school at 16, in 1949, Dorothy picked berries and did other agricultural labour for an average of \$3 a day, as she had in her childhood. The next year, she was able to find a full-time job as a clerk and helper in a pharmacy. She earned \$125 a month. After a year, she was fired, though she doesn't know why.

In 1954, at the age of 21, Dorothy moved to the United States and found a job in a tavern, as a waitress. She made very little money, "not enough to support myself", so she quit and began the migratory farm workers' circuit through the American Pacific Northwest, with other Indian people and Chicanos. She remained in the States for eight years, living on the Yakima Reservation in Washington during the winter months. In 1960, she returned to Tsartlip with her four children. Her

consensual spouse was Chicano and was not permitted to enter Canada.

For several years, Dorothy lived with her mother or her sisters at Tsartlip each winter, travelling to the States with her children in the spring, to pick berries and vegetables until fall.

In 1967, she moved into the vacant house of her deceased "auntie" (MoMoSi), and since then she has lived all year-round at West Saanich. She found part-time, casual work in a local bait and tackle factory where she earns \$1.50 an hour making herring-strip or canning fish. Her total earnings for 1971 were \$150 (3.0% of her total income). In addition to family allowance and social assistance payments, she receives a monthly foster child allowance of \$60 for caring for her sister's daughter.

8. The Simpson Household

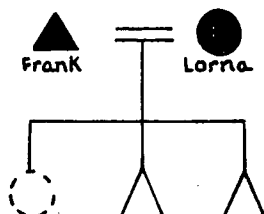


Figure 15

Frank Simpson: 35 years old;
 Level of education - Grade Eight;
 Personal annual income - \$8,159.

As a boy, Frank worked alongside his parents and siblings picking berries and vegetables during summer holidays. He was allowed to keep his earnings - about \$75 a summer - for school clothes and spending money.

When he completed Grade Eight, Frank was 16

and felt he was "too old" to stay in school. His father worked in a Victoria coal yard and helped Frank to get a job there, too. Frank started as a "swamper," filling and loading 200-pound sacks of coal on to delivery trucks. His pay was \$1.10 an hour, in 1952. He worked for five winters and was earning \$1.78 an hour when he quit in 1957.

Work in the coal yards is seasonal, and Frank was laid off in February or March of each year. From then until October, he fished for cod near Mayne Island (Figure 2) with two of his older brothers, averaging \$10 - \$15 a day and working about 20 days per month.

Frank left the coal yard because the work was very hard and the pay very poor. His older brother was working at a nearby explosives plant that regularly has 15 to 20 Indian workers among its 120 employees. Frank was hired in 1957, at the rate of \$1.88 an hour, filling dynamite caps with blasting powder. Although the work is rather dangerous and lay-offs are frequent, in response to slumps in the construction industry and to labour disputes, Frank worked there for 11 years.

During a prolonged lay-off in 1968, Frank found a better-paying job as a carpenter's helper for DIAND, and was earning \$4.15 an hour when DIAND laid him off in 1970.

Frank was re-hired by the explosives plant and, in the last year, his wages have increased from \$3.88 to \$4.05 an hour. His income for 1971 was entirely from wage work.

Lorna Simpson: 33 years old;
Level of education - Grade Six;
Personal annual income - \$1144.

Although Lorna's schooling ended in 1954, when she was 16, she remained at the residential school working for \$75 a month as a dining room supervisor. Thirty dollars a month was deducted from her wages for room and board. She was fired after 18 months,

but she never knew the reason.

After a series of part-time jobs cleaning house and babysitting for several families in the town near her home reserve, Lorna moved to another town and took a job as a maid in the hospital. She worked six months, for \$120 a month, and then returned to her reserve to care for her ailing mother.

In 1958, Lorna married Frank and went to live at Tsartlip. After her third child was born in 1962, Lorna found a job in a Victoria hotel as a dishwasher and kitchen girl. She earned \$235 a month and considered it good wages, but she had to quit because "with housework and three small kids to take care of all day, I was always tired and kept getting sick." Her mother-in-law cared for the children while Lorna was at work.

Frank and Lorna separated in 1962 and did not reconcile for an extended period until 1971. Frank and his mother kept the three children, and Lorna moved into Victoria. She worked in a restaurant as a waitress for \$200 a month, plus tips. After only five months, Lorna had to return to her natal reserve to care for her youngest siblings, because her mother was ill again.

In 1963, Lorna moved to Victoria once more. Her mother-in-law was working at a large cannery in town and helped Lorna to get a job labelling cans of fish. For the last eight years, Lorna has worked there regularly, three to five days a week, five to seven hours a day. Her wages have increased from 15 cents an hour in 1963 to \$3.00 an hour, in 1971. In the latter year, she earned about \$1000, 87 per cent of her total yearly income. The remainder is family allowance payments.

Interestingly, during the summer of 1971, Frank and Lorna insisted that their three children pick berries on nearby farms so that they would be "well-disciplined for hard work" and "learn the value of money." The

children earned a total of \$122, to keep for spending money.

9. The Arnold Household

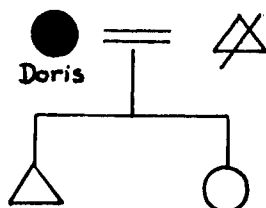


Figure 16

Doris Arnold: 55 years old;
 Level of education - Grade Eight;
 Personal annual income - \$4576.

Doris has always worked as a nurse's aide. She began in 1936 at a small Victoria nursing home, earning \$15 a month. She gave \$10 a month to her parents and kept \$5 for herself. After she married in 1937, she stayed home, raised six children, and helped her husband with his farm.

Widowed in 1963, Doris found a nurse's aide job in Victoria, at a salary of \$1.50 an hour. She left there in 1965 to take a similar job, at the same wage, closer to the reserve. When she left three years later, her hourly wages were \$1.75. A job in a nursing home even closer to West Saanich became available at this time, and Doris has worked there ever since. She is now earning \$2.20 an hour, enough to support herself and two of her children still in their teens. Doris' total income in 1971 was from wages and amounted to \$4576 - one of the highest wage incomes of any woman on the reserve.

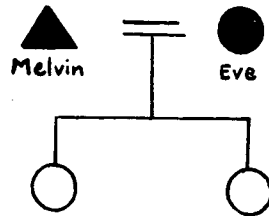
10. The Arnold Household

Figure 17

Melvin Arnold: 32 years old;
 Level of education - Grade Twelve;
 Personal Annual Income - \$12,000

Doris' son, Melvin, earned money for school by working for White farmers, in addition to helping on his family's farm. His last summer as a farm labourer was after his graduation from high school. He earned \$1 an hour. In the fall of 1956, Melvin's older brother found him a job at the explosives plant, but after only three days of work, a strike closed the factory.

Unemployed for two months, Melvin was eventually hired as a "yard-bird" and "swamper" by a Victoria coal yard. He worked there six months, earning hourly wages of \$1.25 as yard-bird, \$1.35 as swamper, and \$1.63 as a delivery-truck driver for the last two weeks of his employment. Frustrated by the lack of opportunity and the boring, exhausting work at the coal yard, Melvin quit one day at lunch time. He walked across the street to a construction firm's office and applied for a job as a carpenter's apprentice. He was hired at a starting wage of \$2 an hour and has been in construction ever since, working during the day and taking carpentry courses at night school.

When he and Eve were married in 1965, Melvin decided that he wanted to be his own boss

and to support his family properly. The following year, upon completion of his qualifications for carpentry and with financial help from his mother's brother, Melvin started his own business as a building contractor. He builds houses on and off reserve and earned \$12,000, his total income, in 1971.

Eve Arnold: 28 years old;
Level of education - Grade Twelve;
Personal annual income - \$744.

During summer holidays and for a year after high school graduation, Eve worked in a dime store in a town near her natal reserve in central British Columbia. As a stock-taker, she made \$1.50 an hour and saved most of her earnings for nursing school. She was "counselled out" of becoming a registered nurse by a teaching sister at the residential school that she had attended, and instead, Eve took a one-year course in practical nursing. Her first job as a practical nurse was in a small hospital in the Interior of the province. Her wages were \$200 a month, and she worked there from 1963 until mid-1964.

Eve applied for and obtained a job in a Victoria hospital, earning \$217 per month when she started and \$234 when she left early in 1966 to have her first baby.

Since 1966, Eve has not worked steadily, although she sells cosmetics for a large door-to-door firm, a job that nets her between \$30 and \$40 a month. In 1971, she earned an additional \$150 as a census taker. Her total 1971 earnings from the two jobs were \$600 (81.0% of her total income), supplemented by family allowance for two children.

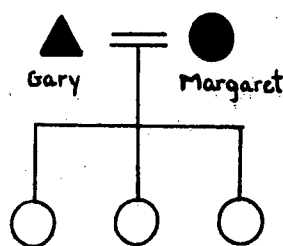
11. The Williams Household

Figure 18

Gary Williams: 28 years old;
 Level of education - Grade Twelve;
 Personal annual income - \$4256.

As a boy, Gary and his brothers worked for a local potato farmer. When Gary was only eight years old, he filled potato sacks for one-half cent a bag. By the time he was 11, he was making seven cents a bag throwing potato sacks onto trucks. In his early teens, he earned 50 cents an hour (\$4.50 a day) hoeing and weeding in the potato fields.

Making between \$150 and \$180 each summer, he gave one-half of this income to his mother and kept the remainder for school clothes and spending money.

After graduating from high school in 1963, Gary found a job as a boom man at a sawmill where his mother's brother worked as boom foreman. Gary earned \$2.25 an hour during the six months that he worked there. He was laid off but was able to find a similar job immediately at an up-Island mill. Over the four years that he worked there, his salary increased from \$2.25 to \$3.30 an hour. In addition, Gary went to night school and obtained a scaler's licence, for grading logs.

Hoping to find "advancement and a change of routine," Gary moved to another, larger logging and milling firm. Although he was promised a scaling job as soon as one came up, nothing materialised and Gary continued

as a boom man at \$3.40 an hour, until he was laid off a year later, in 1968.

By this time, Gary and Margaret were married with two children. They decided to move back to Gary's father's home at Tsartlip. Gary applied for Unemployment Insurance, but by the time his application was approved six weeks later, he had found a job carrying tools for a floor layer, at \$1 an hour.

Laid off after eight months, Gary found a job feeding a log chipper in a Victoria sawmill. Although the job paid \$3 an hour, Gary quit after only one week because "the noise of all that machinery was like a living nightmare, like being in hell for eight hours each day. I could still hear the machines for weeks after I quit."

One more job as a boom man followed. After six months, Gary decided that he was "tired of being soaking wet and cold, tired of risking my life on the booms, tired of being passed by for promotion by White guys, tired of being laid off." In September of 1969, he enrolled in first year university at the Institute of Adult Studies. He completed a partial year and did not return.

During 1971, Gary's main income source was social assistance, supplemented by casual earnings of \$10 a day from "greening" (gathering and selling boxwood and salal boughs to florists' shops) and selling an occasional carving for \$30 or \$40. Combined with his stipend as a band council member, Gary's earnings amount to \$2060 (48.0% of his total income).

Margaret Williams: 25 years old;
Level of education - Grade Twelve;
Personal annual income - \$956.

Since graduating from high school in 1963, Margaret has had three jobs. As she had done in other summers during high school, she worked in a Vancouver cannery, cleaning fish at \$1.75 an hour until she was able to find a better job as a cashier in a dime

store. Although she earned less (\$1.25 an hour), the environment of the dime store was more pleasant than that of the cannery, "up to your knees in fish guts."

Margaret and Gary were married in 1964, and Margaret did not work for wages again until 1971, although she dug clams for sale occasionally when they were temporarily out of money. In 1970, she enrolled in a teacher's aide course at the Institute of Adult Studies. She continued to attend classes in 1971, and worked part-time in the DIAND kindergarten, from September until the end of the year. Although her salary was \$175 a month, she was entitled to earn only \$100 a month, because Gary was on social assistance. Consequently, \$75 was deducted each month from his social assistance cheque. Margaret did earn \$700 in 1971 (73.0% of her total income), although the net gain to the household was only \$400.

12. The James Household

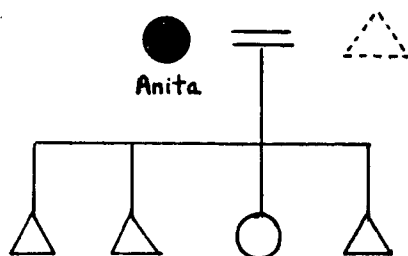


Figure 19

Anita James: 41 years old;
Level of education - Grade Four;
Personal annual income - \$3119.

When Anita was in her early teens, she started helping her mother with knitting Cowichan sweaters. Eventually, Anita did some knitting to sell on her own, but after several years, she found she was getting in debt to the store that bought her sweaters

and sold her the wool for the next ones. The store purchased wool from sheep farmers at a higher price and in larger quantities than individual Indian women could afford so that the farmers would not sell directly to the knitters. Moreover, the store would not buy sweaters unless they were knit with store wool. Anita wanted to sell to another store but owed too much money to the first one. The store's practice of advancing credit to the knitters led Anita to feel "we always seemed to owe them money, instead of them owing us."

Anita was married at 16 to a member of an up-Island band. She did not return to Tsartlip for several years. During that time, she was knitting each winter and picking vegetables and fruit each summer. Farm work, at \$3 or \$4 a day was considerably more profitable than knitting, and she gave up the latter in 1955.

Since 1957, Anita has been on social assistance and living at Tsartlip. She has been the sole support of her children since 1966. To augment her income, Anita and her eldest children dig clams in good weather, when low tides occur in daylight. During the 1960's, Anita made \$5 a day, selling clams for five cents a pound. By 1971, clams were nine cents a pound and, with the children's help, Anita can make between \$10 and \$11 in a day's digging. The work is tiring, and because she does not have a car to travel to more productive beaches, Anita seldom digs more than one or two days of each tide.

In addition, Anita works one morning a week making herring-strip at the local bait and tackle store. She earns \$1.50 an hour and is called in only when the boss needs extra help for a few hours. Anita feels she is fortunate to have the job not only because it is within walking distance, but also because the boss gives each employee a turkey at Christmas.

In 1971, Anita's total earnings from digging

clams and making fish bait were \$410, or 13 per cent of her annual income.

In all, 82 detailed work histories were collected, either through formal interviews or from conversations. Thirty-nine of these histories were taken from women and 43 from men. Less complete descriptions of employment experiences were obtained for an additional 12 women and 10 men. The discussion below is based on these 104 cases. For the remaining 27 (21.0%) of the total adult population, only sketchy information was acquired. Twelve of this group were still in their teens during the fieldwork period and another, a young woman of 20, died before I was able to contact her.

For the 104 individuals for whom information is available and relatively detailed, several broad patterns of work experience emerge. First, in virtually all cases (99 out of 104, child labour for wages is reported. By the age of nine or ten, most Indian children from Tsartlip seem to be involved in commercial economic activities, such as berry-picking, weeding, hoeing, picking, and sacking potatoes, and other agricultural labour, and clam digging. Those in their twenties and thirties recall earning five or ten cents an hour, when they were not paid by volume. Both boys and girls engaged in commercial farm work and girls often helped at home with knitting, as well. This pattern seems to be continuing as indicated by comments such as

those of the Simpsons who want their children "disciplined" for work through early work experiences and by the numbers of children and teenagers who were berrypicking during the summer of 1971.

Most of those adults who worked during childhood turned over all or part of their wages to their families, for general household revenue, although respondents under 30 frequently kept their earnings for school clothes and spending money. All of those employed in child labour report being kept out of school to work, especially in the months of May, June, and September. Daughters of women who knitted invariably mention losing several days of school each month to help out their mothers and grandmothers with wool preparation and with knitting itself. In general, although regret was expressed at missing so much school, every individual who worked for wages as a child felt that it had been an economic necessity to make a tangible contribution of labour for the household. Even if they were permitted to keep all or part of their own earnings, most of the money was spent on items that would otherwise have been purchased by their parents. Strong feelings of familial obligation to help out materially are thus instilled and generated at a very early age. Children of all ages still help with agricultural work during summer holidays, while teenagers are often involved in clam digging and wool

preparation. Small children assisting with farm labour do not seem to receive separate wages now from farmers but rather contribute to the volume of produce that is weeded, hoed, or picked and sacked by the adult members of their households. Tsartlip teenagers who get summer work are still generally permitted to keep their earnings for school clothes and "extras", although parents who run short may borrow money from working offspring.

Second, in only about seven households are there occupants whose job histories are characterized by patterns with any regular, stable, long-term employment and adequate income. Even in this comparatively more secure segment of reserve homes, work histories reveal periods of unemployment and wage levels as low for the time as those of their presently less affluent neighbours. In fact, in only four households among those surveyed on the reserve, did any of the present occupants report never having received social assistance during their adult lives, since leaving their natal homes. Higher levels of education do not seem to provide more job security, either.

Third, if information given by the 104 respondents is indicative, many of the vicissitudes of Indian employment are not so much a function of the instability or unreliability of Indian workers but of the nature of jobs open to them. Among all reasons given by 104 adults for leaving a total of 242 jobs, 145 (60.0%) were job-related

reasons such as seasonal or other lay-offs, business failure, and low wages or poor working conditions. The remaining 40 per cent were such reasons as being fired, returning to school, pregnancy, and extended illness.

There seems to be only a slight difference in the kinds of reasons given for leaving jobs by women and men. Within the category of reasons not related to the job itself, quitting to care for children was almost exclusively a reason of women, while pregnancy, of course, was entirely a female reason. According to the Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women, it is not surprising that other sex differences are not readily apparent among the reasons given:

findings of studies on turnover rates of women and men are far from conclusive. The effect of sex is hard to isolate from other factors such as age, education, marital status, industry and place of employment. Level of employment is sometimes relevant because employees at routine levels and in dead-end jobs have less stake in a career (1970:94).

For nearly all women and men at Tsartlip, the jobs described in their work histories have been "routine" and "dead-end." This monotonous and stagnant quality of Indian employment is related to a fourth feature evinced by the work histories. Just as Carstens (1970) discovered in analysing the occupations of South African Cape Coloured

workers, the job histories collected at Tsartlip reveal that native Indian people are restricted to a very narrow range of occupational categories, that most women and men on the reserve will be employed, at some time in their lives, in most of the major categories, and that, given the limited occupational alternatives open to them, native Indian people do not really have much choice in determining their means of livelihood. Indeed, the process of selecting job histories to provide the 12 household narratives just presented brought to light a pattern of occupational diversity for individuals and occupational similarity for the reserve as a whole. It is this structure of occupational versatility within limited alternatives that must now be explored.

Occupations

Wage earners from West Saanich are employed in a range of occupations that centre on unskilled labour. Very few individuals who are employed have semi-skilled occupations, and only two could be considered to have professional or managerial occupations. Most self-employment centres upon low profit production of native handicrafts or upon equally unprofitable commercial resource exploitation - occupations that are regarded arbitrarily here as unskilled, in terms of income generated and formal education required. This is not to say that both areas do not require a good deal of "traditional" knowledge and skill.

In Table X, occupations of West Saanich workers are listed in detail. Because some workers were employed in more than one occupation during 1971, the table gives frequencies as instances of employment rather than number of individuals employed, and totals do not correspond to the total number of adults in the Tsartlip labour force.

A comparison of percentage distributions of women and men in the broadest occupational categories indicates that women are not represented at all in the professional/managerial or farmer category, but that they predominate slightly in semi-skilled occupations. Most important, representation in the unskilled category is roughly equal for both women and men, and this category is the largest for everyone at West Saanich, regardless of sex. If specific unskilled occupations are compared, women and men are not proportionately distributed. Men appear more likely to be employed in agricultural labour, explosives, wood products, coal yards, and when they are self-employed, in resource exploitation. Women, on the other hand, tend to predominate in fish processing and knitting. The reasons for this differentiation seem clear. Not only do the male occupations require heavier physical labour that is not considered suitable for women, but also these jobs require a reliable means of transportation, namely, a car. Most women on the reserve do not own cars or have regular access to them.

TABLE X: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE
DISTRIBUTION OF INSTANCES OF EMPLOYMENT IN
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY SEX,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Occupational Category	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Professional/Managerial:</u>						
Educator, band mgr.	0	0.0	2	2.0	2	1.0
<u>Semi-skilled:</u>						
Aides, cook, clerical, machine operator, contractor, maintenance	7	14.0	5	6.0	12	9.0
<u>Farmers:</u>	0	0.0	2	2.0	2	1.0
<u>Total Unskilled:</u>	42	86.0	79	90.0	121	89.0
Agricultural	6	12.0	21	24.0	27	20.0
DIAND labour	7	14.0	10	11.0	17	13.0
Explosives, wood products, coal yards	0	0.0	14	16.0	14	10.0
Fish processing	5	10.0	1	1.0	6	4.0
Domestic; other labour	4	8.0	9	10.0	13	10.0
Self-employed - Knitting, carving, other crafts	14	28.0	1	1.0	15	11.0
Resource exploitation	2	4.0	17	19.0	19	14.0
Ritual services	1	2.0	3	3.0	4	3.0
Lease, rental, boarders	3	6.0	3	3.0	6	4.0
<u>Total Instances of Employment</u>	49	100.0	88	100.0	137	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

Four of the five women employed in fish processing live within walking distance of their place of work, and all women who knit are based at home.

Within the general category of unskilled employment, it should be noted that self-employment forms nearly one-third of all cases of employment, with agricultural jobs accounting for another one-fifth of all cases. Third most common are DIAND jobs, covering 13 per cent of all instances of employment.

Although precise comparison is not possible, there is a strong contrast between West Saanich and neighboring non-Indian centres in terms of percentage distribution of workers in occupational classes for 1971. While the percentage distribution of professional/managerial/skilled workers at Tsartlip is only one per cent of all cases of employment, it is 19 per cent for Central Saanich, 21 per cent for Metropolitan Victoria, and 25 per cent for Canada as a whole. Furthermore, 89 per cent of all cases of employment are in the unskilled category for West Saanich compared to 24 per cent for Central Saanich, 13 per cent for Greater Victoria, and 30 per cent for all Canada (Statistics Canada 1974: 6-9, Table 2).

Employment in the unskilled and unskilled self-employed levels accounts for such a large proportion (89.0%) of all cases of employment that a brief description of some

of the more important occupational categories would seem useful, especially of those employing women.

Agriculture. From April or May until the end of September, the fertile farms on the Saanich Peninsula provide casual employment for native people from all four Saanich reserves. Although a few West Saanich people still leave the Island for the picking season in Washington or the B.C. Okanagan Valley, most remain on the Peninsula. Not since the end of the manual hop-picking industry in the late fifties and the increase in the number of Chicano migrant workers to Washington State at the same time has there been a large-scale movement of Tsartlip farm workers to the United States.

Farm work on the Saanich Peninsula involves some weeding and hoeing, but mostly picking and associated tasks on large berry farms and in potato fields. Until 1954, Indian people were employed also in weeding and cutting flowers on the two or three large bulb farms on the Peninsula, but in recent years, according to Tsartlip respondents, competition from Hungarian immigrants and from immigrants from the Netherlands has forced out native Indian labour. A Tsartlip man with 12 years experience on a Saanich bulb farm, observes:

The Hungarian people who came to Canada to escape the Hungarian Revolution took most of the jobs in the daffodil industry. One year, two-thirds of the daffodil pickers were

Indian, the next year three-quarters of them were Hungarian. Even the greenhouses that used to employ a lot of our people in the winter months have been taken over by Hungarians. They have been trained in Europe, and we lost out to their skills and education in the flower industry.

The same person feels that immigrant workers are given all kinds of advantages by the Canadian government, while Canadian citizens, both Indian and non-Indian, are losing out. He bitterly resents the fact that immigrants are being allowed into Canada when there are not even jobs for Canadian citizens. He points to the example of the Dutch immigrants who come to ready-made jobs, arranged by their relatives, in the bulb fields. Because these immigrants are highly trained bulb-farm workers, and because they will work for 10 to 15 cents an hour less than the going rate, they have pushed native Indian workers out of the bulb-flower industry.

According to a 1969 survey, income from flower and bulb farming in Metropolitan Victoria generated an estimated gross income of \$1,425,000, or almost 17 per cent of the total gross income from farm products for 1968 - the third largest source of farm income for the metropolitan area (City of Victoria 1969:43). Participation of West Saanich workers in the flower and bulb industry seems to have been declining. In the 1950's, there were at least 10 to 15 people from Tsartlip employed each spring on Saanich

Peninsula bulb farms, but in 1971, there was only one person, apparently indicating that Indian people are being excluded from that economic niche. According to local farmers, flower growing is a fading industry. Not only have production costs risen - the cost of shipping rose 30 per cent between 1973 and 1974 (Vantreight 1974: pers. comm.) - but it is evident that other crops, requiring less acreage for a higher yield and suitable to mechanized harvesting, are more profitable. The one remaining flower-grower on the Peninsula also states that Chinese and "East Indian" labourers, and children, have replaced native Indians in the fields (Vantreight 1974: pers. comm.).

Berry farming is a much less important industry in the Greater Victoria area, grossing only one-half million dollars, or 6 per cent of gross farm income, in 1968 (City of Victoria 1969:43). According to the British Columbia Department of Agriculture, berry farming on the Saanich Peninsula is also declining. If strawberry growing is representative of the entire industry, the following observation seems pertinent:

. . . we can say that . . . [strawberry production] has been declining steadily over the past five years and is only a fraction of what it was, say 15 years ago. In 1969 the total production in the Saanich Peninsula was about 900,000 lbs. The price for processed berries was 24 cents per lb. and 40 cents for fresh. In 1973, production was approximately half that of 1969 and

prices had remained at about the same level, e.g., 27 cents per lb. for processing. . . . Cost of growing strawberries have increased greatly in recent years (Zacharias 1974: pers. comm.).

The President of the Saanich Fruit Growers Association states that between 1970 and 1971, the number of strawberry farms decreased by 16 per cent, from 25 to 21 farms (Holloway 1974: pers. comm.). This represents decreased acreage in strawberries, as well. A rainy spring through the month of June, when strawberries ripen and are harvested can be disastrous for single-crop farmers who must contend, as well, with rising costs of labour and the importation of American and Mexican berries.

In 1971, Tsartlip berry pickers, working irregularly over four to six weeks on Peninsula berry farms, were earning \$1.25 hourly, or six cents a pound. Thus, earnings for a ten-hour picking day are \$12.50 or, for 200 pounds of berries, \$12 - either way, an insubstantial sum. In 1952, berry pickers were receiving 70 cents an hour. Their wages have risen only 56 per cent in 19 years and are still well below the provincial minimum wage of \$2 per hour. Casual farm labour is not covered by this minimum wage, however.

Occasionally, an entire household will go berry picking for a few days, but usually it is the young people who pick berries to earn spending money. As the job

histories reveal, many adults began picking when they were seven or eight years old, accompanying their parents through the berry and vegetable farms of western Washington, as well. In August, 1953, K. R. Brown, Acting Superintendent for Cowichan Indian Agency wrote to W. S. Arneil, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia and remarked that although the Tsartlip band had voted \$500 from its funds for road repair, ". . . approximately 95% of the band members have been absent doing agricultural work in the United States" (Brown 1953). On-reserve population figures are not available for 1953, but in 1958 the resident population of Tsartlip band members was 234, so that roughly 200 band members must have been involved in migratory farm labour in 1953. In 1971, only 64 people (22.0%) of the total resident population of 293 were engaged in agricultural labour, and only four (6.0%) of these worked in Washington or other parts of the United States. Thirty-seven (58.0%) of the 64 are people under 18 years of age. While it may no longer be profitable for adult wage-earners with dependents to go picking, the niche of agricultural labour is still able to support a youthful work force who can earn money for school clothes and extras, thus relieving a small part of the adult economic burden. On the other hand, younger people do not have to support themselves entirely from these wages. Adults, especially those with dependents, are given

priority in DIAND summer works programmes that pay at least the federal minimum wage of \$2.50 per hour. Since young people cannot usually obtain these better-paying jobs, they have moved into occupations vacated by their parents. It is interesting to note that the President of the Saanich Fruit Growers listed "children" first when he was asked, "Who are the berry pickers?" (Holloway 1974: pers. comm.).

As far as the one on-reserve commercial berry farm is concerned, labour is a family activity. The farmer lives alone, but two of his daughters, two sons, the non-Indian husband of one daughter, and older grandchildren help with cultivating and picking each spring. Payment is complicated by the network of mutual assistance within the group but, in cash terms, is comparable to what other farmers pay and, as well, involves a share in the produce - fresh and frozen strawberries, and jam.

Potato farm work is perhaps the least pleasant type of agricultural labour, but with approximately 400 acres under cultivation in the Saanich Peninsula, Indian people have come to rely on the potato farms for employment, especially in the early autumn. Whether the jobs are weeding and hoeing in the summer - or harvesting, sacking, and swamping in the fall, the tasks associated with potato farming are generally arduous, exhausting, and back-breaking. The fields are hot and dusty (or cold and muddy), and the

workers return home each night with their mouths and respiratory tracts lined with dust and their backs aching. In 1971, on the two largest potato farms, both in East Saanich, pickers were receiving \$1.00 to \$1.25 per hour. A girl of 18 who picked for 13 days made \$36.00 in the first five days (\$7.20 per day) and \$77.00 in the remaining eight days (about \$9.62 per day), for a total of \$113.00, or an average of \$8.69 per day.

These wages, like those of berry pickers, are 37 per cent to 50 per cent below the provincial minimum. Not only are farm workers excluded from provincial government surveillance, because the work is classified as casual, but also agricultural labourers are not union-organised and thus have no group bargaining power. Moreover, there seems to be a tacit consensus among native Indian potato pickers especially that if they demand higher wages, they will either be replaced by mechanical pickers or by other ethnic groups involved in farm labour. Their fears of replacement would seem to be justified, particularly since 1965 when most of the farms of the Saanich Peninsula were placed under quarantine. In July of that year, the potato farms of southern Vancouver Island, especially on the Peninsula, were discovered to be stricken with an infestation of Golden Nematode, a microscopic worm that drains moisture from the tubers at the root and prevents any above-ground growth.

From the original 15-acre infestation, the outbreak spread to thousands of acres of fertile farmland, virtually eliminating the 1965 potato crop. By August, 1965, all farms in the Greater Victoria Capital Region were quarantined to prevent the parasite from spreading up-Island or to the mainland. No plants or plant products were allowed to leave the Island. Potato production declined, twenty farmers entered claims for federal compensation for the losses, and the demand for potato pickers dwindled. In the fall of 1965 and 1966, virtually no pickers were hired from Tsartlip, at least. Although a land fumigation programme using a pesticide at eight times its normal strength was begun in 1965, 5000 acres of farmland on the Saanich Peninsula were still in quarantine in 1974. In 1971, local potato production prices were at their lowest in 20 years because of a 50 per cent increase in imported American potatoes to make up for inadequate local harvests (Victoria Daily Times 1965a, 1965b, 1965c, 1966a, 1966b, 1967; Zacharias 1974: pers. comm.). As the following account suggests, even with doubled prices in 1973, the demand for pickers did not grow correspondingly. Undoubtedly, their losses during the years of the Golden Nematode prompted farmers to switch to less costly means of harvesting:

Potato production has remained
about the same over the last five

years Prices received for potatoes [grown on the Saanich Peninsula] have been generally low until this past year. Approximate average prices are as follows:
 1969 - \$65.00 per ton, 1970 - \$60.00 per ton, 1971 - \$55.00 per ton, 1972 - \$70.00 per ton. In 1973 potato prices were approximately double those of the previous year. It is the first time in recent years that potato growers have done reasonably well. Costs of course have also risen dramatically in the past year. Most potato growers have switched to mechanized harvesting and require relatively few farm labourers, although a few still employ casual labour for picking potatoes behind the digger. Labour costs have doubled in recent years from about \$1.25 per hour to \$2.50 per hour (Zacharias 1974: pers. comm.).

Replacement may also involve other ethnic groups, for there appears to be considerable competition among at least three that are involved in agricultural labour: native Indian, Chinese, and East Indian. Hungarian and Dutch farm workers seem to be concentrated in bulb farming and have not encroached on the berry and potato picking niche. There is a long history of competition in unskilled farm labour between native Indian and Chinese, but it is the East Indians who are most frequently mentioned by native Indian people for their alleged practice of undercutting the wages demanded by other workers. The intrusion of "Hindus [who] will work in large family groups for 50 cents an hour less than the Chinese and Indians" was described to me by

several people at Tsartlip, but no clear indication was brought to light during my research, either to support the contention or to explain why extended family picking-groups seem to have declined among Indian people. Certainly in the past, agricultural labour was a household or inter-household pursuit among the Saanich. My field notes contain at least 15 individual accounts similar to these three:

Harry Johnson: When I was younger [1955-1962], my parents used to take us to the States to pick berries and vegetables. My mother's niece and her husband used to come with us. My grandmother [FaMo] and her brother came, too. Sometimes, there were 10 to 12 of us. Now, just my wife and I go sometimes.

Evelyn Elias: We went picking every summer 1945-1960 with the kids, but just around here. My sister's husband had a truck in those days. They lived with us back then. We used to give rides to my husband's auntie and her daughter. When my sister's husband went away, we used to wait for the farmer to pick us up or get a ride with my dad. Once or twice we went across the border, but we didn't make enough. We broke even, that's about all. If we lived here at home, it didn't cost so much to eat. Over there [in the U.S.] we had to pay extra for food.

Peter Arnold: We used to pick potatoes over near Mt. Doug southeast of West Saanich reserve. My mum and dad, my two brothers and two sisters and I would go with my dad's brothers and their wives and kids. It was like a big family picnic, in those days [1900-1910].

During my fieldwork, in 1971, I recorded the following in my notes:

Potato picking seems to have started on Monday, September 20th, at Mitchell's farm - one of the largest on the Peninsula. The following people have been picking:

Peter Jones and Billy Martin [from the same household];
 Norman and Irene Baker and Susan Johnson [married couple from one household and a first cousin of Irene's from a neighbouring household];
 Homer and Ron Peters [father and son from two households];
 Ronnie Davis;
 Evelyn Elias;
 Larry Williams [Evelyn's sister's son];
 Brian James.

The last four people are from separate households and did not travel together to the potato farms. Ronnie got a ride with Homer Peters, Evelyn drove alone in her husband's car, Larry hitchhiked, and Brian went once with Peter Jones and the rest of the time with Homer Peters. Kin ties did not seem to have any bearing on access to transportation for the last four. Certainly, the 11 pickers from Tsartlip did not see themselves as a unit, if travelling arrangements are any indication. Homer Peter's truck is large enough to have accommodated at least a dozen people and all three automobiles that were taken are five-passenger vehicles. Considering that respondents recall the period from 1950 through the early 1960's as a time when at least 50 or 60 people from Tsartlip went picking potatoes each fall, the decreased demand for pickers in 1971 undoubtedly has led to increased competition for the few jobs available. Thus, there is probably more chance of being hired if one does not appear to be part of a large group. Finally, as far as I was able to determine, no one

picked for more than 15 days, and no other Tsartlip people were involved. Wages were \$1.25 per hour.

In summary, increased or even continued participation by the Tsartlip work force in farm labour is rather unlikely. As we have seen, the number of farms in the Peninsula is declining, larger farmers are turning to mechanized cultivation and harvesting processes in order to stay in business and, in a non-union setting, competition among ethnic groups may be helping to keep wages down. Ironically, when there was talk that the provincial government was going to enforce minimum wage laws in 1971, many Tsartlip people expressed concern that such action would only hasten the demise of small farms and the mechanization of larger ones.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.⁵ With the exception of one custodian's job, all unskilled DIAND jobs are seasonal or part-time, or both. Table XI lists types of DIAND employment and wages for 1971, by sex. Where possible, comparable off-reserve, non-DIAND wages in the Victoria area are given.

Median wages paid by DIAND for unskilled labour are about \$3.00 per hour, considerably higher than wages for farm work. Department jobs are the subject of much

⁵ Both of the professional/managerial positions, as well as three semi-skilled jobs, are funded by DIAND.

TABLE XI: UNSKILLED DIAND JOBS AND WAGES,
BY SEX, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

DIAND Job	Number Women	Employed Men	Approximate Hourly Wages	Comparable Non-DIAND Wages
			\$	\$
<u>Full-Time</u> (Total)	0	1		
Custodian	0	1	3.00	4.35
<u>Part-Time</u> (Total)	4	2		
Custodian	1	0	2.00	2.50
Bus Driver	2	1	3.50	3.84 (min.)
Domestic Service	1	0	1.50	2.55
Reserve Maintenance	0	1	2.00	-
<u>Seasonal</u> (Total)	3	7		
Construction	0	5	2.50	3.46-3.63
Campsite & Boat-ramp Attendants	2	2	2.00	-
Bus Driver	1	0	2.00	-
Total	7	10		

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes;
British Columbia Dept. of Economic Development
1974:n.p.

discussion among West Saanich people and are coveted, not only because the wages are relatively good, but also because there are no transportation problems. Women, especially, express hopes that they will be employed by the Department. In addition, income earned on-reserve is not subject to direct federal taxation. The construction and repair of reserve housing provides the majority of DIAND jobs, and these are only for men. New jobs in the reserve school are being planned and these will employ women as teacher-aides. Altogether, though, there are few unskilled occupations on

the reserve that are considered suitable for women.

Moreover, although Table XI lists two women and two men as campsite and boat-ramp attendants, the job is actually share by two married couples who alternate on a monthly basis. Each couple receives 25 per cent of the weekly revenue from this source.

Fish processing. Five women and one man from Tsartlip have found casual work in two fish processing firms. A small non-union cannery in Victoria employs a 33-year-old woman as a labelling-machine operator for approximately three days a week from March through October. She is paid on a piece-work basis, receiving 15 cents a case (24 cans of fish). She labels about 100 cases in eight hours and thus earns an average of \$15.00 a day (or just under \$2.00 an hour). The terminal where she works is cold and damp, and the work is tedious, but with a grade six education, she cannot find better employment. The cannery employs between 70 and 80 Indian men and 15 Indian women and has been in operation since 1960.

Closer to the reserve, a herring-strip firm employs four women and one man from Tsartlip as casual labour. Two of the women who are hired from time to time for two or three mornings a week, two or three weeks at a time, throughout the year, are sisters and heads of households. They earn \$1.50 an hour but do not make more than \$350 or

\$400 in a year. A third sister worked there until the birth of her last baby. After she left, her husband was employed there for a month in 1971, at the same hourly wages as his sisters-in-law.

Another woman employed in the same place is paid on a piece-work basis. She makes as much as \$25.00 a day, working four to six hours, cutting bait. She seems to work more frequently than the other women do and clearly earns more money than the rest.

Unskilled occupations are not explored here in depth, but the brief descriptions reveal a number of characteristics common to nearly 90 per cent of the jobs available to Tsartlip workers. First, wages are uniformly low, as one would expect for unskilled and seasonal labouring jobs. Second, many of the jobs involve health hazards and unpleasant working conditions. Again, this is not unexpected, given the types of work. Third, at least one of the industries - agriculture - is experiencing a decline that is affecting Indian employment opportunities.

Of the other industries employing Indian people from Tsartlip in non-skilled positions, only wood products appears to have potential for growth and, there, the percentage of Indian employees is decreasing from 22 per cent in 1971 to 14 per cent in 1972, while the total number of employees is increasing (City of Victoria 1969:30). Taken together, these characteristics are not unusual in

themselves, but considering the inordinately heavy reliance of Tsartlip workers on jobs within these occupational categories, the outlook for continuing dependence is not encouraging. Similarly, DIAND jobs cannot be looked upon as a reliable source of employment on any long term basis. Although DIAND grants to bands will probably continue to increase for some time, they will provide only make-work, temporary employment opportunities. Moreover, as Piven and Cloward (1971) have demonstrated, expanded government transfer payments in the form of relief of any kind are designed primarily to forestall potential civil unrest among the unemployed and are withdrawn or reduced when there is a demand for low-wage workers in the private business sector. Furthermore, in such cases as the reserve housing crisis, funds for new house construction or repair are so meagre that bands are forced to use sub-standard building materials, as described in Chapter VI, and to pay wages below those of private construction firms (Table XI). Thus, DIAND's response to Indian demands for employment and housing is to placate the unemployed with low-paid jobs constructing cheap houses to placate the homeless.

Self-employment at unskilled occupations accounts for 32 per cent of all instances of employment at Tsartlip. For this reason and because 45 per cent of all cases of self-employment involve women, some description of the

nature of self-generated work seems necessary to complete the picture of the major occupational pursuits of reserve residents.

Knitting. Very little of scholarly interest has been published on Cowichan knitting other than Lane's description of technological aspects of the industry as an example of ". . . acculturation in the field of material culture" (1951:15). Her sequel, "an analysis of the social and economic function of Cowichan knitting" (1951:15) has not been forthcoming. Lane remarks that

. . . [the knitting industry] has had far-reaching effects on the social organization of the Indians, especially as regards the status of women [who] now have an independent year-round source of income, while the men are usually dependent upon seasonal labour (1951:15).

In addition, she suggests that

the earning power of women has had repercussions in the marriage pattern and in family life generally (1951:16),

but she does not provide figures on the income source nor indicate the nature of the effect and repercussions on marriage and the family.

According to Lane, knitting was introduced by European settlers to the Indians of Vancouver Island, at some time between the 1850's and the 1880's (1951:17). By the first decade of the twentieth century, Indian women and,

possibly, men were knitting knee-length, seamless underwear and selling it to local fishermen and longshoremen⁶ (Lane 1951:15). Today, only women are involved in the knitting of sweaters and other garments such as ponchos, socks, mitts, and toques. Men make the spinning machines and may help, occasionally, with washing or carding the wool or, more frequently, by driving the women to various retail outlets where finished items are sold. Thirteen (21.0%) of the 63 adult women at Tsartlip earned money from knitting, in 1971. Eight others, at least, used to knit but no longer do so.

The median age of the 13 knitters is 45 years. Most of the women learned to knit in their early teens, but they maintain that very few women today are interested in learning the craft. On the other hand, girls are expected to help their mothers with washing and carding of wool, so that they may be learning in spite of themselves. Six of the thirteen women knit as a regular source of income, while the other seven knit only when short of cash. The median annual net income from knitting is \$450 and the maximum earnings, in 1971, were \$800. The range in annual earnings, from \$50 to \$800, is in line with Kew's finding that women who knit steadily

. . . may net between \$200 and \$500 per year, but most of them earn much less and expend their time for what amounts to a return

⁶Knitted Cowichan underwear is no longer produced.

of a few cents an hour (1970:53)

Knitting is clearly not a very lucrative occupation, but it does have the advantage of being not only a home-based craft, but also one that requires no formal education and only a small capital outlay (\$30-\$45) to buy one's first supply of wool from local sheep farmers or from stores that buy Cowichan knitted goods. Prices for wool vary, but farm prices for fleeces of white, gray, and black - the three colours used - are usually 25 per cent to 30 per cent less than store prices for prepared wool that has been washed, cleaned, and carded.

Although there are women who can knit a sweater in two days, almost no one at Tsartlip knits more than one per week, and most women knit only one every two weeks. It is difficult to estimate production time, but washing, drying, teasing (*i.e.*, cleaning), carding, spinning, and knitting one sweater is estimated to take four to five days, at five hours per day. In actual fact, a knitter, with the help of other members of her household, may prepare enough wool for two or three sweaters before doing any knitting or may divide her time each day among a number of production tasks. Several of the knitters described the work as unpleasant or boring, and none worked at it on an "all-day, every-day" basis. In Louisa Baker's words

Mum and I wouldn't knit if we
didn't have to. It gets very
boring, knitting all the time.

I never knit or spin for more than a couple hours a day unless I have a rush order. And when we have to wash the wool, that's hard work, too. It gets real heavy when it's wet. In the winter, my hands really ache from washing the wool out-of-doors. And, if it's raining, we can't hang it outside, because it takes too long to dry. We can't use the dryers at the laundromat because the wool shrinks, so we have to hang it up inside. It smells real bad. A man phoned up on a talk-show and said Indian people's houses smelled bad because we were dirty. That made me mad. We have to hang our wool inside and it makes our houses smell like that.

It is not boredom nor hard work nor the smell of wet wool that is the main complaint of knitters, however. Rather, it is the paltriness of the profit on each item knitted and sold that discourages knitters. Wool for a single sweater costs between \$8.00 and \$10.00, depending upon where the wool was purchased and the size of the sweater. Stores pay between \$22.00 and \$28.00 per sweater, depending upon size and quality. Thus, the knitter clears between \$12.00 and \$20.00 per sweater. Wool preparation and knitting requires at least 20 hours per sweater, so that knitters earn somewhere between \$.60 and \$1.00 per hour, a disheartening return for their labour. Women who knit do not estimate precisely their earnings, but all are aware that knitting is not particularly profitable. The eight

women interviewed who no longer knit stated that they gave up the enterprise because it was unprofitable.

Resource exploitation. No one at Tsartlip engages in commercial fishing at present, although subsistence fishing persists on a limited scale. The most important kinds of commercial resource exploitation are clam digging and "greening."

Only three men dig clams regularly. Two women and nine other men dig on an infrequent basis. The economics of clam digging are extremely difficult to estimate. One regular digger earned approximately \$1000, in 1971, from the sale of clams but the other two earned only about \$500 each in the same period. The women earned about \$50 each, during 1971, while the earnings of the nine men ranged from \$65 to \$300 each.

The diminishing number of clam beds and the arduous conditions under which clams are dug have already been described. Selection from my field notes provide additional commentary:

June 15, 1971: Joshua Baker supplements his welfare income by digging clams. He travels to Saltspring Island most of the time, when the tide is right, and digs for three hours a day. He uses his car but says a truck would be better. Joshua sells his clams to a man who lives in Central Saanich, for nine cents a pound. He makes about \$10 a day when he and Miriam [his consensual wife] dig. They must dig at least 100 pounds a day to earn this much. Sometimes, Leonard Small

[Miriam's daughter's consensual husband] digs clams, too, and so does Miriam's brother, Gordon. Leonard and Gordon live in Joshua's house. Joshua's 16 year-old son, Danny, who lives next door, helps his father dig, also.

Leonard and Gordon keep their own earnings from digging clams, but Danny simply helps his father for nothing.

July 12, 1971: Roger Elias has been digging clams at Goldstream. He gets ten cents a pound and can dig 200-250 pounds in a day, if his two teen-age sons help, thus earning \$20-\$25 a day. He sells the clams to someone in Victoria who, in turn, sells them to a Seattle company for about 30 cents a pound. Roger has a small boat that he uses to get to the best clam beaches. According to Roger, really good clam pickers can dig 400 to 500 pounds a day during a good tide, if they find the right beach. He knows a man who once dug 1000 pounds in a day, but this is rare. Roger is often helped by two of his older, teen-age sons.

Those who dig only sporadically seldom gather more than 100 pounds of clams in a day, and they do not go out every day during the tide. Usually, they dig for clams only when they have no cash and cannot borrow, and then dig only until they have enough to get through until pay day. Clam digging requires transportation and is very heavy work so that women are less likely to dig, except on the reserve beach for their own subsistence.

Greening is the term used by Tsartlip people to describe the gathering of salal and boxwood boughs for sale to florists' shops. Both plants are used as decorative

greenery in floral arrangements. Only young men at Tsartlip go greening, although one elderly man told me that his daughter was the first Indian to collect greens for sale to the florists, many years ago.

Greening, like clam digging and knitting, is not very profitable. Florists pay 75 cents a bunch for greens, and the most anyone at Tsartlip seems to earn from this pursuit is about \$10 a day. Only four men go greening and then only when they are short of cash. They are all in their twenties; two are married, two are single. Greening can be done at any time of the year, for both plants are evergreens, but none of the four regard it as more than a sporadic occupation. No one earned more than \$250 from the sale of greenery, in 1971. I could not determine why women do not go greening, but lack of transportation may be a factor.

Other self-employment. In the crafts area, one woman makes Indian bead necklaces but nets less than \$100 a year in this way. A man who carves earns about \$600 a year from this source to supplement his social assistance income.

Traditional ritual services include those described by Kew (1970) for Musqueam. Two of the men are renowned orators who are regularly hired as the main speakers at funerals, spirit dances, and other ceremonial occasions. The other man, an old-age pensioner, makes deer-hoof rattles

for the costumes of spirit dancers and assists in the ritual activities at funerals. The female ritualist, also an old-age pensioner, is often a speaker but is more frequently called upon to be a "watcher" at wakes and to burn the clothes of the deceased. Income from these sources is extremely difficult to determine, but can be estimated at between \$500 and \$1500 per year. It should be remarked, as well, that many other Tsartlip residents receive cash payments as witnesses, speakers, and helpers at funerals and spirit dances, but I did not collect sufficient information to warrant including it here. Rather, only the four who can be considered prominent, are mentioned.

The last category of self-employment - "lease, rental, and boarders" - is less an occupational category than an income source and will not be discussed here.

In summary, the picture of employment at West Saanich is a bleak one. With only 13 per cent of the women and 37 per cent of the men in the labour force having regular employment during 1971, chronic unemployment and underemployment is a pervasive and persistent problem for the people of the reserve. Nevertheless, Robertson's (1970:41) pessimistic reference to Canadian Indians as "the unworking class" is a misleading statement. Indian people on this reserve, at least, are involved in a wide variety of occupations, some in the most deplorable areas of unskilled

labour. It would seem that West Saanich people are less an "unworking class" than a "discouraged" or, better still, "frustrated" working class. When it is realised that virtually one-third (32.0%) of all recorded instances of employment at Tsartlip are self-generated, the myth of Indian apathy and resignation vanishes. Not only are Indian people employed by others at jobs that are unrewarding and stultifying at every level, but they employ themselves at equally unsatisfying tasks in order to supplement inadequate and often unreliable income from other sources.

It is to the characteristics of individual and household income and to measures of poverty that the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

Income

Recipients and Sources

Although some young people under 18 years of age earn small amounts of money from baby-sitting, clam-digging, berry-picking or other farm labour, none is employed on a full-time or even a regular part-time basis. As far as could be determined, none of them worked more than one month in total during 1971. Earnings provide incidental spending money or may be turned over, in part, for household expenses. Moreover, except for one seventeen-year-old woman with an infant, there are no reserve residents under 18 who are direct recipients of government transfer payments. The

seventeen-year-old woman's total annual income, entirely from government transfer, is only \$1128 and does not affect figures for women's income to any significant degree. Combined with the fact that opportunities to interview the Tsartlip teenagers were somewhat limited, these reasons seemed to justify excluding individuals under 18 years of age, even if they had income.

Income recipients are, then, those adults at West Saanich who received money from any source in 1971. One woman and a man apparently received no income whatsoever during 1971. The woman was in poor health and was dependent upon her relatively high-income parents all year. The man, a non-band member, was in jail for part of the year and was dependent upon his consensual wife for the remainder.

In addition, households will be regarded as income-receiving units and, for purposes of comparing the income characteristics of males and females are probably more reflective of sex-based differences. This is because a breakdown of individual income tends to disguise the number of women who are self-supporting and the number who are largely dependent upon the incomes of men. For example, when sources of income are examined in Table XII, the number of women in conjugal relationships who are actually recipients of income from any source is evident, but the number of women who are *dependent* upon either or both sources

is obscured, because their husbands are the actual recipients. Thus, Table XII shows sources of income dependency for all men but only for some women.

From the discussion of employment and occupations, the two main sources of income at West Saanich can be identified. They are employment income, from either wage labour or self-employment, and government transfer payments. The latter include social assistance, educational assistance, old age pension, unemployment insurance, foster child allowance, and family allowance payments. Aside from family allowance payments, which are paid regardless of other income, to all parents or guardians of dependent children under 19 years of age in Canada, social assistance is the predominant form of government transfer received by West Saanich people.

According to Table XII, if family allowance recipients are not counted, only 19 (14.0%) of the 131 adults at Tsartlip derive their total income from government transfer sources. One-third of the population has no income source other than earnings from some form of employment. That this latter income is frequently insufficient to maintain even a minimally comfortable standard of living is discussed below. Here, it is important to note that there are less than half as many people (19) receiving government transfer only as there are receiving employment income only (44).

TABLE XII: SOURCES OF INCOME, BY SEX OF
RECIPIENT TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Income Source	Females		Males		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	2.0	1	1.0	2	1.0
Employment Only	23	36.0	21	31.0	44	34.0
Government Transfer Only (excluding Family Allowance)	13	21.0	6	9.0	19	14.0
Employment and Government Transfer (excluding Family Allowance)	12	19.0	40	59.0	52	40.0
Family Allowance Only	14	22.0	0	0.0	14	11.0
Total	63	100.0	68	100.0	131	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

If income sources of women and men are compared, a marked difference is evident. Although the number and percentage of women and men whose sole source of income is employment is approximately equal, with a slightly higher percentage of women (36.0%) than of men (31.0%) in this category, 28 (44.0%) of the 63 women receive no income at all from employment, while only seven (10.0%) of 68 men have no employment income. In addition, the percentage of women whose total personal income comes from government transfer other than family allowance is over twice that of men. In the case of individuals with a combination of the two income sources, the percentage of male recipients (59.0%) is three

times that of female recipients (19.0%).

Personal Income

Regardless of what aspects of income are examined, the annual income of Tsartlip people is considerably below that of other segments of the Canadian population, while the personal income of Tsartlip women is well below that of Tsartlip men.

The 1971 *per capita* income of the 293 residents of West Saanich reserve is \$1269, between 51 per cent and 57 per cent less than the *per capita* income for Canada (\$2609), British Columbia (\$2853), and Metropolitan Victoria (\$2961), for the same year (City of Victoria 1969:15 [projected figure for 1971]; Statistics Canada 1975a:6, 21).

Total individual income from all sources for Tsartlip adults is tabulated according to sex of recipient, in Table XIII. From the table, it appears that incomes for the total reserve population are very low, with only 17 per cent receiving \$5000 or more annually. The median personal income, from all sources, for the 129 income recipients at Tsartlip is \$1904.

In terms of differences between the incomes of women and men, the percentage of women with very low income is much higher than that of men. Fifty per cent of all 62 female income recipients have an annual income of less than \$1,000, while only 15 per cent of the 67 male recipients

TABLE XIII: PERSONAL ANNUAL INCOME, ALL
SOURCES, ADULTS WITH INCOME, BY SEX OF
RECIPIENT, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Total Annual Income	Women		Men		Total		Cumulative Percentage (or more) %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
\$1 - 999	31	50.0	10	15.0	41	32.0	100.0
\$1000 - 1999	15	24.0	11	17.0	26	20.0	68.0
\$2000 - 2999	3	4.0	9	13.0	12	9.0	48.0
\$3000 - 3999	4	7.0	9	13.0	13	10.0	39.0
\$4000 - 4999	5	8.0	10	15.0	15	12.0	29.0
\$5000 - 9999	4	7.0	14	21.0	18	14.0	17.0
\$10,000 and over	0	0.0	4	6.0	4	3.0	3.0
Total	62	100.0	67	100.0	129	100.0	-

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

have incomes below this amount. Moreover, if cumulative percentages are calculated, 27 per cent of Tsartlip men receive \$5000 or more annually, compared with only 6 per cent of women. None of the women of West Saanich reserve is in the \$10,000 and over category. The woman with the highest income on the reserve earns \$7,200 per year in a full-time, semi-skilled job and has an additional \$120 per year from family allowance payments for her youngest and still dependent child, for a total of \$7,320. The man with the highest income earns approximately \$16,000 through self-employment and wage labour, in a variety of semi-skilled

capacities. Median annual income, at \$975 for women and \$3389 for men, also illustrates the contrast.

Employment Income. Again, there are many women who rely upon the cash incomes of their husbands, so that gross individual income may not be an accurate reflector of income differences between males and females. Another indicator is income from employment, as shown in Table XIV. An

TABLE XIV: ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT INCOME,
TSARTLIP LABOUR FORCE, BY SEX, 1971

Total Annual Employment Income	Females		Males		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$1000	22	63.0	22	36.0	44	46.0
\$1000 - 1999	5	14.0	10	16.0	15	16.0
\$2000 - 2999	0	0.0	4	7.0	4	4.0
\$3000 - 3999	4	11.0	6	9.0	10	10.0
\$4000 - 4999	3	9.0	4	7.0	7	7.0
\$5000 - 9999	1	3.0	11	18.0	12	13.0
\$10,000 and over	0	0.0	4	7.0	4	4.0
Total Wage Recipients	35	100.0	61	100.0	96	100.0
Total Population	63		68		131	
Wage Recipients as % of total population		56.0		90.0		73.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

immediately noticeable difference between women and men who are earning income is that only 35 (56.0%) of the 63 women of the reserve receive any income from wage labour or self-employment, but 61 (90.0%) of the 68 men do so. That women have less access to relatively high paying jobs or even to regular low-income jobs is evidenced by the percentage distribution of working women and men in each category.

From a comparison of percentage of total income derived from earnings, as presented in Table XV, the relatively heavier dependence of men upon employment income can be discerned. While 31 per cent of employed women receive over three-quarters of their total income from earnings, nearly 50 per cent of employed men are in this category.

TABLE XV: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ANNUAL
INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT, BY SEX OF EARNER,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

% of 1971 Income from Employment	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 25%	9	26.0	10	16.0	19	20.0
26 - 50%	7	20.0	12	20.0	19	20.0
51 - 75%	8	23.0	9	15.0	17	18.0
76 - 100%	11	31.0	30	49.0	41	42.0
Total	35	100.0	61	100.0	96	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

Before individual income from government transfer payments is discussed, a comparison should be made between the total and employment incomes of the women and men of Tsartlip and of other census areas, as in Tables XVI and XVII. Although age categories are not exactly the same for Tsartlip and the other areas, the difference tends to provide a more conservative picture of the comparative poverty of Tsartlip residents, because the addition of 15- to 17-year-olds to Tsartlip figures would increase the number and percentage of people in the lower income category.

In Table XVI, the total incomes for women and men at Tsartlip are compared with those for Central Saanich Municipality, Metropolitan Victoria, British Columbia, and Canada. Three broad points are apparent from the table. First, even if sex differences are not considered, the percentage of individuals in the lowest income categories is considerably greater for people of the reserve than for people of any other census area, and the converse is true for persons in the two highest income categories. Thus, in spite of the disparity between the sexes in each census area, the proportion of non-Tsartlip individuals with incomes of \$5000 or more is two or three times that of Tsartlip individuals with incomes of \$5000 or more.

Second, if percentage distribution of females and males is compared within any of the census divisions, at

TABLE XVI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES, TSARTLIP ADULTS WITH INCOME AND CENSUS RESPONDENTS, 15 YEARS AND OLDER, WITH INCOME, IN SELECTED CENSUS AREAS, BY SEX, 1971

Total Annual Income	Tsartlip Reserve		Central Saanich		Greater Victoria		British Columbia		Canada	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under \$1000	50.0	15.0	33.0	10.0	25.0	8.0	27.0	8.0	26.0	9.0
\$1000 - 2999	29.0	30.0	31.0	15.0	37.0	18.0	35.0	18.0	35.0	18.0
\$3000 - 4999	14.0	28.0	28.0	11.0	21.0	13.0	20.0	12.0	21.0	15.0
\$5000 - 9999	6.0	21.0	17.0	43.0	14.0	42.0	16.0	41.0	16.0	40.0
\$10,000 & over	0.0	6.0	1.0	21.0	2.0	19.0	2.0	21.0	2.0	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Annual Income	\$975	\$3389	\$1921	\$6765	\$2012	\$6375	\$1952	\$6542	\$2041	\$5850
N =	62	67	1220	1725	570 ('00)	653 ('00)	5178 ('00)	7295 ('00)	4765 ('000)	6807 ('000)

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes; Statistics Canada 1974a: Table 29, pp. 5, 7-8, 11-12; 1974c: Table 3, pp. 10, 13.

either the lowest or highest category of income levels, the ratio of women to men in the lowest income category, regardless of census area is roughly 3:1, while the ratio in the highest category is approximately 1:3 or 1:4. In all census areas and at Tsartlip, the median income of women is approximately one-third the median income of men.

Third, if women's incomes alone are compared, the most noticeable contrasts are in the under \$1000 category, where the percentage of Tsartlip women is one and one-half to two times that of other women, and in the \$5000-\$9999 category, where the percentage of other women is between two and three times that of Tsartlip women. On the other hand, although the median income of Tsartlip women is only one-half that of women in any of the census areas under consideration, not even non-reserve women are adequately represented in income categories of \$10,000 and over when compared with men.

Taking only employment income into account, as in Table XVII, there is further evidence of the insecure economic position of Tsartlip women, in comparison with other population groups as well as with Tsartlip men. Although women in general, are over-represented in the lower income categories when compared with men, over 40 per cent of non-Tsartlip women earn \$3000 or more, in contrast to only 23 per cent of Tsartlip women. The percentage of non-

TABLE XVII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME FROM
EMPLOYMENT, TSARTLIP LABOUR FORCE AND CENSUS RESPONDENTS, 15 YEARS AND OLDER,
WITH EMPLOYMENT INCOME, IN SELECTED CENSUS AREAS, BY SEX, 1971

Income from Employment	Tsartlip Reserve		Central Saanich		Greater Victoria		British Columbia		Canada	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under \$1000	63.0	36.0	29.0	14.0	26.0	10.0	26.0	11.0	24.0	10.0
\$1000 - 2999	14.0	23.0	27.0	10.0	29.0	12.0	28.0	12.0	28.0	14.0
\$3000 - 4999	20.0	16.0	20.0	11.0	26.0	12.0	24.0	11.0	26.0	15.0
\$5000 - 9999	3.0	18.0	22.0	48.0	17.0	48.0	19.0	46.0	20.0	44.0
\$10,000 & over	0.0	7.0	2.0	17.0	2.0	18.0	2.0	20.0	2.0	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Employment Income	\$183	\$1850	\$2359	\$6739	\$2595	\$6664	\$2597	\$6850	\$2870	\$6106
N =	35	61	790	1470	335 ('00)	535 ('00)	3447 ('00)	6326 ('00)	3249 ('000)	6023 ('000)

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes; Statistics Canada 1974a: Table 29,
pp. 5, 7-8, 11-12; 1975e: Table 34, pp. 5-12

Tsartlip women earning \$5000 and over is at least six times the percentage of Tsartlip women in that category.

In terms of median employment income, the women of West Saanich Reserve earn only about \$15 a month, whereas women of other areas earn approximately \$200 a month - 13 times as much. The median earned income of Tsartlip working men is also less than that of non-Tsartlip women, but even the men of the reserve earn ten times the wages of their female counterparts. Employment income for all but eight (23.0%) of the working women of West Saanich Reserve can only be regarded as an irregular and highly inadequate source of cash.

Disregarding for the moment, the fact that women may also have access to the incomes of spouses or of other men (*e.g.*, fathers), there is clear indication that the women of West Saanich have markedly less personal income directly in their control than do the women of Central Saanich Municipality, Metropolitan Victoria, British Columbia, or Canada. From Tables XVI and XVII, the assertion can be made that if women, in general, are poor, native Indian women are indeed poorer still.

The relative effect of government transfer payments on the incomes of the reserve population must be considered next.

Government Transfer Income: Although government transfer income is of less overall importance than

employment income to the total reserve population, in terms of the number of persons who receive no or little income from any source, it has considerable impact upon the economic position of those who do receive it. Women of the reserve, particularly, have a special dependency upon certain types of government transfer, namely: family allowance and social assistance, whether they are self-supporting or partially dependent upon the income of males. Consequently it is necessary to explore the nature and extent of this dependency and to compare it with the situation as it pertains to men of the reserve.

Since the family allowance payments affect the median and percentage distribution of annual government transfer income for women only,⁷ it would be well to examine this form first. Family allowance payments are made by the federal government in monthly amounts of \$6 for every child resident in Canada under 10 years of age, \$8 for each child between 10 and 15 years of age, inclusive, and \$10 for each child between the ages of 16 and 18, inclusive.

There are twelve women who do not receive family allowance payments. Seven of the twelve have never borne children and have a median age of 19 years, while the children of the other five are all over the maximum age

⁷One man at West Saanich received family allowance payments for his children after his wife died. The total amount - \$120 - does not affect government transfer income figures for men.

limit. The 80 per cent of reserve women who are family allowance recipients derive a median annual payment of \$235 from this source, with a range from \$72 to \$792. Fourteen (22.0%) of the 63 adult women have no other personal income source and, although they all have access to the incomes of their spouses, only two stated that they can regard family allowance cheques as spending money for 'extras'. The other twelve, along with 33 others who have additional sources of income, state that they use their mid-month cheques as an integral part of the household budget, depending upon them for purchases of food and other basic necessities. Thus, for 45 (88.0%) of the 51 female recipients, family allowance is 'survival' rather than 'luxury' money.

Because family allowance payments increase threefold the percentage of women receiving under \$500 annually in government transfer payments (Table XVIII), decrease by half the median annual government transfer income of women, and affect tabular presentation (Table XIX) of the proportion of personal income derived from government transfers, they will be excluded from consideration in all tables following Table XIX. This is not to deny the importance of family allowance, but since these payments are usually distributed only to women, they affect meaningful comparison with the incomes of men. In Table XVIII, the percentage of women receiving less than \$1000 per year from government transfer

TABLE XVIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
WOMEN WITH GOVERNMENT TRANSFER INCOME,
ACCORDING TO INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION OF
FAMILY ALLOWANCE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Total Annual Gov't Transfer Income	From All Gov't Transfer Payments No. of Women	% of Women	From Gov't Transfer Payments Excluding Family Allowance No. of Women	% of Women
Under \$500	31	52.0	4	16.0
\$500 - 999	10	17.0	5	20.0
\$1000 - 1999	9	15.0	8	32.0
\$2000 - 2999	8	14.0	7	28.0
\$3000 & over	1	2.0	1	4.0
Total Gov't Transfer Recipients	59	100.0	25	100.0
Total Population	63		63	
Gov't Transfer Recipients as % of Total Population		94.0		40.0
Median Annual Gov't Transfer Income	\$719		\$1437	

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

drops from 69 per cent to 36 per cent, if family allowance is not included, and the percentage of actual recipients drops from 94 per cent to 40 per cent of all women.

In Table XIX, the distribution shows a higher percentage of women almost totally dependent upon government transfer when family allowance payments are excluded, although the proportionate distribution remains the same.

TABLE XIX: PERCENTAGE OF PERSONAL ANNUAL INCOME FROM GOVERNMENT TRANSFER PAYMENTS FOR FEMALE RECIPIENTS ACCORDING TO INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION OF FAMILY ALLOWANCE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

% of Women's Income from Gov't Transfer	From All Government Transfer Payments		From Gov't Transfer Payments Excluding Family Allowance	
	No. of Women	% of Women	No. of Women	% of Women
1 - 25%	9	15.0	1	4.0
26 - 50%	7	12.0	3	12.0
51 - 75%	7	12.0	2	18.0
76 - 100%	36	61.0	19	76.0
Total	59	100.0	25	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

Returning to a comparison of the incomes of men and women, Table XX summarizes total amounts of government transfer income for the West Saanich Reserve population, by sex of the recipient, and Table XXI indicates the proportion

TABLE XX: ANNUAL GOVERNMENT TRANSFER INCOME
OF ADULT RECIPIENTS, BY SEX,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Total Annual Government Transfer Income	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$500	4	16.0	9	20.0	13	18.0
\$500 - 999	5	20.0	11	24.0	16	22.0
\$1000 - 1999	8	32.0	12	26.0	20	28.0
\$2000 - 2999	7	28.0	10	22.0	17	24.0
\$3000 and over	1	16.0	4	8.0	5	8.0
Total Government Transfer Recipients	25	100.0	46	100.0	71	100.0
Total Population	63		68		131	
Government Transfer Recipients as % of Population		40.0		68.0		54.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

of total income from government transfer, by sex. From data in Table XX alone, there would seem to be little difference between women and men as government transfer recipients, except that the proportion of female recipients (40.0%) is somewhat less than that of male recipients (68.0%). In general, the percentage distributions for both groups are the same, except in the higher income categories, where frequencies are too small to be revealing in a comparative sense. There is very little difference, furthermore, between the annual government transfer income median of \$1437 for women and \$1250 for men.

It is only when Table XXI is examined that the contrast between government transfer incomes for women and men becomes evident. The relationship of this income to total annual income suggests that although some frequencies are again too small for comparison, the percentage of women who receive almost all of their income by government transfer payments is more than twice the percentage of men in that situation.

TABLE XXI: PER CENT OF ANNUAL PERSONAL
INCOME FROM GOVERNMENT TRANSFER PAYMENTS,
BY SEX OF RECIPIENT, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

% of Income from Gov't Transfer	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 25%	1	4.0	12	26.0	13	18.0
26 - 50%	3	12.0	6	13.0	9	13.0
51 - 75%	2	8.0	12	26.0	14	20.0
76 - 100%	19	76.0	16	35.0	35	49.0
Total	25	100.0	46	100.0	71	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

If incomes from social assistance, the predominant form of government transfer other than family allowance are considered, the sexual differentiation becomes more apparent. Although the percentage of government transfer recipients receiving social assistance is identical for women and men (56.0%), the median income from social assistance is \$2000

for women and only \$944 for men. None of the 14 women or 26 men on social assistance receives particularly large sums from this source, even if they are regular recipients each month. The largest sum received by a woman is \$5067 and by a man, \$5544. Each of these two people has seven dependents, but the male recipient gets \$500 more per year, as an additional monthly allotment for payments on his new house. Nonetheless, although the largest amount of social assistance is paid to a man, 17 (65.0%) of the 26 male recipients get less than \$1500 annually from social assistance. On the other hand, ten (72.0%) of the 14 female recipients get \$1500 or more from social assistance payments.

Table XXII makes clear the greater dependency of Tsartlip women upon social assistance. The table shows that 79 per cent of female social assistance recipients obtain more than 75 per cent of their total annual income from this source. Only 22 per cent of male recipients are similarly dependent upon social assistance. Moreover, even if those who receive more than half their incomes from social assistance are considered, the percentage of women recipients (93.0%) is still far greater than the percentage of men recipients (55.0%) in that category.

Finally, of the 11 women who depend upon social assistance for more than three-quarters of their total personal income, five (45.0%) have no income at all that is

TABLE XXII: PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL PERSONAL
INCOME FROM SOCIAL ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS, BY
SEX OF RECIPIENT, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

% of Income from Social Assistance	Women		Men		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 25%	0	0.0	5	19.0	5	12.0
26 - 50%	1	7.0	7	26.0	8	19.0
51 - 75%	2	14.0	9	33.0	11	27.0
76 - 100%	11	79.0	6	22.0	17	42.0
Total	14	100.0	27	100.0	41	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes.

not from government transfer. The other six (55.0%) receive between one per cent and 13 per cent of their remaining income from employment. By contrast, only two (33.0%) of the six men who are almost entirely dependent upon social assistance have no income other than government transfer, while the other four (67.0%) receive between 5 per cent and 16 per cent of the remainder of their income from employment. Thus, women whose income is largely from social assistance are more likely to have family allowance making up the remainder of their income, while men are more likely to have employment income for the remainder.

Of the other sources of government transfer income, only old age pension and educational assistance reaches a significant number. Five women and five men are pensioners, and all receive \$1640 annually except one

married couple who receive \$1530 each and one man who is working part time and claims only \$960 in pension.

The relative distribution of educational assistance payments, on the other hand, provides an interesting contrast to the distribution of social assistance payments, for the former are almost \$100 more per month than the latter, regardless of the number of dependents of the recipient. Consequently, educational assistance is considered preferable to social assistance by the people of the reserve. Nevertheless, resuming one's education for up-grading or vocational training in order to be eligible for educational assistance requires a commitment of time and energy, and certain basic educational qualifications that may not be possible or desirable for everyone. Students are expected to attend classes regularly and are ". . . docked an amount per day for each day absent (over three days) unless covered by a doctor's certificate" (McCallum 1972:3). In addition, students must maintain passing grades in at least some subjects, or they are likely to have assistance withdrawn.

There are twice as many men (16) as women (7) receiving educational allowances. The median educational assistance income in 1971 for students without dependents was \$1050 for men and \$563 for women. Women were enrolled for an average of three months and men for five months.

None of the women who attended vocational or up-grading classes had any dependents. It seems apparent, then, that women not only attend for shorter times for post-secondary education, but if they have dependents, they do not attend at all. The reasons for this can be found in four factors: first, women are less likely to have reliable transportation available for regular attendance at classes; second, women with dependents cannot afford reliable baby-sitters, and there are no day-care facilities; third, the choice of vocational courses available to women is relatively narrow when compared to the alternatives for men; and fourth, women of the reserve may lack the necessary self-confidence and, sometimes, support of spouses and kin groups, as well. All four of these factors are mentioned by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970:188-189) as problems confronting all women wishing to further their education, and they seem particularly likely to affect the educational aspirations of native Indian women.

The foregoing discussion of major sources of government transfer payments, in terms of personal income, leads to the observation that, in general, women receive comparatively higher amounts of all but educational allowances. Consequently, women are more likely than men to be dependent upon income from government transfer rather than from employment. While neither women nor men from West Saanich Reserve are in an economically secure position,

native men seem to have a wider range of alternative sources of income than do native women, and opportunities for supplementing meagre social assistance payments with wage labour are certainly greater for men.

Data for individual income have been presented without reference to either the relative economic self-sufficiency of the persons involved or the question of whether dependents are being supported, entirely or in part, by income recipients. It remains to examine these questions and others from the perspective of household income characteristics at West Saanich Reserve.

Household Income

In contrast to the findings for individual income, a comparison of annual household income from all sources, for selected census areas and for West Saanich Reserve, does not show such a marked difference between reserve and non-reserve populations (Table XXIII). For example, the percentage of Tsartlip households with total incomes under \$3000 for 1971 is actually less than that for three of the four other census areas. Nevertheless, if percentages in Table XXIII are summed, only 24 per cent of Tsartlip households have incomes of \$10,000 or more, while between 36 per cent and 46 per cent of households in the other areas have annual incomes at that level.

In addition, the median household income for West

TABLE XXIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND MEDIAN ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD
INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES, TSARTLIP RESERVE HOUSEHOLDS AND
RESPONDING HOUSEHOLDS IN SELECTED CENSUS AREAS, 1971

Total Annual Household Income	Tsartlip Reserve %	Central Saanich %	Greater Victoria %	British Columbia %	Canada %
Under \$3000	8.0	12.0	16.0	8.0	9.0
\$3000 - 4999	23.0	10.0	13.0	9.0	11.0
\$5000 - 6999	29.0	13.0	13.0	12.0	13.0
\$7000 - 9999	16.0	24.0	22.0	25.0	24.0
\$10,000 - 14,999	20.0	26.0	23.0	29.0	26.0
\$15,000 & over	4.0	15.0	13.0	17.0	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Annual Household Income	\$6266	\$8860	\$8078	\$8698	\$8247
N =	51	1565	66,505	515,950	4,885,165

Source: Author's 1971 work histories and field notes; Statistics Canada 1974a: Table 1, pp. 2-3; 1974c: Table 3, pp. 10, 13; 1975a:6, 21; 1975b: Table 70, pp. 2, 4.

Saanich Reserve is \$6266 annually, approximately 26 per cent below the medians of \$8860 for Central Saanich Municipality households, \$8078 for Metropolitan Victoria households, \$8698 for British Columbian, and \$8247 for Canadian households (Statistics Canada 1974c: Table 3, pp. 10, 13; 1975a:6, 21; 1975b: Table 70, pp. 2, 4).

More important, a comparison such as the one in Table XXIII does not indicate household size, a critical factor in analysing the economic position of household units. Although the precise relationships between household income and number of occupants, in terms of percentage distribution, could not be determined from available census data for non-reserve areas, some indication can be gained of the importance of household size in comparing Tsartlip with other census areas, by examining average (mean) number of persons per household in each area in relation to mean household income and calculating a *per capita* income figure from these two figures. From Table XXIV, it is evident not only that the average number of occupants in Tsartlip households is about twice that of other households but that the *per capita* income of those native Indian occupants is less than half what it is for any other area in the table.

It could be argued that the lower *per capita* income of reserve households indicates that, compared to non-Indian households, those at Tsartlip have more immature

TABLE XXIV: MEAN NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS PER
HOUSEHOLD, MEAN ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME, AND
PER CAPITA INCOME OF HOUSEHOLD OCCUPANTS,
TSARTLIP RESERVE AND SELECTED CENSUS AREAS, 1971

	TSARTLIP RESERVE	CENTRAL SAANICH	GREATER VICTORIA	BRITISH COLUMBIA	CANADA
a) Mean No. Occupants per Household	5.7	3.2	2.9	3.2	3.5
b) Mean Household Income	\$7441	\$9551	\$8948	\$10,572	\$10,210
c) Per Capita Income of Occupants in House- holds (b ÷ a)	\$1305	\$2985	\$3085	\$3304	\$2917

Source: Author's 1971 field census, work histories, and field notes; Statistics Canada 1973a: Table 1, pp. 1, 17, 19; 1973g:1, 4; 1974c: Table 3, pp. 10, 13; 1975b: Table 70, pp. 2, 4.

children and fewer wage earners per household, rather than that reserve residents earn less income. However, it has already been established that personal income, from wages or other sources, is considerably lower for the native people of Tsartlip than for non-Indians living elsewhere. Moreover, as Table XXV suggests, 80 per cent of the 20 relatively high income reserve households have more than one person contributing to the total household income (excluding family allowance recipients). Using \$7000 as a figure approximately mid-way between the median annual household income of

TABLE XXV: HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND NUMBER OF
CONTRIBUTORS, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Number of Contributors	Total 1971 Household Income					
	Less than \$7000		\$7000 or more		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	23	74.0	4	20.0	27	53.0
Two or more	8	26.0	16	80.0	24	47.0
Total	31	100.0	20	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories,
and field notes.

\$6266 (Table XXIII) and the mean of \$7441 (Table XXIV) and establishing that where no single occupant contributes more than 60 per cent of the total household income, the household can be said to have multiple contributors, Table XXV indicates that not only do almost half of all 51 reserve houses have multiple income contributors, but also that in most households with higher than average incomes, there are multiple contributors. In fact, in ten (50.0%) of the relatively high income households, there were between four and seven income contributors during 1971, with no single person contributing more than 60 per cent of the total. Furthermore, in five (16.0%) of the households with less than \$7000 income, there were three contributors to the total income. Consequently, although Indian families at West Saanich do have more immature children than non-Indian families elsewhere, there is no evidence that it is

large numbers of immature dependents who lower *per capita* income so drastically in Indian households. On the contrary, *per capita* incomes are low because wages and government transfers paid by the metropolis to native householders are inadequate.

Earlier in this chapter, it was noted that sex differences in income dependency were often obscured in discussions of personal income, because women may be recipients of their own income and yet be largely dependent upon the income of males. Consequently, by examining household incomes, important contrasts between households centering upon women and those centering upon men can be discovered. Although household head is the term most commonly used to refer to the dominant economic and authority figure in a household, it is not entirely appropriate for discussing households at Tsartlip. As Tanner observes, female-headed households are invariably defined as merely ". . . households without a resident husband/father" (1974:133, n. 7).

The term, focal figure, will be used in preference to household head because, in the case of a female focal figure, it need not imply the absence of a husband or father. Rather, focal figure will be defined for purposes of this study as any adult occupant of a house who possesses either legal rights to a dwelling or primary,

customary rights to reside there. The criteria for determining legal rights and primary, customary rights to a house will be discussed in the next chapter. At this point, it is necessary only to recognize that a household is matrifocal, or female-centred, if possession of the house centres upon a woman's rights of occupancy, and it is patrifocal, or male-centred, if possession centres upon a man's rights of occupancy. By this definition, a household can be matrifocal even though there is a senior husband or father residing there.

Figures could not be obtained for comparing household incomes on- and off-reserve, with regard to sex of focal figure, but among reserve households at Tsartlip, such a comparison is possible. As shown in Table XXVI, the percentage of patrifocal households with annual incomes under \$3000 is slightly higher (9.0%) than the percentage of matrifocal households (6.0%) in this category, probably because there are three low-income households containing a solitary male occupant, but there are no households with a solitary female occupant. On the other hand, only 27 per cent of male-centred households have yearly incomes of less than \$5000 compared with 41 per cent of female-centred households. The proportion of patrifocal households with incomes of \$7000 or more (47.0%) is almost twice the percentage of matrifocal with those incomes (24.0%).

TABLE XXVI: HOUSEHOLD INCOME, ALL SOURCES,
BY SEX OF FOCAL FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Total 1971 Household Income	Focal Figure of Household					
	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$3000	1	6.0	3	9.0	4	8.0
\$3000 - 4999	6	35.0	6	18.0	12	24.0
\$5000 - 6999	6	35.0	9	26.0	15	29.0
\$7000 - 9999	2	12.0	6	18.0	8	15.0
\$10,000 & over	2	12.0	10	29.0	12	24.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories,
and field notes.

Although the median income for matrifocal households is \$5375, only \$1291 below the median of \$6666 for patri-focal households, income differences based on sex of focal figure are more marked if household size is taken into account through a comparison of *per capita* income within each household type, as Table XXVII illustrates. The median number of residents in both female- and male-centred households is six. The median *per capita* income of female-centred households is \$925, 26 per cent less than the median of \$1250 for male-centred households. The median *per capita* income of all 51 households is \$1105, \$200 less than the mean *per capita* income calculated less precisely in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXVII: *PER CAPITA* ANNUAL INCOME IN
TSARTLIP HOUSEHOLDS, BY SEX OF
FOCAL FIGURE, 1971

1971 <i>Per Capita</i> Income in Households	Focal Figure of Household					
	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$400 - 999	10	59.0	12	35.0	22	43.0
\$1000 - 1999	5	29.0	15	44.0	20	39.0
\$2000 - 2999	2	12.0	6	18.0	8	16.0
\$3000 & over	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	2.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories, and field notes.

An examination of Table XXVII reveals that the annual *per capita* income in nearly 60 per cent of matrifocal households is under \$1000. In contrast, the annual *per capita* income in 65 per cent of patrifocal households is over \$1000. In only two (12.0%) of the 17 matrifocal households is *per capita* income over \$2000 per year, while in seven (21.0%) of the 34 patrifocal households, the *per capita* income is over that amount.

Sources of Household Income. There are only two households, both occupied by old age pensioners, that are entirely dependent upon a single source of income. In the remaining 49 (96.0%) of the 51 households, regardless of the sex of the focal figure, both government transfer and

employment income contribute to total income. In only five (10.0%) of the reserve households is there no family allowance income. Three of these households contain a solitary male, one is occupied by an elderly couple, and the fifth is occupied by a widow and her two unmarried children, both in their twenties. In ten (20.0%) of the reserve households, the only government transfer income is from family allowance payments that make up between one and six per cent of total household income. All other income in these ten households is derived from employment earnings. According to Table XXVIII, government transfer payments comprise less than ten per cent of total household income in 13 (25.0%) of the reserve households. In all 13 of these units, family and educational allowances account for all income from government sources. None of the 13 received any social assistance payments in 1971.

Considering the pervasiveness of family allowance payments in nearly all households at Tsartlip, it seems safe to say that the proportion of households dependent upon government transfer income for at least one-half of their annual income is almost the same (45.0%) as the proportion dependent upon employment earnings (55.0%) for at least one-half of their annual income. Before the relationship between amount of income and relative proportion from each source is examined, Table XXVIII can also be used to provide

TABLE XXVIII: PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME
FROM GOVERNMENT TRANSFER, BY SEX OF FOCAL
FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Per Cent of Total Household Income from Government Transfer	Focal Figure of Household					
	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 10%	3	18.0	10	29.0	13	25.0
10% - 24%	1	6.0	6	18.0	7	14.0
25% - 49%	1	6.0	2	6.0	3	6.0
50% - 74%	4	23.0	9	26.0	13	25.0
75% - 100%	8	47.0	7	21.0	15	30.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories,
and field notes.

a comparison of dependency upon government transfer income between matrifocal and patrifocal households. In brief, the percentage of male- and female-centred households depending upon government transfer for 25 to 74 per cent of total income is virtually equal (29.0% of matrifocal and 32.0% of patrifocal households). The contrast lies in the extremes of less than 25 per cent and more than 74 per cent of total household income from government transfer. Twenty-four per cent of matrifocal households are relatively independent of government transfer income, but almost twice that percentage of patrifocal households (47.0%) are relatively independent of this income source. By contrast, 47 per cent of matrifocal households rely upon government transfer for at

least three-fourths of their total income, compared with only 21 per cent of patrifocal households.

Viewed from the perspective of dependence upon earnings from employment, as summarized in Table XXIX, households with male focal figures rely to a greater extent upon this source than upon government transfer. It is apparent from Table XXIX, that a much smaller number and percentage of matrifocal households rely upon employment earnings as a dominant source of total household income. From the foregoing discussion, it seems clear that female-centred households not only have less *per capita* income during the year, but also have a greater reliance upon government transfer income.

TABLE XXIX: DOMINANT SOURCE OF HOUSEHOLD
INCOME, BY SEX OF FOCAL FIGURE,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Dominant Source of Total Income (55.0% or more)	Focal Figure of Household					
	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Employment Earnings	5	29.0	19	56.0	24	47.0
Government Transfer Payments	12	71.0	15	44.0	27	53.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories, and field notes.

Relationship between Source and Amount of Household

Income. One other aspect of household income, namely, the relationship between amount and dominant source should be considered. It is evident that, in terms of this relationship, there is very little difference between patrifocal and matrifocal households. Patrifocal households with employment earnings as the dominant source of income tend to fare somewhat better on a *per capita* basis than matrifocal households do, but where government transfer is the dominant income source, sex of focal figure is not a relevant factor.

More fruitful is a comparison, without regard to sex of focal person, of *per capita* incomes and percentage distribution of all households dependent upon either employment earnings or government transfer payments. Although the percentage of all 51 households that are dependent upon employment income (47.0%) is almost equal to the percentage dependent upon government transfer (53.0%), only 13 per cent of the former have *per capita* incomes under \$1000 yearly, while 67 per cent of the latter have per capita incomes below \$1000. Moreover, of the 24 households dominated by employment income, 33 per cent have *per capita* incomes of \$2000 or more, while only 4 per cent (one household) of the 27 households dominated by government transfer reach this level.

In general, neither income from government transfer nor from employment is adequate for the native Indian

households of West Saanich Reserve. Determining what is an adequate income is, then, the next task.

Household Income and Poverty

At the beginning of this chapter, nominal definitions of poverty were discussed, and it was noted that measuring poverty was a more complex undertaking. It remains, now, to discuss the relative degree of poverty at Tsartlip by comparing reserve household incomes with indices of poverty that have been developed on a Canada-wide basis.

There are at least three of these "poverty lines" that have been established for Canadian households. In order of stringency, they are:

The Economic Council of Canada (Statistics Canada) Poverty Line (1968:108-109): Based on the notion than an average family-household should spend no more than half its total income on the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, the ECC poverty line defines the poor as those families who spend 70 per cent or more of their total income on these three necessities. In 1961, this poverty line was calculated at \$1500 for a single person, \$2500 for a family of two, and \$500 for each additional person, up to a maximum of \$4,000 for a family of five or more.

Both Adams *et al.* (1971:9-11) and the Special Senate

Committee (1971:6-7) are critical of the ECC poverty lines as being excessively low:

First, no allowance was made for family members beyond the fifth. Thus, in 1961, the poverty-line income for a family of five was \$4,000, but it was also \$4,000 for families of six, eight, and even more [presumably . . . a matter of statistical convenience, or . . . even the manifestation of a middle-class prejudice against large families (Adams *et al.* 1971:11)]. Second, the 70-per cent criterion for the basic necessities is relevant only at a certain point in time. As the national income rises year by year, the average family income rises as well, and the average percentage of income spent on food, clothing, and shelter may now be less than the 50 percent it was ten or fifteen years ago. . . . Closely related to this point is the limitation that the EEC poverty line is revised periodically with reference only to changes in the cost of living as measured by the Consumer Price Index. No allowance is made for changes in the general standard of living. [Fourth, . . . the Council has buried at a deep technical level what is really nothing more than an arbitrary decision . . . that if a family were spending seventy per cent of its income on basic essentials, it would be living in poverty. There is simply no logical or statistical evidence to support such a conclusion (Adams *et al.* 1971:11)]. (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:7).

The Senate Committee Poverty Line (1971): Undertaken to ". . . overcome some of the defects of the ECC

lines" (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:7), this poverty line takes into account a family unit size of up to ten members, makes provision for yearly adjustments based upon "changing patterns of expenditure . . ." (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:7) over time, and reflects changes not only in the *cost* but also in the *standard* of living. It is unnecessary here to provide a detailed explanation of the formula used to arrive at the relative poverty line of the Senate Committee other than to say that it is drawn at at least one-half of the average (mean) disposable income of each size family unit calculated from a base line of 1969 and using a ". . . Family Size Equalizer Points . . . [system]" (1971:208) to determine the pattern of dollar increments for increases in family unit size.

Adams *et al.* uses essentially the same formula for the Relative Poverty Line presented in *The Real Poverty Report* (1971:11-16) that is used by the Special Senate Committee, although the Adams scale is about 3 per cent lower for each family unit size than the Senate scale. The Senate Poverty Lines are about 11 per cent higher than those of the ECC, adjusted to 1970, but on the basis of a public opinion poll developed by the Senate Committee cannot be considered excessive (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:8). The 1971 Senate Lines starts at \$2310 per year for a single person, \$3860 for a family of two, and can be adjusted

upward infinitely for increasing family unit size.

Public Opinion Poverty Line (1971): Least conservative of Canadian poverty lines, the Senate public opinion poll asked the respondent whether the ECC line, updated and adjusted for any family size up to ten was

. . . adequate, too high or too low for his own size of family unit. The result presented is the poverty-income line presented to the survey respondents plus the median disagreement with this line [with an additional] living-standard equivalence scale . . . built into . . . [it] (Adams *et al.* 1971:15, n.c.).

The Public Opinion Survey Poverty Line starts at \$3200 for a single person, \$4900 for a family unit of two, and can be increased infinitely for larger family units.

Comparison of Senate Poverty Line and Tsartlip Household Incomes. For the remainder of this discussion, the Senate Committee Poverty Line is used as the primary basis for comparison with reserve figures. The ECC Poverty Line is not useful, because it is limited to family units of less than six persons.⁸ The Public Opinion Survey Poverty Line would be suitable for larger family sizes, but it seems desirable to select the more conservative Senate Line. In this way, if Tsartlip figures are below those of the Senate

⁸The definition of family unit used by the Senate Committee on Poverty is consistent with my definition of household.

Committee, the contrast cannot be attributed to possibly inflated public opinion figures.

Table XXX denotes the relative relationship between

TABLE XXX: COMPARISON OF SENATE COMMITTEE
POVERTY LINE WITH AVERAGE OF ACTUAL HOUSEHOLD
INCOME FOR TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Family Unit Size	Senate Committee Poverty Line	Tsartlip Average Annual House- hold Income	Relationship of Tsartlip Incomes to Senate Poverty Lines	
	\$	\$	Below	Above
1	2,310	1,750	x	
2	3,860	4,500		x
3	4,630	4,250	x	
4	5,400	4,250	x	
5	6,170	5,250	x	
6	6,940	6,000	x	
7	7,710	14,531		x
8	8,480	6,750	x	
9	9,250	6,750	x	
10	10,020	8,500	x	
11	10,790	-	-	-
12	11,560	12,088		x
13	12,330	11,243	x	
14	13,100	12,340	x	
15	13,870	13,220	x	

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories, and field notes; Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:216.

Senate Poverty Lines and averages of actual 1971 incomes for Tsartlip households. With only 51 households on the reserve, seven categories of family size are represented by frequencies of only one or two cases. Where the frequency is one, the income in the case is given as the average. The table evinces clearly the overall economic position of reserve households relative to what is considered a ". . . minimum acceptable income. . ." (Special Senate Committee on Poverty 1971:8) for Canadian family units within the same size range. If average incomes are used for comparison, it is readily apparent that in the large majority (79.0%) of family unit size categories, Tsartlip household incomes fall below the poverty line. In the three categories where average household incomes are above the poverty line, there are only two Tsartlip households of each size. Moreover, in the case of 12-member units, the average income of the two Tsartlip households is only four per cent above the relative poverty line; in the case of two-member units, it is 14 per cent. The two seven-member households with a combined mean income that is almost twice the poverty line each contain two fully-employed wage-earners.

A more detailed evaluation of the extent of poverty at Tsartlip in relation to the Senate Poverty Line and according to sex of focal figure can be obtained by determining the poverty rate among reserve household units

and by measuring the distance of Tsartlip household incomes above or below the Poverty Line. The former task can be accomplished ". . . by establishing the number of poor . . . [households] . . . who fall below the poverty line and expressing this number as a percentage of the general population" (Special Senate Committee 1971:11). In Canada as a whole, the poverty rate for 1969 was 25 per cent;

that is, one Canadian in four was
a member of a family unit whose
income was below the poverty line
(Special Senate Committee 1971:11).

Even if the Canadian poverty rate increased drastically between 1969 and 1971, it is inconceivable that it would more than double, to the level of 61 per cent - the poverty rate for Tsartlip in 1971, shown in Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI: POVERTY RATES, BY SEX OF
FOCAL FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Relation to Poverty Line	Focal Figure				Total	
	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Above	3	18.0	17	50.0	20	39.0
Below	14	82.0	17	50.0	31	61.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 household surveys, work histories, and field notes.

The table brings out, as well, the difference in poverty rates between households with female and male focal figures. As might be expected, the rate for matrifocal

households (82.0%) is extremely high, both in an absolute sense and relative both to patrifocal reserve households, with a rate of 50 per cent, and to female-headed, non-Indian Canadian families, with a 1967 rate of 36 per cent (Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada 1970:320). It can also be derived from Table XXX that among the 31 reserve households below the poverty line, 55 per cent have male focal figures and 45 per cent have female. According to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, "eighty-five per cent of low-income families were headed by men [and thus only fifteen per cent by women]" (1971:18). The proportion of native Indian, low-income households with female focal persons is three times that of non-Indian, low-income households.

In summary, throughout the discussion of the economic position of Tsartlip inhabitants, whether seen as individuals or in household units, there is overwhelming evidence in terms of employment, income amount, income dependency, and relationship to poverty lines, that most of the people of the reserve are burdened with chronic, pervasive, and severe poverty. Yet, few of the reserve residents consider themselves "victims," nor do they appreciate being regarded as poverty-stricken unfortunates whose lives are without meaning or hope. They resist being labelled as problems with the same strength and tenacity

that they have resisted individual and collective defeat by the circumstances that have encroached upon them over the past century. In spite of legal and economic restrictions upon their options, the people of Tsartlip attempt to cope with intolerable conditions in a variety of ways.

In the final chapter, a description is provided of one more indicator of the subordinate position of West Saanich, namely, the intolerable conditions of reserve housing. At the same time, some of the means that the people of Tsartlip use to deal with this aspect of their hinterland poverty, in terms of obtaining housing, residence patterns, and child care arrangements will be discussed.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEVEL OF POVERTY: A PLACE TO LIVE

The previous chapters have attempted to describe the ways in which a relatively autonomous and self-sufficient, small-scale native Indian village on southeastern Vancouver Island has been transformed into a politically and economically dependent satellite reserve of an exploitative metropolitan society. Chapter V has presented a detailed examination of recent economic conditions on this reserve, with regard to employment and income, in order to establish the relative degree of poverty endured by its inhabitants.

Chapter VI, the final chapter, is devoted to a discussion of housing as one of the more visible aspects of poverty on West Saanich Reserve and will provide evidence of the relative lack of control over social resources that are essential not only to survival but also to a standard of living above mere survival. Finally, this chapter will describe how some of the problems encountered by the native people of West Saanich in gaining access to conditions of life that are more readily available within the metropolis are dealt with within the hinterland milieu.

Houses and Housing Conditions

There are 51 houses at Tsartlip, 50 of them occupied for all or most of the year. The one unoccupied house is considered the property of a band member who lives and works up-Island and makes only infrequent visits to the reserve. The 50 occupied dwellings range in age from three brand new homes, built during 1971, to two very old structures built around 1905. The average age of the houses is about 19 years, not particularly old by non-Indian standards. Nonetheless, use of inferior construction materials, inadequate funds for maintenance, and poor heating facilities, have resulted in much more rapid structural deterioration than has occurred in houses of comparable age in the neighbouring suburb of Brentwood Bay. Consequently, over 60 per cent of the reserve homes must be considered sub-standard.

A 1965 professional report on housing at West Saanich (Coplick 1965) was initiated as a response to criticisms of Indian living conditions on the reserve by the Greater Victoria Metropolitan Board of Health. This report can be used to describe housing at Tsartlip in that year and to compare conditions in 1971. Comparisons with Canadian housing in general will also be made.

Facilities

Table XXXII presents data on household facilities

TABLE XXXII: TSARTLIP HOUSING CONDITIONS,
1965 and 1971

Characteristics	1965		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Number of houses	43	-	51	-
Occupied houses	43	100.0	50	98.0
With electricity	43	100.0	50	100.0
With indoor running water, cold only	9	21.0	7	14.0
With indoor running water, hot and cold	4	9.0	28	56.0
With indoor toilet	4	9.0	26	52.0
With indoor bath	3	7.0	11	22.0
With oil or wood stove/heater	35	81.0	38	76.0
With oil furnace	8	19.0	12	24.0
Houses in poor condition ¹	22	51.0	22	44.0
Houses in fair condition	10	23.0	9	18.0
Houses in good condition	10	23.0	7	14.0
Houses in new or excellent condition	1	2.0	12	24.0
Requiring extensive repairs	10	23.0	10	20.0

Source: Author's 1971 housing survey; Coplick 1965.

¹Poor condition is defined as condemned, unliveable; fair condition refers to temporarily repairable but deteriorating; good condition is liveable, with some minor repairs needed; and excellent condition is new or almost new, with no repairs needed.

such as electricity, indoor plumbing, and heating, and on general condition of reserve houses for 1965 and 1971.

There is evidence in the table to suggest that, in terms of utilities, housing conditions at Tsartlip are gradually improving. The percentage of homes with indoor, modern plumbing facilities has increased considerably, although the increase in modern heating systems is less impressive, and some new homes are still heated with oil stoves. Moreover, when compared with 1971 figures for non-Indian homes, the picture at Tsartlip remains dismal. For example, in Canada as a whole, 93 per cent of houses had indoor hot and cold running water and 94 per cent had indoor toilets in 1971 (Statistics Canada 1972b: Table 2, p. 3). In British Columbia, 96 per cent of houses had hot and cold running water and 97 per cent had indoor toilets (Statistics Canada 1972b: Table 2, p. 3).

Table XXXII also shows an increase in the number and percentage of houses in excellent condition at West Saanich Reserve, largely because new houses have been built. On the other hand, the decline in percentage of houses in poor condition has been very slight between 1965 and 1971. In fact, 20 of the 22 houses in poor condition in 1965 were still being occupied in 1971, and two houses that were in fair or good condition in 1965 had declined to poor condition by 1971.

House Size

Between 1965 and 1971, in spite of the construction of seven new houses, there has been no appreciable change in the size of houses nor in the number of occupants in each house. In 1965, 17 per cent of the 43 houses had only two rooms,² 44 per cent had three or four rooms, 30 per cent had five or six rooms, and 9 per cent had between seven and ten rooms. In 1971, 12 per cent of the 50 occupied houses had only two rooms, 42 per cent had three or four rooms, 38 per cent had five or six rooms, and 8 per cent had seven to ten rooms.

Table XXXIII compares average dwelling size and number of occupants for Tsartlip, Central Saanich, Metropolitan Victoria, British Columbia, and Canada as a whole. The table reveals that for selected areas other

TABLE XXXIII: AVERAGE (MEAN) DWELLING SIZE
AND NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS FOR TSARTLIP AND
SELECTED CENSUS AREAS, 1971

Per Dwelling	Tsartlip Reserve Mean	Central Saanich Mean	Greater Victoria Mean	British Columbia Mean	Canada Mean
No. of Rooms	4.7	6.0	5.3	5.2	5.4
No. of Occupants	5.9	3.2	2.9	3.2	3.5

Source: Author's 1971 field census and housing survey;
Statistics Canada 1972b: Table 2, p. 3; 1973a:
Table 1, p. 1; 1973g:1, 4; 1976:14, 64).

²The term "room" is used loosely to describe a partitioned living area within a reserve dwelling.

than Tsartlip, the average number of rooms per dwelling exceeds the number of persons per dwelling, so that in general, there is no more than one person per room in the average house. In contrast, at Tsartlip, the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms occupied, or in other words, there is more than one person per room. However it is phrased, this ratio of persons to number of rooms at Tsartlip is classified for Canadian census purposes as one of "overcrowding" (Statistics Canada 1972b:15; 1976:51).

Overcrowding and the Housing Shortage

Considering that there are 12 (24.0%) of the 50 houses on the reserve with a ratio of two persons per room and another two houses with three persons per room, the construction of only seven new homes since 1965 has made little difference to the related problems of overcrowding and a shortage of houses. These problems remain critical at Tsartlip because the number of new family units³ forming

³For purposes of this investigation, a new family unit forms when (a) a married couple with Tsartlip band membership has its first child, (b) an unmarried woman of the band has her first child, (c) a woman and her children return to the reserve with the intention of remaining, with or without the woman's spouse, and whether or not she has lost band membership through marriage. New family units do not include those formed when a Tsartlip woman marries a non-Tsartlip man, since she loses her band affiliation and is no longer eligible for housing at Tsartlip. However, if she returns as in the case of (c) above, her kin feel an obligation to provide accommodation for her, even though she is not legally entitled to it.

each year - an annual average of five - out of the relatively young population, coupled with the number of established families waiting in condemned houses, far exceeds the number of new houses allocated for construction each year. O'Connell's observations, based on 1962 figures for Canadian reserves, are still applicable at Tsartlip, in 1971:

That a high degree of overcrowding exists [in Indian reserve housing] is clearly evident from the extremely high proportion of Indian housing of 3 rooms or less (57% compared with 11% for Canada as a whole) [21.0% for Tsartlip in 1971] and the relatively large size of Indian families. Reasonable estimates of the average number of occupants per house can, however, be made from the data with the caution that the averages and aggregates will not reveal the true situation. The number of family units reported in the [1962 DIAND Housing] Survey was 29,727. If it is assumed that these 29,727 families occupied the 25,786 houses in the Survey, there existed an apparent doubling affecting 7,882 families representing 26% of the total, (3,941 families living with the same number of other families) [As well], an average family of 6.5 persons is indicated and an average occupancy of 7.4 persons per house [5.9 per house for Tsartlip, 1971] is suggested. In case of doubling, occupancy rates may reach as high as 10 and 12 persons [up to 15 at Tsartlip in 1971] (1965:6-7).

In 1971, six new family units were formed at Tsartlip, but only two women married and moved away, and no

other individuals or families moved permanently off-reserve. A total of ten recently-formed family units live with other established families because, in part, they cannot find separate housing. Two of these are not eligible for housing at Tsartlip even if it should become available, because the individuals are not band members. The best they can hope for is that their hosts will move into new houses and that they will be permitted to remain in the vacated dwellings. Eligibility for housing at Tsartlip will be discussed below.

Evidence of the housing shortage at Tsartlip, and of consequent overcrowding, is indicated by the fact that, of 49 houses for which this information is available, 16 (32.0%) show an increase in number of occupants, between 1965 and 1971.

As implied in Table XXXII, Coplick's 1965 report on housing recommends the construction of 22 new homes within five years. However, the recommendations do not take into account the formation of new family units, although 21 have formed and remained at, or returned to, Tsartlip over the six year period through the end of 1971.⁴ Of the 22 houses that, in 1965, are listed as in "poor" condition and in need of virtually immediate replacement, only two are not occupied in 1971. One of the two burned down, and the other, literally, fell down. Of the remaining 20 condemned

⁴ Approximately nine other new families formed between 1965 and 1971, but they moved off-reserve or to other reserves, to live with other kin.

houses, five (25.0%) are occupied by the same people who were living in them in 1965, 12 (60.0%) are now occupied by close relatives (spouses, siblings, offspring) of the 1965 occupants, and three (15.0%) are being rented from the former occupant-owners by young families, for \$25 - \$50 per month. Six (30.0%) of the 20 have had repairs in order to make them more liveable, but this is merely a stop-gap measure by the hard-pressed band council. Undoubtedly, at the end of a decade, at least some of these houses will still be inhabited, largely by newly formed family units.

In 1965, the cost of replacing the 22 condemned houses was estimated by Coplick (1965) to be \$225,000, based upon the following breakdown:

Two-bedroom home	(4 occupants)	\$ 9,000
Three-bedroom home	(5-6 occupants)	10,000
Four-bedroom home	(7-9 occupants)	11,000
Five-bedroom home	(10 or more occupants)	12,000

Coplick argues that if a "government technical officer" (1965:4) were employed instead of a general contractor, thus eliminating contracting fees, homes with fir flooring, concrete foundations, metal chimneys, and ceilings of acoustic tile could be constructed at these economical costs.

In 1971, in spite of the rising costs of building materials, DIAND allotted only \$8,500 for the construction of each house. The Tsartlip band council encourages families to find their own funds for additional financing, but if

this is impossible, allocates \$1,100 per house from the boat ramp - campsite funds, as a supplement. For \$9,600, family units without additional financial resources may have a three-bedroom home with any one of the following "extras": a basement, a fourth bedroom, or an oil fired space-furnace. For \$9,600, they cannot have all three, nor even two, of these extras.

In 1970-71, Tsartlip band received approximately \$32,000 for housing, including funds for repairs to houses (DIAND provisional budget: 1970-71). Three houses were constructed from this allocation. For 1971-72, out of a total of 39 new houses allotted to the 19 bands of the South Island District (an average of about two houses per band), Tsartlip has managed to obtain approximately \$35,000 for four new houses, as well as additional funds for repairs. With the latter money, six bathrooms have been installed and repairs done to several homes.

The band council estimates that 18 families require homes immediately. Ten other houses require repairs, 15 require additions, and five need basements. The council estimates the following costs for house construction, maintenance, and repair, to meet these needs:

Build 18 houses at \$8,500 each	⁵	\$153,000
Complete 18 houses at \$2,450 each	⁵	44,000

⁵The band council intends to increase the 1971-72 supplement of \$1,100 to \$1,350 in 1972-73 in an attempt to stay in line with inflation.

Repairs	\$ 16,000
Additions	43,000
Basements	3,500
	<hr/>
TOTAL	\$260,300

With approximately five new families forming each year, the council maintains that at least that many additional homes must be constructed annually after the initial 18 recommended in Coplick's report are built, in order to keep pace with the growth of the reserve and to make it possible for young people to remain with their own band. In the six years between 1965 and 1971, only seven new homes have been built. An eighth "house" was converted from a storage shed to makeshift living quarters for a new family in 1967.

That the DIAND housing programme is failing to keep pace with need is undeniable. A conservative estimate of the extent to which it is falling short in providing desperately needed houses for Tsartlip can be calculated as follows: immediate replacement of 20 occupied houses in poor condition; replacement of nine occupied houses in fair condition; construction of ten houses for the families presently living in extremely overcrowded situations with other families, and new houses for the five new families established every year; making a total of 43 new houses that should have been built between 1965 and 1971. Only seven were actually constructed, leaving 36 family units

without appropriate dwellings. Thus, the shortfall is approximately six houses per year. If DIAND continues to allocate funds for four or five houses each year, it will barely keep pace with the present growth rate of new families. Furthermore, since over 60 per cent of Tsartlip's on-reserve population is under 20 years of age, the rate of new family formation will undoubtedly increase in the future.

Of the seven new homes constructed between 1965 and 1971, three were built by relatively high income families and are each worth about \$30,000. Consequently, there are now five homes, or just under ten per cent of the 51 houses, that could be considered comparable to existing off-reserve, non-Indian dwellings in the Brentwood Bay area, in terms of construction materials used, floor plan, and general design. Coplick's 1965 report states that only ". . . a small minority . . ." of the houses at Tsartlip were of the quality and re-sale value of modestly-priced (\$25,000) houses in surrounding residential areas while, "based on a resale market, the value of many of these [reserve] homes would not exceed \$500 for other than the value of the land" (Coplick 1965:4).

Moreover, although DIAND specifications for reserve home heating stipulate an oil-fired space heater in a crawl space (Coplick 1965), 35 (81.0%) of the 43 houses, in 1965,

were heated by oil or wood stoves. Not only are oil stoves wasteful, inefficient, and inadequate for heating more than one or two rooms, but they have other drawbacks. As Coplick's (1965) memorandum points out where oil stoves are the sole source of home heating, they cause condensation to form on the uninsulated walls and ceiling from overheating, followed by rapid cooling, of the air. The houses, frequently damp from leaky roofs and poor foundations, are thus perpetually moist inside. In addition, whether used for cooking or heating, oil stoves give off a black smoke that leaves an oily residue on walls and ceiling. Because the walls and ceilings in many of the homes are made of cheap pressboard, the black film cannot be washed off. Finally, given the poor condition of many chimneys, oil stoves contribute to home fire hazards.

One house, built by DIAND in 1967, is already in need of repair, through no fault of the occupants. The foundation, improperly laid in the first place, has sagged considerably, the wiring is inadequate for an electric range, and because the family could not afford a modern furnace, the oil stove has blackened the walls and ceiling and caused condensation, to bring about an early deterioration of the structure. The band council is conscientious in its efforts to build comfortable, well-constructed houses, but the members are faced constantly

with a sense of frustration, as construction costs out-distance available funds.

In spite of their obvious inadequacies, new houses at Tsartlip are eagerly awaited by all those who live in substandard, older housing or in overcrowded homes, whether old or new. New houses are clearly preferable to the dilapidated, uncomfortable, and crowded dwellings presently occupied by nearly half of the residents. At least 140 (48.0%) of the people are living in inadequate housing on the reserve and another 42 (14.0%) are in homes requiring extensive repairs.

Poor housing is of particular concern for the women of the reserve. They are more involved in homemaking and child-rearing tasks than men are, and they spend a greater proportion of their time inside the house. Consequently, the women are confronted more regularly with the deficiencies of their physical surroundings and with the disheartening tasks of trying to maintain housekeeping standards, do laundry out-of-doors several times a week, regardless of weather, prepare meals without adequate space or facilities, and tend other household members, especially children and old people, who may be sick frequently with flu, colds, or respiratory ailments brought on by unhealthy living conditions.

As a number of studies (*e.g.*, Adams *et al.* 1971:225-232; Hapgood 1974:35-38; National Council of Welfare 1975:

10-15; Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada 1970:330) indicate,

people who live in bad housing,
who eat bad food and cannot
afford decent clothing, get sick
(Adams *et al.* 1971:225).

On many occasions, women whom I visited on the reserve were themselves unwell, but they had little opportunity to rest and care for themselves with a chronically-ill parent living in the same house, one or more sick children home from school, pre-schoolers to care for, and never-ending household tasks to do. In addition to the exhausting routine of housework in deteriorating dwellings, the other constant pressures of inadequate income, of poverty, can never be far from mind.

My own observations of residential conditions combined with interviews and informal discussions with a large number of women householders about their housing needs provides the following list of the most onerous aspects of living in all but a few reserve dwellings:

Overcrowding: on the average, most houses have only two bedrooms per house, with a mean of three people per bedroom. Moreover, many "bedrooms" are actually multi-purpose rooms, used as sleeping quarters at night but as living quarters or storage space during the day. In eight (16.0%) of the 50 occupied houses, additional beds, cots,

and couches are squeezed into hallways, storage areas, kitchens, and living rooms. Counting only rooms that fit the census definition of a bedroom as a room ". . . designed and furnished to be used primarily as sleeping quarters. . . ." (Statistics Canada 1976:66), there are between one and eight persons per bedroom at Tsartlip, with six persons per bedroom the mean in 11 (22.0%) of the houses. According to Statistics Canada, this condition is most likely to occur ". . . in impoverished rural areas. . ." (1976:66).

Another critical problem leading to overcrowding is simply that, in many houses, all of the rooms are of sub-standard size, according to the federal residential standards of Canada (Associate Committee on the National Building Code 1968). Particularly in the 20 houses that measure only 10 feet by 20 feet, or 20 feet by 40 feet, in total size, living space is impossibly congested.

Related to the lack of living space is the lack of adequate storage space. In 26 (52.0%) of the houses at West Saanich, there are no built-in clothes closets, no shelves, no kitchen cupboards, and no counter space. Storage facilities cannot be added without reducing space for human traffic. Only in the few houses built since the late Sixties have kitchen cabinets been installed during construction. Given evidence of the unwillingness, until

very recently, of DIAND to meet even minimum standards of accommodation, according to the requirements of the National Housing Act⁶ (O'Connell 1965:7), it is not difficult to understand the reasons why Indian households, with incomes too low for expenditures on home improvements, seem congested not only with inhabitants, but with household and personal items as well. Lewis' puzzling preoccupation with finding an ". . . explanation for the crowded, cluttered household living" (1970:113) and ". . . almost complete lack of household care . . ." (1970:99) in the three houses she investigated on Vancouver Island's "Camas Reserve" virtually ignores the likelihood that these conditions are imposed upon native Indian householders by DIAND housing policy and the overall metropolis-hinterland situation and are not a throwback to a camplife clutter that she assumes was a feature of aboriginal Coast Salish life (1970:115).

From the point of view of health, there seems little doubt that overcrowding is a contributing factor to the spread of communicable diseases and to psychological stress and anxiety (Statistics Canada 1976:53-54).

Lack of indoor plumbing: aside from the obvious

⁶An electrician working for a private firm remarked to me while he was installing wiring in an older reserve house that he figured the new homes on the reserve had a ten-year life span, at best. He pointed to the use of inferior construction materials and to the lack of proper insulation and wiring as the reasons for his assessment.

inconvenience of outhouses for 24 (48.0%) of the reserve homes, lack of running water in 15 (30.0%) represents a frequently-mentioned complaint. One woman remarks:

It's hard work to have a bath in this house. I have to get water from the outside tap next door and pack it in. Then we heat it on the stove. It's hard to have a bath with so many of us. The water gets dirty after one or two kids get washed. In the old days, Indian people were always clean. They were stronger, too, because they didn't sit in a tub of hot, dirty water. They bathed in cold water, in the streams. Our young people couldn't stand that kind of discipline. And now, we can't use the streams because the water is polluted. White people think we are dirty, but they are the ones who made our water dirty.

It is hard to keep our clothes clean, too. It takes me all day to wash clothes, by the time I pack the water and heat it up. I can't afford to use the laundromat all the time, and even if I have the money, I need a ride up there. In the old days, Indian people wore clothes that didn't need washing. Their clothes were almost self-cleaning because they were made of natural cloth, like bark.

Although not all new houses have indoor plumbing installed before the occupants move in, bathrooms are roughed in, at least, and are usually completed within the first year of occupancy, with both hot and cold running water. The band has a programme to install indoor bathrooms and water in every house that is not to be demolished.

Dampness, cold, and drafts: leaking roofs are a source of considerable discomfort in 16 (32.0%) of the houses, while householders in 31 (62.0%) of the homes complain that, because of little or no insulation, broken windows, ill-fitting doors, or cracks in the walls, their houses are cold and drafty. To compensate for this, oil stoves are left on all day, so that one room is overly warm, with concomitant moisture problems, while the rest of the house remains uncomfortably cold. Many of the older residents recall that the long houses that were still occupied until at least 1910 were much warmer and drier, as well as more spacious, than the White man's "civilized" houses.

New houses are clearly an improvement over the old DIAND-built homes, in that roofs do not leak, and windows and doors are draft free, but heating remains a problem. Insulation is inadequate, even in new houses. Moreover, oil furnaces are expensive to install, and families on social assistance find that being unable to buy just a few dollars' worth of fuel when necessary, as they could with oil stoves, presents a financial hardship, for most of the oil companies require cash for filling furnace-oil tanks on Indian reserves. Electric heat seems more expensive, also, and failure to pay electric bills on time results in electricity being turned off without notice, almost

immediately after the bill becomes due and payable. One woman in a new house observed that although she now had the means of keeping her house at a healthy winter temperature, she and her family were colder than they had been in the old house because

we can't afford to keep the furnace going every day. In our old house, if we run out of fuel, we can borrow a few dollars to buy oil, but in this house we need \$20 or \$25 each time, sometimes more.

Other disadvantages: The occupants of the 31 houses in poor or fair condition are very aware of the hazardous conditions they must contend with. Most fearful is the danger of fire, from exploding oil stoves, overheated chimneys, lack of insulation, and faulty electrical wiring. There is total agreement from everyone interviewed that all but the newest homes on the reserve are firetraps and that even the new houses are not as safe as modern houses off-reserve. Twenty (39.0%) of the 51 household heads report that they have experienced at least one small fire in their present living quarters at Tsartlip and, of 89 adults who responded, 13 (14.0%) can recall serious house fires in past living quarters on reserves.⁷

In addition to fearing fire, many residents are

⁷In 1972, one old house at Tsartlip was burned to the ground, with no loss of life, and a fairly new house at Cole Bay burned, with a loss of two children.

concerned about the dangers from broken porches and stairs, from rotten floor boards, and from sagging roofs that are in danger of collapse, especially in houses rated poor or fair.

Health hazards are presented not only by inadequate heating, drafts, improper ventilation, and dampness, but by the difficulties in trying to keep the dilapidated houses clean. Without access to indoor running water, women complain that they cannot keep their homes as clean as they would like. Even with indoor plumbing, the scrubbing of splintered wooden floors and blackened pulpboard walls is a disheartening task. As the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada reports, "poor housing conditions are a cause of serious health problems" (1970:330).

Thus, new houses are seen by Indian people to be safer, healthier, and more comfortable places to live. Furthermore, as O'Connell remarks:

most Indians wish housing of superior standards to that provided under existing programmes. They want an escape from welfare housing. Most Indians view improved housing in close relation to expanded employment opportunities on or near reserve communities and as an incentive to employment and more regular income (1965:3).

O'Connell (1965) does not expand upon the notion that better housing leads to improved economic conditions, but his statement has considerable merit. The purpose of the lengthy discussion of Tsartlip housing is not merely to

describe poor housing conditions on one British Columbia Indian reserve but to suggest that new or improved houses are a resource, albeit a social rather than a natural one, in scarce supply and constant demand and capable of being exploited for social purposes.

Access to New Housing

For example, the demand for new houses is so great that Tsartlip Band Council has established a priority list for new housing. Those who make applications for new houses are ranked according to a point system established by assigning a maximum of 300 points, divided among six criteria, outlined as follows:

1. Marital circumstances

Single, separated, or widowed with no dependents	0 points
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Married or equivalent, and living with spouse or widowed or separated, with dependents	50 points
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Maximum	50
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2. Present housing

Up to a total of 50 points
depending upon the conditions
and suitability of the
existing house and providing
the applicant is a permanent
resident of the reserve and
head⁸ of a household of at

⁸ Household head is not defined in the outline, obtained from the Band Council, but the term seems to refer primarily to male band members with dependents and only secondarily to female band members with dependents. The term implies that the individual has legal rights, actual or

least two (a single person with no dependents would not receive any points in this category)

Maximum 50

3. Dependents

10 points for each child or dependent 18 years of age and under, or seriously disabled regardless of age, and 5 points for other dependents, excluding spouse, to a maximum of 100 points

Maximum 100

4. Initiative and Self-help

Up to 30 points to be awarded for willingness, thrift, self-help, industry, cleanliness, community leadership, and cooperation, etc.

Maximum 30

5. Disability

If the head of the household or his spouse is incapacitated and unemployable, a maximum of 40 points will be awarded depending upon the extent of the disability

Maximum 40

6. Income

\$1,000 or less annually 30 points

potential, to a house on the reserve and, in the case of a conjugal pair who are both band members, always refers to the *male* spouse. In order to account for households without Tsartlip band members in the adult generation, I use the term "focal figure" to indicate any adult occupant of a house who has either legal title or customary rights to that house.

\$1,001 to \$2,500 annually	10 points
Over \$2,500 annually	0 points

Maximum	30
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TOTAL POINTS	<u>300</u>
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Source: Tsartlip Band Council 1971.⁹

It is evident from the first three criteria that solitary individuals have little chance of obtaining a new house through DIAND funding. The fourth criterion, initiative and self-help, may be the critical factor, in some cases, in determining any individual's relative position on the list. It was pointed out to me that a low-income family that was conspicuously extravagant or that caused "a lot of trouble" to the reserve would lose points in this category. Annual income, the sixth criterion, seems to mean the income of the "household head" only, rather than that of the entire household. Definitely not considered under this heading is the possibility of a non-head occupant drawing the larger income. That household heads with an annual income of more than \$2,500 receive no points underscores both the serious limitations on housing provisions and one of the factors contributing to discouragement of any individual incentive. Ironically, the characteristics of a presumably acculturated Indian family - one with relatively few children and relatively

⁹According to Tsartlip band councillors, the criteria for housing eligibility are issued by DIAND housing officials.

high income, do not win points in the competition for houses, though signs of initiative and industry do. The direction that self-help, initiative, and other traits in the fourth category may take is not specified, but clearly it cannot be toward making unsubsidized improvements on one's present living quarters nor obtaining additional income, since one then loses points in categories two and six. Thus, some criteria seem to be at odds with others, as might be expected in any "relief" programmes designed by those in the metropolis for disadvantaged recipients within the hinterland (Piven and Cloward 1971:161-174).

Once new houses have been constructed and assigned to those on the waiting list, monthly payments must be made to repay the band supplement of \$1100. The payments are usually set at \$50 per month for household heads receiving government transfer payments for most of their income, and up to \$75 per month for those dependent upon wage income.

The priority housing list for 1971-72 contains the names of 18 Tsartlip band members, eight representing established households and ten representing "new family units." There are twelve men and six women named on the list. Ninety-five individuals are represented by the 18 names, for a mean of 5.3 persons per new house - still well above the averages for off-reserve areas (Table XXXIII). The ten new family units will continue to grow, moreover, as

infants are born into them. At present, the mean size of new family units is only 4.5, well under the average of 6.9 persons in the eight established family units, or even the average of 5.9 persons per house, if all 50 homes are included. Overcrowding undoubtedly will persist.

By isolating sex and marital status of the eighteen people named on the housing eligibility list, Table XXXIV leads to one major point regarding women, the housing crisis, and the importance of new houses. Basically, the list does not include any legally married women living with their spouses. Of course, eight of the 12 men on the list

TABLE XXXIV: MEMBERS OF TSARTLIP BAND
WITH PRIORITY FOR HOUSING, BY MARITAL
STATUS AND SEX, 1971-72

Marital Status	Women	Men	Total
Living with legal spouse and one or more dependents	0	8	8
Living with consensual spouse and one or more dependents	3	3	6
Living without spouse but with one or more dependents	3	0	3
Living alone, no dependents	0	1	1
Total	6	12	18

Source: Author's 1971 field census and housing survey;
Tsartlip Band Council 1971.

are legally married and their wives will be entitled to live in the new houses. Nevertheless, primary rights to houses seem always to be in the name of the male spouse, provided he is a Tsartlip band member, even though the female spouse is also a band member. Even in the case of consensual unions, women's names are listed only if their spouses are not band members, as is the case with three women. Of the three men living in consensual unions, two have female partners who are ineligible for listing, because they are non-Tsartlip. The partner of the third man should be eligible, because she is both legally and natally from Tsartlip, but it is her consensual spouse whose name appears. Moreover, in this last case, five of the six dependents living with the couple are the children and grandchildren of the woman by a former husband.

It might be argued that the use of the husband's name on the priority list is merely a matter of convenience. It is true that the Indian Act does not specify who shall have legal title to a reserve house in the case of a "married or equivalent" couple, but Section 48(12) does stipulate that ". . . there is no community of real or personal property situated on a reserve" (Canada 1969:16). That customary rights, at least, are vested in male householders even where females are also legally eligible is summed up in the observations of two women of

the Tsartlip band. Both are legally married to Tsartlip men, but the first woman was born at Tsartlip, while the second is from another band.

Anne Simpson: Our house belongs to my husband. I helped to work on it and to pay for it, but I don't think I have any title to it. If Wally dies, I will probably inherit it from him, but if I die, he doesn't inherit his own house, because it is already in his name, not in mine, even though we are legally married. The only other way I could wind up with this house is if he left me. He would want me to get out if there was another woman, but I wouldn't go. If I left him, I would have nowhere to go, even though I was born here. I could apply for a house of my own, but I would probably be at the bottom of the list for years. People would say I should have stayed with my husband and that I had no right to ask for another house. I think that's why some of our married women put up with what they do.

Sometimes, I wonder what would happen if I got a legal divorce and claimed half of all the property for myself and the kids. I think if I tried to keep the house, Wally might sell all this land to his father or his brother, and then I would really be out of luck. I don't think a judge would allow me to have the house. The land belongs to my husband and to his family. Everything on it belongs to him, except maybe my car.

[In response to the question: 'If you had enough cash to build your own house, where could you put it?' Anne answered:] If I had my own money, I could build a house on my dad's land, so long as my brothers didn't mind.

In Anne Simpson's view, leaving her husband involves losing access to housing for herself and her four children - a risk too great to consider. In the view of Jean Williams,

the risk was also great, but another alternative was possible.

Jean Williams: When Ray and me broke up, I told him I wanted the house for me and the kids. He's living with another woman on her reserve for now. He can always get on the list for another house here, especially if they have kids. His mother said he should have made me move out, because the house is in his name, but I don't see why I should leave. I could never get another house here, not even an old one, because I'm not related to anyone at West Saanich. I don't want to go home and make things hard for my mum, in that old place of hers. There isn't any room for us there. I'm going to stay here, even though people won't have anything to do with me.

In this case, Jean Williams feels that she is entitled to remain in the matrimonial home, although she is unsure of her legal rights. She is even willing to endure some social ostracism in order to keep herself and her two children adequately housed. Her assessment of her precarious position had she chosen to leave the house seems correct, whether she remained at Tsartlip or returned to her natal reserve. In the former situation, obtaining a new house would have been unlikely; in the latter situation, impossible.

Further implications of viewing new houses as a social resource and the ways that women, in particular, manoeuvre to ensure for their families the best possible housing will be discussed later in this chapter, where it

is argued that access to new housing is an influential factor in strategies regarding child care arrangements. For the present, it is important to note that six family units are ineligible for new houses, although they all reside in reserve houses considered to be in poor condition. The reason that they are ineligible, and the reason that they live in the worst housing, is that the focal figure in each household is not a member of the Tsartlip band.

Elsewhere, focal figure has been defined as any adult occupant of a house who has either legal or customary rights to that house. The term focal figure is used in preference to household head in order to account not only for six houses (12.0%) in which none of the adult occupants is a member of the Tsartlip band, and hence is not legally entitled to housing on the reserve, but also for 13 (26.0%) of the houses in which adult occupants are legally eligible to live on the reserve, but they do not possess legal rights to their domiciles.

The Indian Act (Canada 1969) makes no reference to legal "title" to a house on an Indian reserve, and no specific statement of DIAND policy on this problem could be unearthed. As far as could be determined, legal title to either house or land does not apply. A registered Indian person who is a band member may acquire a Certificate of Possession to a piece of reserve land, as mentioned previously. This person then has a legal right to occupy

the house on that land, but no title or deed to the house is issued. Another band member may not have acquired a Certificate of Possession but may be eligible for a new house on common band land. When that house is built, the individual has a legal right to live in it and, presumably, to dispose of it in a will, but again, no deed or title to the house is issued. Furthermore, according to band administrators, the land remains in the possession of the band, and there is some doubt that the legal occupant could sell the house to another band member without the permission of the council.

A band member who has no ticket of possession and who is very low on the new housing priority list may either live with a band member who does have legal occupancy or may take over possession of an unoccupied house by claiming customary rights through consanguineal or affinal kinship affiliation with a previous focal figure in that house.

Finally, a non-band member will not have a ticket of possession nor legal right to occupy any house on the reserve but may claim consanguineal or affinal affiliation with a band member who is a focal figure in a house or with a former focal person in an unoccupied house.

Since access to scarce housing resources is of considerable importance to Indian people, the question of how non-band members are able to find and claim relatively

permanent accommodation on the reserve must be explored more fully. The answer requires examination of how kin relationships are affirmed and activated by those non-members.

Accommodation for Non-Band Members

In total, 24 (48.0%) of the houses at West Saanich contained adult residents, for all or part of 1971,¹⁰ who were not members of the band. Their occupancy of Tsartlip houses is contingent upon the existence of one of four types of social relationship with at least one Tsartlip band member. The first three conditions explain the presence of non-Tsartlip individuals in 18 (75.0%) of the 24 dwellings. The fourth condition leads to a definition of customary rights and explains occupancy of the six houses containing no band members from Tsartlip.

Thus, in order to live in a West Saanich house, a non-member must have at least one of the following ties with a band member.

A consensual union with a living band member. There are seven non-legal marriages at West Saanich that involve a band member and a non-member. In five of the cases, the band member is a woman. Because of her legal Tsartlip

¹⁰ Some non-members shifted residence during 1971 and activated different kinds of relationships, in order to gain access to more than one house on the reserve.

affiliation, each of the five women has a right to live on the reserve, even if she does not have a house to herself. Actually, three of the five women are focal figures in their own households, although they are living in sub-standard accommodation and are on the list for new housing. A fourth woman lives in her mother's old house, where both have consensual husbands who are members of other bands, while the fifth woman and her non-Tsartlip spouse live in her father's new house on the reserve. The husbands of these four women are members of other reserves where the housing shortage is apparently even more acute (in two cases, the couple moved to West Saanich when their houses on the other reserve burnt down). The fifth man is a non-status Indian with no band affiliation, so that he has no access whatsoever to reserve housing.

Two male members of the Tsartlip band live in consensual unions with non-Tsartlip women. One couple lives in a tiny house that belongs to the man's maternal grandmother. His consensual wife is a non-Indian woman, but she is also the sister of a Tsartlip woman who gained Indian and Tsartlip status by marriage. The other couple lives with the man's widowed mother in her house, but the son is due for a new house in 1972. His consensual wife is a member of another Saanich band.

Kin affiliation with a band member in senior generation. In seven houses, adults who are not band

members live with parents or grandparents who are band members. In six of the houses, the relationship is with a parent. In the seventh house, the non-member lives with his maternal grandmother. Altogether, four of the non-members are males and three are females. Five of the band members in the senior generation with whom a kin tie is affirmed are women, and two are men. Five of the non-members do not have a spouse, while two are married. These details are presented in Table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV: STATUS OF NON-MEMBER RESIDENTS
LIVING WITH BAND MEMBERS IN SENIOR
GENERATION, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Sex of Non-Member	Marital Status of Non-Member	Indian and Band Status of Non-Member	Relationship of Band Member to Non-Member
<u>MALES:</u>	Single	Non-status	Mother
	Single	Status, other band	Mother
	Single	Status, other band	Grandmother
	Legally married	Status, other band	Father
<u>FEMALES:</u>	Single	Non-status	Mother
	Consensual marriage	Non-status	Mother
	Widow	Status, other band	Father

Source: Author's 1971 field census and field notes.

As well as the seven adult non-band members living with senior generation band members, there are two infant girls who are non-band members living with a Tsartlip female relative. The mothers of the baby girls are sororal first cousins. Neither mother is a Tsartlip band member. Both have chosen to leave their infant daughters in the permanent care of a Tsartlip woman who is their sororal aunt (MoMoSi). In this woman's house, as well, is her non-Tsartlip son by a previous marriage. He is accounted for in Table XXXV because he is an adult. Reasons for the presence of the infant non-members in a Tsartlip house will be discussed in the section on child care arrangements.

Affiliation with a sibling band member. In five houses, people who are not Tsartlip band members claim accommodation on the basis of sibling ties. Three of the member siblings are sisters to the non-members and two are brothers. Residence with a sibling appears to be less permanent than with either a consensual spouse or a parent. All of the non-members are women.

Natal affiliation. In all but six houses at West Saanich, at least one adult member is a member of the band and, therefore, is *legally* entitled to live on the reserve. Even where a Certificate of Possession is not held by the focal figure of a house, the focal figure does have a right

to live somewhere on the reserve. In the six above-mentioned houses, however, *none* of the adult occupants has any legal right to live at Tsartlip nor to occupy the house. Nevertheless, customary rights to live on the reserve can be said to apply if at least one occupant was natively a member of the band.

Choice of residence is only partly determined by what houses are available. Unless a vacant house can be found that was previously in the possession, by law or custom, of a consanguineal relative, the potential focal figure must either share accommodation with a member focal figure, on the basis of one of the three other conditions listed above, or rent a house from a band member. Because of overcrowding, most people who are looking for living accommodations for themselves and their families would prefer to move into an empty house. Since vacant houses are usually empty because they are in a very poor condition, non-member focal figures in five of the six cases live in houses that they consider "condemned" and beyond the point of repair. Since non-members are not eligible for band-financed home repairs, the houses remain barely liveable unless one of the residents can afford to pay for improvements out of pocket. Since four of the non-member focal figures are women on social assistance and a fifth is dependent upon her husband's unemployment insurance income,

repairs are not only useless, but also impossible. Only in one case is a new house occupied entirely by non-band members.

Because the six focal figures are all women and because their occupation of reserve houses involves considerable manipulation of restrictive legal conditions, the residential arrangements of all six require description.

Anita James: Anita was born at Tsartlip, but she legally married a member of an up-Island band when she was sixteen and lived on his reserve in his grandmother's house. She left her husband several years ago and returned to West Saanich with her four children. For two years, she lived with her sister, Esther Cook, a Tsartlip band member, and Esther's family, in a three-room house across the path from Anita's present house. When Esther had her sixth child, Anita felt that she and her children were causing considerable hardship because of overcrowding. Her decision to move to the two-room house across the way came about in the following manner:

Esther's baby was real sick and Esther and Frank [Esther's consensual spouse] were always fighting. They never said anything to me, but I knew Frank wanted me to leave. Esther kept saying, 'No, she is my sister,' but it was hard for her with all of us [13 people] in that small little place.

My grandfather [MoFa] was living alone in this place I got now. When he got too old to take care of himself, he was always

coming over to Esther's for supper. So, I was thinking I could help him out and help out my sister. Me and the kids went over to my grandfather's house and we have been staying here ever since . . . Our grandfather died not long after that.

When Anita returned to West Saanich, one of her mother's brothers was living with her grandfather which may explain why she did not offer to stay with him at first. At various times since she took over her grandfather's house, Anita has had two other sisters and their families living with her. Anita regards this as "helping out" and observes: "I always help them [my sisters] out if I can when they don't have a place to live, because someday I might need their help."

One of Anita's sisters who is now legally married and living with her husband in a new house on another Saanich reserve once invited Anita to live with them, but Anita is reluctant to leave the house, in spite of its run-down condition. She points out rather shrewdly,

My sister invited me to live with her, but I think she was only saying that in case I got desperate. Her husband might not like it, and if things didn't work out at my sister's place, we wouldn't have a place to live. If we move out of this old place, someone else will get it, even if it is in real bad shape.

Legally, Anita and her children may have lost eligibility for housing on her husband's reserve, as well. When asked if she would not be able to get a new house on

her matrimonial reserve, Anita stated that she lost the right to a new house there because she has not lived on her husband's reserve for twelve years. Even if she were eligible, Anita does not want to live near her husband and away from her sisters and other relatives.

Nevertheless, because the condition of her present house, condemned by Coplick in 1965, is rapidly deteriorating (the foundation is giving way and both the floor and the roof leak badly), and she cannot obtain funds for repairs "that wouldn't help anyway", Anita knows she soon may be forced to move. Her best hope is that her sister, Dorothy Peters, who is a Tsartlip member, will get a new house within the next year, so that Anita can move into Dorothy's old house. Dorothy's house is in little better condition, but it is larger and is in a higher location, so that water does not seep through the floor boards in the winter, as it does now in Anita's house.

Anita's young step-brother, Henry Johnson, and his wife would like to move, with their children, into Dorothy's old house, too, but Anita feels that she is rightfully next in line, for two reasons:

That house [of Dorothy's] belonged to our auntie [MoMoSi]. Auntie wasn't even related to our father's son [Anita's step-brother, Henry]. And, he never helps us out. When we [Anita and her sisters] ask him for a ride, he is always too busy. When Dorothy was in the hospital, I took care of my little nieces and nephews for

her. She [step-brother's wife] didn't even offer to help out.

I always try to help when I'm asked. Everyone on this reserve knows that they can ask me to help out if they are putting up a big dinner or there is a funeral.

Thus, Anita's claim to somewhat improved living quarters rests upon her established kin tie, not with her sister, but with the original occupant of the house, her mother's mother's sister, and upon Anita's perception of herself as someone who is helpful not only to Dorothy, whose approval she may need in order to move into the house that Dorothy will vacate, but also to people in general, who might otherwise challenge the right of a non-member to have a reserve house to herself. Anita recognizes that her claim, even to her present house, is a tenuous one, dependent upon public opinion as well as customary right.

May Isaac: May lost her natal membership in the Tsartlip band through legal marriage to an up-Island man. She now lives with Melvin Jackson, her consensual spouse, from a mainland band, and her three children, in another very run-down house built by May's older brother in 1940. When they first returned to West Saanich, May, Melvin, and the children lived next-door with May's aged parents. When May's brother moved to his wife's reserve, May and her family moved into his old house, in spite of resistance from

the band council. The council's opposition is related to the fact that both May and Melvin have a drinking problem and that Melvin, an "outsider", has a tendency to become violent when he drinks heavily. Because Melvin was in jail for the better part of 1971, the band council did not carry out its threat to ask him and May to leave. Although May has customary rights to the house and would probably be allowed to stay if Melvin were not so troublesome, his presence is putting serious strains on the strength of those rights.

As in Anita's case, May's living quarters are not worth repairing, even if she were eligible for a band allocation of time and money for that purpose. In the winter, the house is so cold, drafty, and damp that May and the children spend most of their time next door with May's parents. May does the laundry for her parents on occasion and cooks some of their meals, in return for visiting privileges. She hopes that by helping out in this way, she will be allowed to stay at West Saanich and eventually "inherit" her parent's house.¹¹

In May's case, her position is even more tenuous than that of Anita James, not only because of May's

¹¹In 1974, after both parents had died, their house was allocated by the band council to one of their married grandsons [SoSo] and his family. Melvin was not permitted to return to West Saanich, and May left after her parents died.

relationship with Melvin, but also because of her own problems with alcohol.

Helen Winters: Helen is Anita James' sister and, like Anita, lost her Tsartlip band membership through marriage to a man from a mainland band. She and Martin Birch, her consensual spouse from another mainland band, returned to Tsartlip in 1970 with six children and moved in with Helen's younger sister, Sarah Peters, establishing a separate household in the single dwelling. Sarah and her four children are members of the Tsartlip band, but her consensual husband, Henry Sapye, is a non-status Indian. They are living in the old house formerly occupied by Esther Cook and Anita James. The house was once owned by the "auntie" (MoMoSi) of the six sisters, all of whom have lived in the house at one time or another over the past twenty years. Esther and Sarah were raised by the aunt, whom they called "Mom", in their childhood.

Helen and her family shared the house with Sarah and her family until June of 1971. At that time, the house of the sisters' late mother was vacated by Henry Johnson (Step-Br) who moved off-reserve. Helen, Martin, and the children moved in just before Henry left. They continue to live in the house on the basis of customary rights. In addition, Helen and Martin are making a number of improvements to the house with money Helen earns to supplement

social assistance payments and with Martin's labour. In this way, Helen's right to remain in the house is reinforced. The house was evaluated as in poor condition by Coplick in 1965, but unlike the dwellings of her sisters, Sarah and Anita, it is repairable on a temporary basis. According to Anita, she did not question Helen's claim to their deceased mother's house, because Helen has a much larger family than Anita does.

Evelyn Elias: the status of Evelyn Elias and her legal husband, Roger, is a complex one. Both were born and raised at Tsartlip, but neither one has Indian status. Roger's mother was a member of the Tsartlip band until she married Roger's father, a non-Indian. When Roger was born, he and his mother returned to West Saanich to live, by customary right, in her father's house. Roger has lived on the reserve all his life and is highly regarded by the West Saanich people. In 1950, 1951, 1952, and 1965, with the approval of the Tsartlip band council, Roger applied for band membership. Although the council recommended his adoption on the grounds that he was "very community-minded" and needed help with his house, and in spite of both a 1951 petition signed by 21 Tsartlip men and a large majority (88%) of band members voting in favour of his adoption at a 1965 general meeting, Roger's application was denied each time by the Department, on the grounds that his father was non-Indian.

Evelyn Elias was also born at Tsartlip to Tsartlip parents. She lost her Tsartlip band membership when she married a member of another band. She lost her Indian status when, as a widow, she married Roger. Those of her children who were minors when she married Roger lost their status as well.

In a sense, both Evelyn and Roger have customary right to live on the reserve, but because they are residing in the home of Evelyn's late father, Evelyn seems more appropriately designated as the focal figure of the household.

Ida Davis: Since their marriage in 1969, Ida and Clifford Davis have been unable to find a house on Clifford's natal reserve up-Island. They lived at Tsartlip with Ida's parents, Homer and Irene Peters, and her siblings in a small and overcrowded old house for at least a year. When the Peters obtained a new house, Ida and Clifford moved with them, leaving Ida's brother and sister-in-law in the old house. When Ida's widowed sister and her three children returned to Tsartlip and the number of people in the parental home reached 19, the situation became unbearable. At that time, Ida and Clifford were able to rent their present home - an old, three-room, converted shed - for \$25 per month, from a Tsartlip man. Although the landlord is not related to her, Ida is more appropriately

the focal figure, because she is exercising customary rights based on natal membership to live at West Saanich. Clifford is on the waiting list for a house on his own reserve, but it is a small reserve and was not allocated any new houses at all in 1971-72.

Betty Simpson: Betty and Duane Simpson are the only non-Tsartlip couple living in a modern house. Their presence on the reserve, and their new house, is the subject of considerable controversy among other West Saanich residents. Duane is a non-Indian. His mother, also non-Indian, is married to Betty's father, Warren Simpson, a band member. Betty is Warren's daughter by a previous marriage and was born a band member. While Duane's mother gained Indian status and Tsartlip band membership by legally marrying Betty's father, Betty lost the same status and membership by marrying Duane.

The younger Simpson's new home was built on land that Warren Simpson claims as his property, and with his financial help. Betty and Duane are also the only non-member couple who do not depend for most of their income upon social assistance. Duane has a well-paid job with Indian affairs and a partnership in his step-father/father-in-law's lucrative business. Because only Betty can claim customary rights to live at Tsartlip, she is the focal figure.

Households

A discussion of housing conditions and the housing shortage at West Saanich has led to consideration of how some individuals and their families obtain accommodation, such as it is, on the reserve. Affirmation of kin ties has been suggested as the basis for extra-legal access to housing.

To some extent, then, household membership is influenced by legal and/or customary rights. Nonetheless, there is wide, house-to-house variation in household composition that is not entirely a result of the legal or social restrictions placed upon occupation of houses but may also be considered a response to economic factors. In order to deal with the relationship between these factors, discussed in Chapter V, and household composition, the nature of the latter must first be explored.

Although there are only 50 occupied houses at Tsartlip, 51 households must be considered. For purposes of this investigation, a household is defined as a social unit whose members share a single physical residence with a common kitchen. In one house at Tsartlip, two sisters with their spouses and unmarried children lived under the same roof for much of 1971, but they cooked and ate in separate kitchens. Because of the extremely flexible nature of residence in this house, it is easier to deal with if two households are counted, albeit under a single roof.

Excluding, for the present, three households containing a solitary adult male each, every household at Tsartlip contains at least one adult female, but not necessarily an adult male, and centres on a kinship unit involving either a conjugal tie (legal or consensual), a consanguineal tie between two or more generations, or both. Other kinship ties may be present, but they are peripheral to these central family ties, and they tend to be less enduring, as far as co-residence is concerned. These peripheral attachments are frequently the points at which breaks and changes occur in the composition of households.

In no households are there individuals who are unrelated, either as consanguines or affines, to the other members. That is, every member of a household has a traceable kin or marriage tie to at least one other member, even if the bond is a distant one.

On the basis of demonstrably different kin-relationships among members of a household, household composition at West Saanich yields as many as 20 identifiable forms. However, such a detailed breakdown of variability in the composition of only 51 households does not seem useful for describing such a small population. Moreover, what is truly interesting is not the particular variation in composition from one household to the next but rather the intra-household fluctuation in membership that is reflected in such

variable residential arrangements and its relationship to the life circumstances of reserve women.

Not only is considerable diversity in composition to be found among all households on the reserve at any *one* time, a phenomenon accounted for among other societies by Gonzalez (1969), Munsell (1967), and others, but fluctuating membership *over* time, within individual households on the reserve, occurs also. With just 51 households to keep track of, I was able to follow, fairly closely, shifts in membership in many of the houses and to note both approximate dates of most changes and the duration of various co-residence patterns. In fact, it was my frustration with trying to take a house-to-house census that led to my awareness of the constant, almost day-to-day fluidity of some living arrangements on the reserve.

Although diachronic fluctuation in household membership will be examined below, minute inspection of either synchronic or diachronic variability does not lead to a typology of West Saanich households that is fruitful for the issues of concern here. Consequently, a greatly simplified approach has been adopted. Basically, households are classified according to sex of the focal figure and stability or changeability of membership. Households with female focal figures will be termed matrifocal and those with male focal figures, patrifocal. It is emphasized again

that neither term implies the absence of an adult of the other sex, but rather refers to the person through whom legal or customary access to housing is obtained. With this classification along two dimensions, the involvement of women in manipulating household composition in order to ensure optimum benefits for their families can be made explicit.

Sex of Focal Figure

In 17 (33.0%) of the houses, the focal figure is female and in 34 (67.0%), the focal figure is male. Only one female focal person is legally married, but 17 (50.0%) of the male focal figures are legally married.

Size of households does not seem to differ whether the household is matrifocal or patrifocal. According to Table XXXVI, the median number of permanent occupants in both types is six. The largest households, with nine or more members, are patrifocal, however.

In terms of number of generations represented within a household, Table XXXVII indicates that most households are composed of two generations, regardless of the sex of the focal figure. There are no one-generation matrifocal households but five (15.0%) of the patrifocal households are one generation. Three of these are occupied by the single men mentioned above. Not all of the two-generation households are merely parents and children, nor are the three-

TABLE XXXVI: NUMBER OF PERMANENT OCCUPANTS
OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX OF FOCAL FIGURE,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Number of Occupants	Sex of Focal Figure				Total	
	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	0	0.0	3	9.0	3	6.0
Two	1	6.0	1	3.0	2	4.0
Three - Six	12	70.0	18	53.0	30	59.0
Seven or more	4	24.0	12	35.0	16	31.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 field census and housing survey.

TABLE XXXVII: NUMBER OF GENERATIONS IN
HOUSEHOLDS, BY SEX OF FOCAL FIGURE,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Number of Generations	Sex of Focal Figure				Total	
	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	0	0.0	5	15.0	5	10.0
Two	12	71.0	20	59.0	32	63.0
Three	5	29.0	9	26.0	14	27.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 field census and housing survey.

generation households a simple extension from grandparents to children to grandchildren. In three (18.0%) of the matrifocal households and in four (12.0%) of the patrifocal households, the relationship among household members skips one or more intervening generations. Thus, a household containing a woman and her son's daughter is considered a

two-generation household, because the son is not a resident of the household.

Table XXXVIII reveals that although the percentage of households with two conjugal relationships is the same (6.0%) for both matrifocal and patrifocal, there is a noticeable difference in the percentage of households with no conjugal relationships or with only one, depending upon whether the focal person is male or female. Actually, the difference is even greater if two other factors are considered. First, of the five patrifocal households with no conjugal relationships, three are single person dwellings where there are no dependents, so that they cannot really be called male-centred households. All eight of the matrifocal households with no conjugal relationships involve a woman - dependent child dyad, even if the relationship is grandmother - grandchild. Second, of the eight matrifocal households with one conjugal relationship, two of the focal women are widows and the conjugal relationship involves the widow's son or grandson and his wife. Only one of the 27 patrifocal households with one conjugal relationship is composed of a single focal man with his married son and son's wife.

In other words, a total of ten (59.0%) of the matrifocal households are also female-centred, in that the members are related through the focal woman. Only three

(9.0%) of the patrifocal households can be considered male-centred on similar grounds.

TABLE XXXVIII: NUMBER OF CONJUGAL
RELATIONSHIPS IN HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX OF
FOCAL FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

No. of Conjugal Relationships	Focal Figure				Total (F+M)	
	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	8	47.0	5	15.0	13	25.0
One	8	47.0	27	79.0	35	69.0
Two	1	6.0	2	6.0	3	6.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 field census and housing survey.

Changes in Membership

There are two kinds of diachronic change in household membership. The one to be outlined here involves shifts in household membership, brought about when one or more individuals moves into a household and establishes relatively permanent residence there or when one or more individuals move out of the household where they were residing. In any household where one or more changes in composition occurred during 1971, as a result of an occupant moving in or out, composition of that household is considered to be fluctuating, or shifting. If household membership remained the same throughout the year, except in the case of death of a permanent occupant or birth of a

child to one of the permanent occupants, the household is considered of stable composition. Both household fluctuation and resident mobility (from household to household) can be regarded as associated with external legal and economic situations. Before discussing the relationship of income and of relative poverty to resident mobility and diachronic fluctuation in household membership, however, the non-economic aspects of household composition must be discussed.

The second type of diachronic fluctuation in household composition is best termed "visiting". It is possible to distinguish initially between "moving into" a household and "just visiting" according to whether or not the newcomers bring with them most of their personal possessions (*e.g.*, clothing, bedding, household utensils, and personal mementos such as framed photographs, radios, religious objects, and other keepsakes). If they are visiting, even for three or four weeks, they are unlikely to bring bedding, household equipment, or keepsakes, and they may bring very little clothing.¹² On the other hand, visiting that lasted more than two months in any one household during 1971 was then considered a permanent move.

¹² Obviously, if a family loses everything in a fire, the members of the devastated household will not have many belongings with them, but they would be classed as moving in with another household unit, depending upon the length of their stay.

Moving

By focussing upon changing residential arrangements as the means by which native Indian people attempt to deal with overcrowding and with the housing shortage at West Saanich and, indeed, on other reserves, patterns of shifting membership, at the household level, and of occupant mobility, at the individual level, can be identified. Indian people change residence for a variety of ostensible reasons and, frequently, for more than one reason at any given time. Some people move many more times than others. Some households are more likely than others to change membership, other than by natural means (birth and death). The people of West Saanich regard shifts in household composition as a commonplace reflection of the value they place upon generosity and sharing. Constantly prefacing their remarks with "Indian people always help each other out", they refer to the sharing of accommodation as an outstanding example of this "helping out". Offering hospitality to one's kin is seen as a way of not only "helping out" but also of showing "respect", of being sensitive to the needs of others. Invitations to come and visit are frequent, but so also are invitations to move in permanently to someone's house. The feeling is that one should offer hospitality, short- or long-term, not merely when it is really needed, as for example, when a family

loses a house through fire, but as a "standing" invitation. In some cases, an individual will urge a relative to change residence with fairly insistent requests to "come and stay with me. I really am missing you". These invitations are treated seriously, although their sincerity may be questioned, and reassurances are given by the invited person even if a visit or permanent move is not contemplated immediately. Frequently, reassurance does take the form of at least a week-end visit.

Invitations are given not merely out of an impulsive sense of generosity, but also as a form of insurance, for if one is known as a generous, hospitable person, one can expect similar treatment should it be needed. Invitations are accepted, not only in times of dire need, but also to maintain or strengthen a kin tie that may be relied upon in the uncertain and capricious future. Moreover, extensions of hospitality, actual or potential, are most often made and accepted by women. The underlying reasons why women are more often involved in the reciprocity of giving and receiving hospitality will be examined below, in terms of the concept of the matrifocal household. From the Indian point of view, the emphasis on this kind of sociability can be summed up in the remarks of three women of the reserve:

Ethel Johnson:

My auntie [FaSi] is always asking us to visit her. She is married to a White guy, but she is a real

Indian. Every weekend, almost, she phones and asks us to come over there. Last summer, she wanted my daughter [Ethel's eldest, and non-status, daughter] to go over there and start living with them. She wanted to help us out when I was taking care of my little nieces and nephew. I was telling and telling my daughter, 'Why don't you go with your auntie? She will start to get really hurt if you don't stay over for a little while.'

My auntie really respects us. I was starting to get real mad at my daughter. She should treat the older generation [*i.e.*, her MoFaSi] better, in case she really needs help someday.

Muriel Andrews:

My daughter and her children are living with us now. She used to visit me all the time, when they were living with her husband's brother. She didn't ever stay very long, though. She was really homesick for me. I guess she wanted to come home before, but her husband wouldn't let her. He is real stingy. My daughter wanted her granny [MoMo] to live with her for a while, but he [DaHu] said, 'No, it will be too hard on you to take care of her,' but we knew that wasn't the real reason. His family is like that, too. They are always asking their relatives to stay with them, but everyone knows they don't mean it. When people are really needing their help, they keep real quiet and let someone else help out.

Barbara Williams:

Indian people are always helping each other out. If things get

pretty bad, I know I can stay with my sister. I lived with her for two years before I got married and she and her husband were always nice to me. Now that I have a place of my own, I want her to come and stay with me. I invite her all the time. I know she wants to come. She is real good about helping me, so I let her know she is always going to be welcome here. That is the Indian way. Anyone who needs help can always be sure of getting it. If I tell someone, 'There is room for you in my house', I know there will always be room for me, or my children, in her house.

While people who are unwilling to offer or accept hospitality are often mentioned in comments such as these, it is usually a way of underscoring the need for cooperation and sharing. Since adequate housing is always scarce, there are many references to both giving and receiving the hospitality of someone's home and of denying or being denied it. Sharing one's house with other kin is a rather major form of reciprocity, requiring adjustments on both sides. Nevertheless, as Mauss observes, "invitations have to be offered and have to be accepted" (1954:64). If invitations are never given, or seem to be insincere, reciprocal invitations may not be extended in time of need. If invitations are always ignored, there is the possibility that the offer may not be forthcoming when it is really needed.

The matters under consideration here are concerned

with features of stable and changing households, such as condition of the house in which the household kin group lives, sex of focal figures in both types, and total and *per capita* income. In addition, characteristics of the mobile population, such as sex, band affiliation, and income are described. Narrative accounts of changing household composition will be used first to illustrate some of the more common aspects of fluctuating household composition. Since these accounts should make the tabular presentation more comprehensible, they provide a suitable starting point. A journal approach, based on field notes, is used to document membership changes in five representative households, listed by name of the focal figure and selected because they involve the most numerous and complex shifts.

In the accompanying diagrams, symbols used in Chapter V are repeated. In addition, those mobile members of each household who shift residence as a unit are enclosed in dotted lines, with dates of their stay in a house marked underneath. All dates refer to 1971. Tsartlip band members are marked with "T", and consensual unions are distinguished from legal marriages by the use of ~, in order to make the legal status and band membership of women and children understandable. A broken conjugal relationship is shown with an oblique stroke, / , through the double lines indicating marriage. Throughout, permanent occupants are

those who reside more than six months in one house.

Joshua Baker Household (Figure 20)

Permanent occupants -- 13

Number of changes in household composition -- 4

Numerical shifts in size of household -- from
13 to 11 to 15 to 14 to 13

Number of units shifting residence -- 4

Number of rooms in house -- 4

Condition of house -- poor

Total household income -- \$11,243

Per capita income¹³ -- \$826

Proportion of household income from government
transfer -- 76 per cent

January - March (13 → 11 people): Joshua Baker lives in a consensual marriage with Miriam Peters. They have a five-year-old daughter, Wendy. Joshua's eldest daughter, Antonia Baker and her consensual spouse, Charles Cross are living in the house. They go to the States to do farm work at the end of March. Two of Joshua's four sons, Steven and Danny, two of Miriam's living daughters, Mary and Darlene, and Miriam's unmarried brother, Gordon Arnold, live in Joshua's house, also. In addition, Miriam's three orphaned grandchildren, Miriam Peters, Sandra Alec, and Bobby Alec, live with Miriam. Joshua supplements his welfare income with money from selling clams. Gordon Arnold is a farm labourer.

April (11 → 15 people): Miriam's 20-year-old, non-status daughter, Ronda Garry, her

¹³To obtain a per capita figure, all income acquired by everyone living in the house during their stay is divided by the number of permanent residents plus 1/12 person for every month that each "moving person" stays. Visitors' income is not counted.

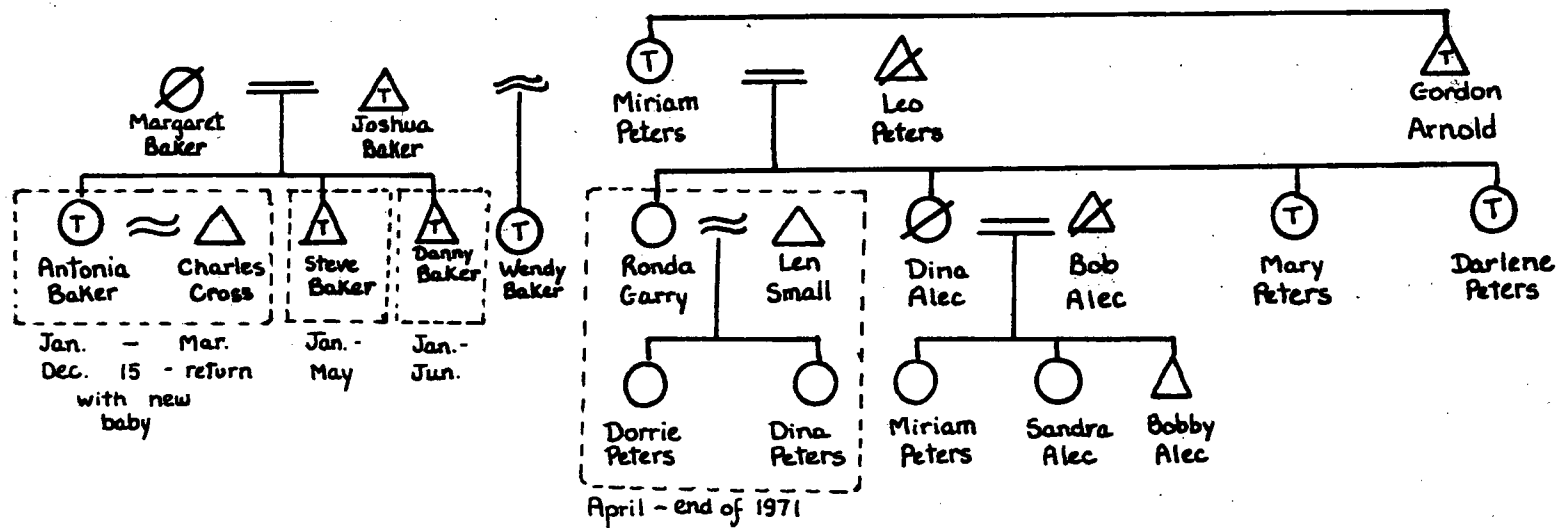


Fig. 20: Kin relationships among maximum population in Joshua Baker household, during 1971.

consensual husband, Leonard Small, and their twin infant daughters move in to Joshua and Miriam's house permanently in mid-April, when their house on Leonard's reserve burns down. Leonard is unemployed and on social assistance.

May (15 → 14 people): Joshua's son, Steven, leaves in early May to establish a consensual union with a non-Indian woman, Loretta Romano. They reside as temporary visitors in the home of Loretta's brother-in-law, Bryan Andrew, a Tsartlip man. Steven has a part-time job and is going to vocational school.

June (14 → 13 people): After Steven and Loretta move into Steven's maternal grandmother's empty, two-room house next door to Joshua's, Steven invites his younger brother Danny to move in with them. Joshua agrees to give Danny's family allowance cheque to Steven for Danny's "keep". Although Loretta is reluctant to have him, Danny stays with the young couple from early June through the rest of the year.

July - December (13 → 16 people): Joshua's household composition remains unchanged until mid-December when Antonia and Charles, with their new baby, return from the States to Joshua's house. Although this last change in personnel occurred in 1971, it is not counted in the tables that follow, because it happened at the end of the survey year. Consequently, though the move extended well into 1972, it is considered only as a visit for 1971.

It should be noted, as well, that overcrowding in the Baker household was a constant problem. Sleeping accommodation was re-arranged to give married couples at least some privacy, each time a move occurred. Although they did not say so, Loretta and Steven probably chose to

live in Steven's grandmother's abandoned and condemned shack so that they could have more privacy. When Steven asked Danny to move in with them, Loretta objected strenuously. According to Miriam Peters, Loretta, a non-Indian, was not acting "in the Indian way".

Eventually, in 1972, an additional room and an indoor bathroom were added to Joshua's house. The extra space was desperately needed but inadequate. Steven and Loretta broke up in late 1972, but Steven remained in the little house with Danny and, later, an older brother, brother's pregnant wife, and two children moved in, too.

Florence Hill Household (Figure 21)

Permanent occupants -- 6

Number of changes in household composition -- 4

Numerical shifts in size of household -- from 14 to 1 to 5 to 6

Number of units shifting residence -- 4

Number of rooms in house -- 4

Condition of house -- poor

Total household income -- \$5,336

Per capita income -- \$889

Proportion of household income from government transfer -- 87 per cent

January - March (14 → 1 person): Until their new house is completed in February, Owen and Ella Hill live with Owen's 80-year-old mother, Florence, in her four-room house. Owen and Ella supplement social assistance income with Ella's casual wage labour at a greenhouse.

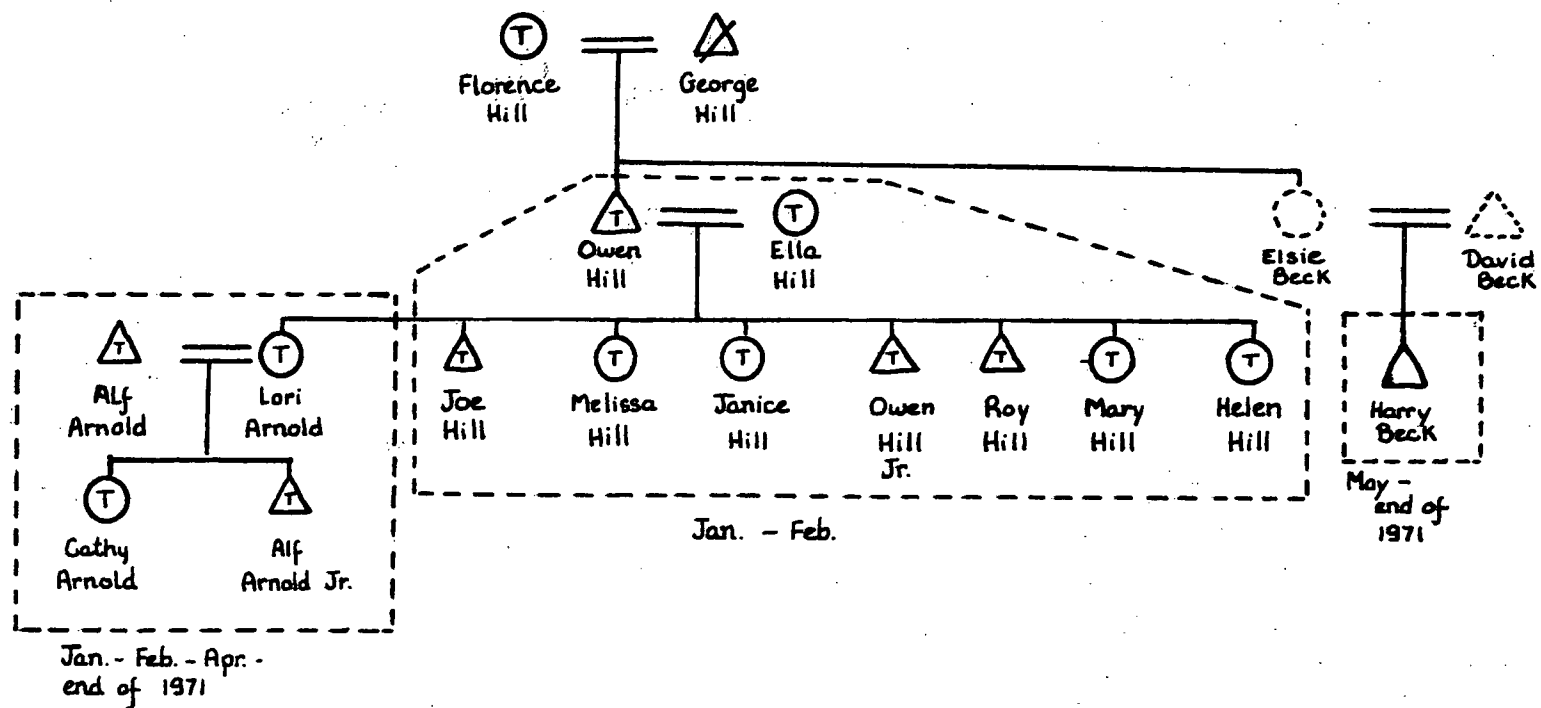


Fig. 21: Kin relationships among maximum population in Florence Hill household, during 1971.

Their three unmarried sons and four unmarried daughters, all dependents, live there also, along with their married daughter, Lori Arnold, her unemployed husband, Alf Arnold, and their two small children, Cathy and Alf Jr. When Owen, Ella, and their unmarried children move into the new house, Lori, Alf, and the two children move in with them, leaving Florence alone.

March - April (1 → 5 people): Florence is unwell and complains of being lonely. She says repeatedly that she misses Lori and Lori's children. She asks Lori to move back into the old house. Lori's parents have made remarks about being crowded in their new house, and they complain that Lori and Alf are not contributing enough for food. In April, Lori, Alf, and their two children return to Florence's house. They continue to live with Florence, but they eat most of their meals at Owen's place and often spend weekends there.

May (5 → 6 people): Florence's 19-year-old grandson (DaSo), Harry Beck, moves from his parents' up-Island reserve home to West Saanich Reserve. He has quit school and intends to look for work in Victoria. Although he cannot find a job, he stays with Florence for the remainder of 1971, and is often her only companion. He shops for his ailing grandmother and has assumed responsibility for taking care of her. In return, Florence gives him spending money from her pension cheque to supplement his \$58 a month social assistance payment. There appears to be a strong bond of affection between grandmother and grandson, and Harry observes that "my grandmother really respects me".

June - December (6 people): For the latter half of 1971, household composition remains stable at Florence's and consists of Florence, Lori (SoDa) and Alf (SoDaHu), their two children, and Harry (DaSo).

Bernard Demarais Household (Figure 22)

Permanent occupants -- 11

Number of changes in household composition -- 5

Numerical shifts in size of household -- from 10 to 11 to 15 to 13 to 10 to 11

Number of units shifting residence -- 2

Number of rooms in house -- 6

Condition of house -- new but incomplete (bathroom roughed in, but no fixtures)

Total household income -- \$13,494

Per capita income -- \$1,000

Proportion of household income from government transfer -- 22 per cent

January - February (10 → 11 people): Living with Bernard and Maria Demarais are their six unmarried children, ranging in age from 9 to 20 years, Maria's 26-year-old non-Tsartlip son, Fred Hunter, and Annie Joe, the infant daughter of Lizzie Joe, Maria's sister's daughter. When Esther Benson, the daughter of Maria's other sister, is due to have her second child in February, she leaves her one-year-old daughter, Cynthia, with Maria. Esther's legal husband, Ernest, has been laid off his job in an up-Island sawmill. He and Esther and Cynthia have been living with his mother on the reserve to which all of them belong.

March - June (11 → 15 people): Bernard and Maria offer to "adopt" Lizzie's daughter, Annie Joe, as a foster child. Maria's niece (SiDa), Mary Case, and Mary's baby, Danielle, come for a visit in March, but it seems clear they will stay for some time. Mary and her consensual husband have split up, and she brings all of her possessions, including Danielle's crib, with her. Two weeks later, in early April, Esther Benson and her new baby move in, too, so that Esther can care for Cynthia, as well as the new baby. Maria

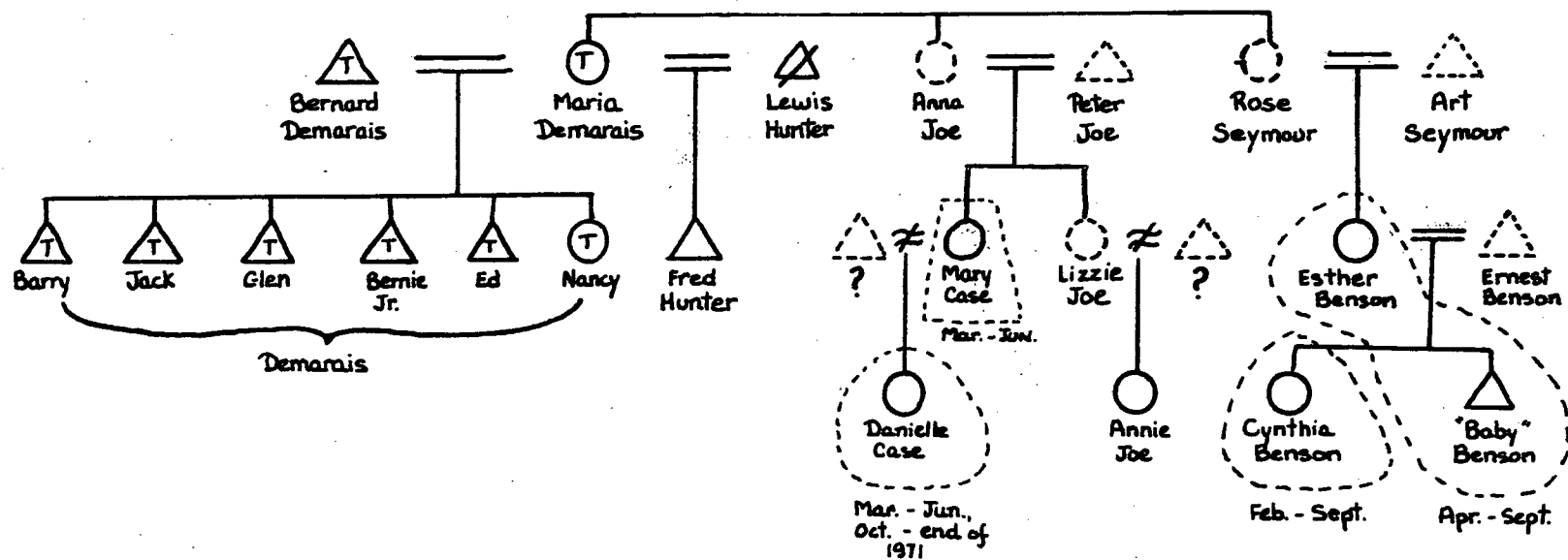


Fig. 22: Kin relationships among maximum population in Bernard Demarais household, during 1971.

had phoned her sister, Rose Seymour, to say: "Tell your daughter [Esther] that her little girl [Cynthia] is really missing her mother and is always crying for her". Esther's husband, still unemployed, remains in his mother's house on his own reserve when Esther moves to Tsartlip.

July (15 → 13 people): Bernard and Maria are now Annie's legal foster parents. They have offered to take Danielle as a second foster child, but Mary decides to return with Danielle to her mother's house, up-Island. Bernard and Maria are disappointed because "our niece's baby was like our own little daughter". Bernard has had a regular job since June and feels he can afford to take good care of Danielle. On the other hand, both he and Maria urge Esther Benson to take her children and go back to her husband. Maria says that Esther does not help out with buying food nor with housework.

August - September (13 → 10 people): Esther Benson and her two children return to her husband when he is re-hired by the sawmill. They are promised a new house on their reserve by early 1972.

October - December (10 → 11 people): In October, Mary Case brings Danielle back to her "auntie's" house and asks Maria to keep Danielle on a permanent basis. Mary stays only a few days and then goes back to her mother, leaving Danielle in the care of the Demarais'. Although they do not apply to become Danielle's foster parents, Bernard and Maria seem to regard her as their own, referring to her as "our new daughter". They now have two infants, in addition to five dependent children of their own. Their eldest son, Barry, and Maria's son, Fred, are both working part-time and help out at home with an addition that Bernard is building on the house. Fred and Bernard will share the cost of bathroom fixtures, to make things easier for Maria.

Two related questions to consider are, first, why Maria's sisters' daughters choose to stay with Maria and to leave their children with her, rather than with their own mothers and, second, why Maria and Bernard seem willing to care for the children of Mary Case and Lizzie Joe, but not of Esther Benson. According to Maria, both Anna Joe and Rose Seymour live in extremely crowded conditions on other reserves. They all have several children, some still quite young. Maria is the eldest sister and is the only one whose husband has a regular job, with a relatively substantial income, and a new house. All of her sisters' daughters who have come to live with her, or to leave their children in her care, are very young women, between 17 and 20 years of age. Both Mary and Lizzie are separated from their consensual spouses and are social assistance recipients, living on \$88 a month, each. Neither is on the new housing priority lists for their own reserves, probably because they are very young and, as a Tsartlip councillor remarked, "are still fooling around and haven't settled down". According to Maria, they have not offered to pay for room and board, nor are they asked to do so, but they do help out with household tasks and in other ways.

On the other hand, Esther Benson has a number of advantages that Lizzie and Mary do not. Her husband was unemployed but only as a "lay-off". The Bensons were

eligible for unemployment insurance, although it took a long time to get their first cheque and may explain why Esther moved to Tsartlip in April. Maria's complaint that Esther did not help out financially or with housework was, in part, the reason that Maria and Bernard wanted Esther and her children to leave. Maria felt that Esther was economically better off than the two other nieces and had a potential source of support in Ernest, her legal husband. In addition, Maria and Bernard remarked several times that Esther had a place to live with her mother-in-law but that Mary and Lizzie did not. In essence, Esther's husband was not only a means of support but was also in a position to claim a new house for his family. The importance of access to new housing for decisions about child care will be discussed later.

Evelyn Elias Household (Figure 23)

Permanent occupants -- 6

Number of changes in household composition -- 5

Numerical shifts in size of household -- from
10 to 15 to 11 to 10 to 5 to 6

Number of units shifting residence -- 3

Number of rooms in house -- 4

Condition of house -- poor

Total household income -- \$7,764

Per capita income -- \$1,109

Proportion of household income from government
transfer -- 55 per cent

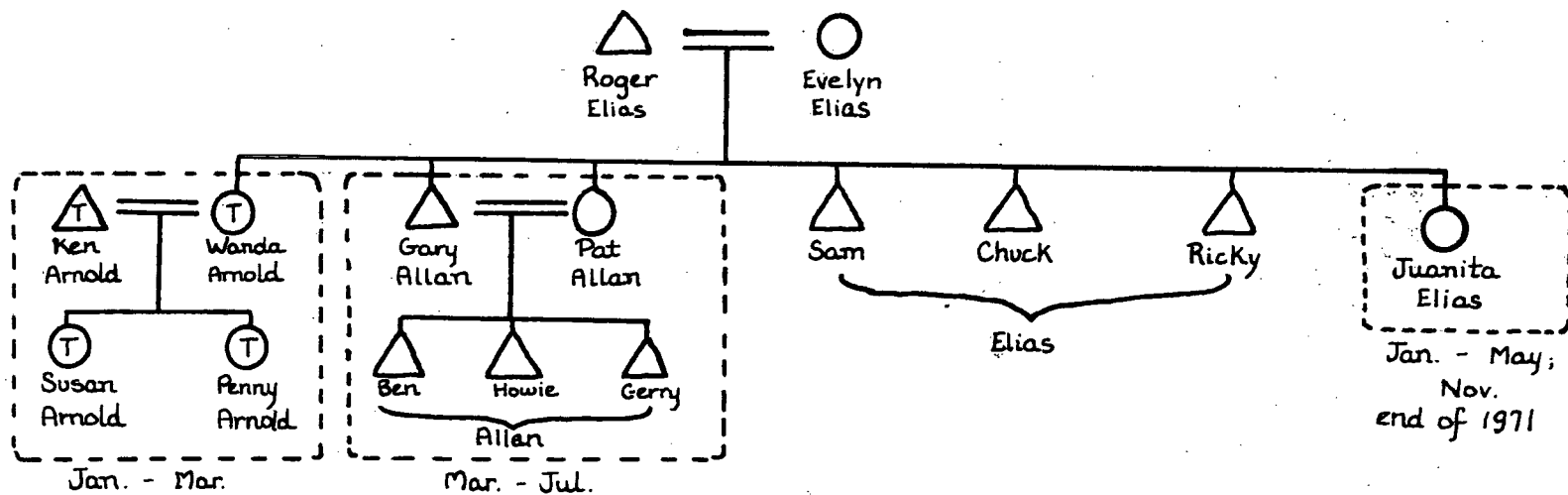


Fig. 23: Kin relationships among maximum population in Evelyn Elias household, during 1971.

January - March (10 + 15 + 11 people):

From January until early March, Evelyn Elias lives with her husband, Roger, on unemployment insurance. Also living in the house is their eldest son, Sam, who is on social assistance, and their three dependent school-age children, Chuck, Ricky, and Juanita. Their married daughter, Wanda, her unemployed husband, Ken Arnold, and their two children live with them. The house is so crowded that 14-year-old Juanita sleeps on a couch in the hallway. In the first week of March, another daughter, Pat Allan, with her husband, Gary Allan, and their three sons move from Gary's reserve, because the house that they were renting has been re-claimed by the owner. They intend to stay with Roger and Evelyn until they get a new house on their own reserve, but it will not be built for a year or so. Gary is out of work and receiving social assistance. By the end of March, disputes about sleeping arrangements and money are very frequent within Evelyn's household. Ken gets a full-time job in a sawmill, so he and Wanda and the children rent two rooms in Homer Peters' old house, sharing the house with Homer's son, Frank and his family. Homer charges Ken and Wanda \$25 a month for rent.

April - May (11 + 10 people): Ken and Wanda stay only a month in Homer Peter's house and then rent a two-room reserve house from someone who has moved off-reserve. Since Juanita is still sleeping in the hallway of Evelyn's house, Wanda asks her young sister to move in with her to keep Wanda company while Ken works night shift. Juanita stays with her sister and brother-in-law only six weeks. She spends most of her time at Anita James' house.

June - July (10 + 5 people): Gary and Pat Allan move back to Gary's reserve with their children, to live with his recently widowed mother. Roger and Evelyn are relieved, because "the refrigerator was

always empty" with five extra mouths to feed. Moreover, Evelyn and Roger want Juanita to come back home to help out her mother.

August - October (5 people): Juanita is now living in Anita James' house with her "cousins". She does not want to return home, because she and her mother do not get along. Roger and Evelyn have only their three unmarried sons at home.

November - December (5 + 6 people): Juanita returns to her mother's house to help out, because Evelyn is not feeling well. With her married sisters gone, Juanita can now have a "room" of her own - a curtained-off corner of the front sitting room.

Homer Peters Household (Figure 24)

Permanent occupants -- 15

Number of changes in household composition -- 4

Numerical shifts in size of household -- from 20 to 15 to 19 to 15 to 11 to 15

Number of units shifting residence -- 2

Number of rooms in house -- 7 in old house;
6 in new house

Condition of old house -- poor

Condition of new house -- excellent

Total household income -- \$12,340

Per capita income -- \$903

Proportion of household income from government transfer -- 73 per cent

January (20 + 15 people): For the first three weeks of January, Homer and Irene Peters are waiting for their new house to be finished. Living in the old house with them are a married son, Frank Peters, his wife, Violet

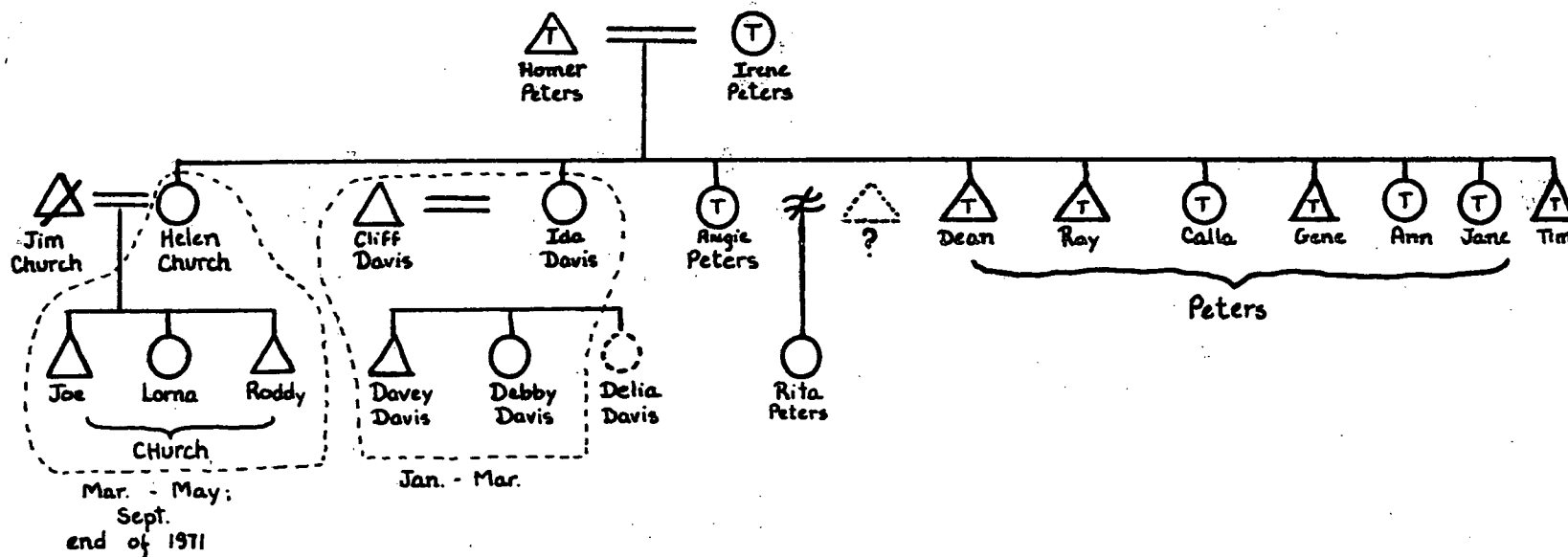


Fig. 24: Kin relationships among maximum population in Homer Peters household, during 1971.

Peters, and Frank and Violet's three children; a daughter and son-in-law, Ida and Cliff Davis, and the two Davis children; a daughter, Angie Peters, and her new baby; and seven still dependent children of Homer and Irene. Homer's income is from both social assistance and wage labour, and Irene knits Cowichan sweaters for sale. Frank Peters receives an education allowance for himself and his family; Cliff and Ida Davis are on social assistance supplemented with small earnings; and Angie receives social assistance for herself and her daughter, Rita.

In the last week in January, everyone moves to the new house except Frank and Violet and their children who stay on in the old house and are, consequently, not shown in the diagram.

February - March (15 + 19 + 15 people):
Helen Church, a widow on social assistance, and her three small children return to West Saanich from the mainland reserve of her marriage. She spends the first three weeks of February visiting a friend who has recently separated from her husband, but when the couple reconcile, Helen and the children move to her parents' new house. Although there are four bedrooms, the house is terribly crowded, and the four newcomers must sleep in the living room. They share the room with Helen's younger sister Angie, and Angie's new baby, but have no place to put their clothes or other belongings. If the Peters have visitors, they must take them into the kitchen to find a quiet place to sit and talk. Because their third child is due any day, Ida and Cliff Davis look for their own place to live. They had intended to stay with Homer and Irene until their new house was built for them on another Saanich Peninsula reserve, but that may take two or three years. When another Tsartlip family moves into a new house, Ida and Cliff moves into a new house, Ida and Cliff and their children rent the old four-room house for \$25 a month from the brother of the former occupants.

April - May (15 → 11 people): Helen Church stays with her parents almost three months. As summer approaches, she decides to take the children and go to live with her brother, Frank Peters, and his children in her parents' old house. This is, in part, because her parents are expecting summertime visitors from the States who will need a place to stay, but also because Violet Peters has left Frank and the children to return to her parents' mainland reserve. Frank asks Helen to help him care for his children, in return for a place to live.

June - August (11 people): Homer and Irene have only their seven youngest children, Angie, and Rita living with them for the summer. Their son, Dean, has a summer job in a greenhouse, and he gives his mother a little money each week "to help her out". A number of visitors, some from Shaker churches in the United States, spend time with the Peters, but none stays more than a few days. Homer and Irene, in turn, attend Indian Sports Days on the Island and in the States. Angie and Dean care for their younger brothers and sisters when their parents are away. Helen Church comes over to cook for them two or three nights a week. The three youngest Peters children, Lynn, Jane, and Tim, spend several weekends with Ida Davis while Cliff is in the hospital.

September - December (11 → 15 people): In September, Helen Church and her children return to her parents' house and remain there for the rest of the year. Violet and Frank get back together again in early December, just before their new house is started.

These narratives have attempted to depict the mobility of the native Indian population and the changes in household membership brought about by this mobility. Rather than presenting further accounts of residential

shifts in all 20 of the changing households at West Saanich, the remainder of this section will attempt to summarize characteristics of fluctuating and stable households and of mobile residence units, whether single persons or larger domestic groups.

Characteristics of Fluctuating Households

In examining household features, it seems apparent from Table XXXIX that almost no new¹⁴ houses contain fluctuating households, while old¹⁵ houses can contain

TABLE XXXIX: HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP AND
CONDITION OF HOUSE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Household Membership	Condition of Housing				Total	
	New		Old			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stable	15	79.0	16	50.0	31	61.0
Fluctuating	4	21.0	16	50.0	20	39.0
Total ¹⁶	19	100.0	32	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 field census, housing survey, and field notes.

¹⁴"New" houses are those in excellent or good condition - 19 in all.

¹⁵"Old" houses are those in fair or poor condition - 31 in all.

¹⁶Since there are two households in one house, there are 51 households and 50 houses. For purposes of tabular presentation, totals add to 51, because it seemed preferable to focus on households. The two households under the same roof are contained within an old house, so one extra old house is counted.

either stable or shifting households, in terms of composition. Moreover, stable households can occur with equal likelihood in both new and old houses. Age of house, of itself, does not show a definite relationship with the movement or stability of its occupants, although few new houses seem to have mobile occupants.

Fluctuating household membership does seem more clearly related to sex of the focal person in the household, as indicated in Table XL. Seventy-one per cent of matrifocal households have shifting membership, while only 24 per cent of patrifocal households have shifting membership. Moreover, in the 12 matrifocal households with fluctuating membership, five (42.0%) of these central women have lost natal Tsartlip band membership. Among the other seven matrifocal households with changing composition, only two focal women were born members of the Tsartlip band. The other five married into their Tsartlip membership. Altogether, then, ten (83.0%) of the 12 focal women in changing households are at a disadvantage in terms of access to housing - five because they are no longer members of the band and will probably never be eligible for new or improved housing at Tsartlip and five because they are in-marrying women with acquired band membership but without the firm consanguineal kinship base to ensure them new housing.

TABLE XL: HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP AND SEX OF
FOCAL FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Household Membership	Focal Figure				Total	
	Female		Male			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stable	5	29.0	26	76.0	31	61.0
Fluctuating	12	71.0	8	24.0	20	39.0
Total	17	100.0	34	100.0	51	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 field census, housing survey, and field notes.

The reasons for a predominance of matrifocal households with changing membership can best be understood by, first, re-examining the economic position of matrifocal households and, second, identifying the mobile population of the reserve. A discussion of these topics will lead to a description of the nature of the relationship between child care arrangements and access to adequate housing.

Economic Aspects of Matrifocal Households

Throughout Chapter V, the suggestion was made that, although nearly all Indian people at West Saanich are economically insecure when compared with the non-Indian metropolitan population, the economic position of native Indian women is especially precarious. In terms of employment, fewer women than men have regular, full-time jobs, and the range of employment alternatives open to women is somewhat more restricted than it is for men.

In terms of income, Tsartlip women are less likely than Tsartlip men to have their own income, other than the relatively small family allowance payments. Women tend to receive considerably less income from any source than their male counterparts do, while wage-earning women usually earn less than male wage earners. As well, female income recipients are more dependent than male recipients upon government transfer payments, particularly social assistance. Moreover, although the incomes of non-Indian women are also lower and less reliable than those of non-Indian men, the incomes of Indian women are disproportionately low, compared to those of Indian men.

At the level of households, female-centred households are less well-off than male-centred, whether total or *per capita* income is considered. The percentage of matrifocal households that are largely dependent upon government transfer income is much higher than that of patrifocal households. Finally, although the percentage of patrifocal households above the poverty line is equal to the percentage below, the same cannot be said for matrifocal households. Nearly all of the latter are below the poverty line.

From the perspective of shifting household composition matrifocal households are much more likely to change membership than are patrifocal households. Since the

former are also somewhat poorer, one might expect a relationship between income and changes in household membership. Instead, the data are far from conclusive. Using household income above or below the poverty line as a basis for determining adequacy of income, Table XLI summarizes information concerning sex of focal figure, relationship of household income to poverty line, and household membership. Since only five matrifocal households have stable membership and only three have incomes above the poverty line, the calculation of percentage distribution seems unwarranted. Inspection of the frequencies does not yield any discernible relationship between the three features. Without a larger population and further information, then, adequacy of house-

TABLE XLI: FREQUENCIES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP, HOUSEHOLD INCOME, AND SEX OF FOCAL FIGURE, TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Relation of Household Income to Poverty Line	Sex of Focal Figure				Total	
	Female		Male			
	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below
<u>Household Membership:</u>						
Stable	3	2	14	12	17	14
Fluctuating	0	12	3	5	3	17
Total	3	14	17	17	20	31

Source: Author's 1971 field census, housing survey, field notes, and work histories.

hold income can be discarded, for purposes of this study, as a contributing factor to shifting household membership.¹⁷

Mobile Population

During 1971, there were many more women than men who changed residence. If only those people who moved from one house to another on the reserve, within the total adult population of 131, are counted, seven (10.0%) of the 68 men and 18 (29.0%) of the 63 women changed residence at least once that year. Furthermore, although it was not possible to determine frequency of moves for this population, my observation was that young women under 25 moved more often than any other group. Of course, given the relative youth of the population and the fact that so few men of any age shifted residence, this does not seem surprising.

In any case, there appears to be a "floating" population of women, often with young children, who are in search of a place to live, or of a better place to live. These women, along with female focal persons in reserve households are immersed, on a daily basis, in the concerns of finding living accommodation for themselves and their children, for adult daughters and grand-daughters, and for

¹⁷ This is not to say that other aspects of household composition are not related to economic factors. For example, Gonzalez (1969) and Munsell (1967) have argued that there is a relationship between income levels and household composition, and a Statistics Canada Profile observes that a younger family will often "double up" with an older related family, in order to combine incomes for a larger total (1976:58).

their sisters. The extent and degree of this participation is shown by the fact that, in 1971, nine out of ten West Saanich teen-agers who changed residence without an accompanying adult were young women.

This tendency for younger women to change residence, often more than once a year, and for matrifocal households to be most subject to shifting membership can be attributed, at least in part, to the vulnerability of women to changes in their band membership and Indian status. Because band affiliation and legal status of native Indian women is subject to change without their consent, because loss of band membership or Indian status can make permanent housing inaccessible to native women, and because they may be mothers of non-Tsartlip or non-Indian children, Indian women are particularly susceptible to the vagaries of the housing shortage. Women who are focal persons in Tsartlip houses are often non-band members who occupy abandoned shacks on their natal reserve, because they are ineligible for housing through legitimate channels at Tsartlip, and because they may be unwelcome, if not ineligible, on the reserves of their ex-spouses. These focal women, as well as other non-Tsartlip women living in houses where they are not focal figures, reside at Tsartlip on sufferance, through the generosity, hospitality, and forbearance of kin who are themselves overcrowded and under-housed. Women who have

lost their natal membership in the Tsartlip band have no legal right to live at West Saanich nor to acquire adequate housing. Yet they have even less possibility of acquiring housing on the reserves of their marriage. Their kin on these reserves are likely to be in-laws, reluctant to shelter an estranged daughter-in-law or sister-in-law. Consanguineal kin on the marital reserve may be able to offer accommodation, but they will have their own housing problems and their own set of close kin who are also homeless. If a woman should apply for new housing, to which she is legally entitled, on her marital reserve, the housing shortage will mean a long wait, even if there is no opposition to her application from councillors who are also her estranged in-laws. In the meantime, she must find somewhere to live, and condemned housing or cramped quarters with her own kin will undoubtedly seem more attractive than the same housing among in-laws.

As the focal figure in a house she claims through kinship, a woman must be prepared to move if the house is claimed by someone with a legal right to it, if it is torn down under the new housing programme, or if it burns or falls down. By extending hospitality to others who need a place to stay, either temporarily or for longer periods, a woman may be able to accept a reciprocal invitation at a later date, should she need to find other living quarters. They may not

be an improvement over her former dwelling place, but for women who cannot ever hope to have decent housing, the point is academic. Similarly, women who move frequently probably do so not only to maintain and strengthen kin ties with the occupants of various houses and to establish a potential claim to a place in a house, but also because they do not wish to wear out their welcome. If other relatives arrive and houses become too cramped, more peripheral people will attempt to find other accommodation. Even if they cannot find permanent lodgings elsewhere, women may visit another relative for a few weeks, thus relieving the pressure in an overcrowded house for a short time.

When 14 women who had married into Tsartlip membership were asked, "Where would you go if you and your husband split up?", ten (71.0%) responded that they would probably return to their natal reserve. Three who did not were women well past forty years of age who had lived at Tsartlip for many years and felt that they would stay where they were. The fourth was a young woman in her twenties who was from another Saanich Peninsula reserve. She and her husband had just moved into a new house at Tsartlip, and she replied that she would make her husband leave, because he could apply for another new house, but she would stay in the one just built for them. She remarked that she was close enough to her mother's reserve to have support and company when she

needed it. In 1971, when this couple did break up their marriage, this is precisely what the wife did.

On the other hand, a legally married woman who has maintained her natal affiliation as a Tsartlip band member is equally vulnerable, in some ways. If she marries another Tsartlip band member, she retains her membership but gains no control of her own over access to housing. If a new house is built on land held by her husband or by his family, she will have difficulty in maintaining her place there should the marriage dissolve. If the Certificate of Possession to the building site is in the hands of a relative of her husband's, it seems quite likely that she could not reside there without the in-law's permission. If the Certificate is held by her husband, she may be in a better position to claim the house, but without community of property, it is possible that he could at least sell or transfer the Certificate to a relative, rather than allow her to take the house, as more than one woman pointed out to me. The Indian Act, of course, does not even entertain the possibility of separation or divorce, so that questions of this kind remain unresolved. Only one case could be discovered at Tsartlip where a legally married couple, both with natal membership in the band, resided in a fairly new house on the husband's land until their marriage break-up. At that point, the wife and her four small children moved

off-reserve and stayed in a motel in Sidney for several weeks, because the husband claimed the house for himself. Later, she returned to Tsartlip and moved into her mother's house, after leaving the children with their father, in the marital domicile.

Only if the couple's new house is built in the new housing development at Tsartlip, on common land held by the band, or as might occur rarely, is built on land held by the woman herself or by one of her close relatives, is her position in the house relatively secure.

Ironically, a woman who retains her natal membership at Tsartlip by entering consensual unions that do not affect her status or band affiliation is more likely than any other to gain, eventually, a new house of her own, provided that she establishes residence at Tsartlip. There does not seem to be any formal residence requirement, in terms of months or years, for housing eligibility, but according to band administrators, a woman who moves on and off the reserve with her consensual spouse may have her application for a new house deferred until she "settles down". Thus she may have to live for several years in a condemned house or with relatives at Tsartlip before she even gets her name on the list, but at least she is among her own people, and she certainly would not be eligible for new housing anywhere else.

That native Indian women are conscious of their precarious position with respect to obtaining housing is best illustrated with a discussion of the arrangements that they make for child care during marriage breakdown, in order to ensure the best possible access to good housing for their children.

Child Care Arrangements and
Access to Housing

Early fieldwork at West Saanich and research into DIAND records in Nanaimo yielded information on several cases of marital separation among Tsartlip residents where the wife left children of the union at West Saanich, while she returned to her natal reserve, moved into Victoria, or went to another man's reserve. Later in 1971, when within one month of each other, two women left their husbands and children because of marital discord and moved to other reserves, three questions came to mind. First, was there a cultural pattern among the Coast Salish of children being left with their fathers when a divorce occurred? Evidence of this pattern was found in Barnett's remarks that, in case of divorce between a Coast Salish couple,

male children beyond infancy always remained with their fathers, and sometimes the girls did too. They were cared for by aunts, grandmothers, or stepmothers Men held and manipulated property; and both boys and girls could normally expect greater expenditures of

property for their social advancement from their fathers than from other male relatives (1955:195).

Second, why had this pattern persisted into modern times?

Third, under what conditions did mothers keep their children instead of leaving them with the fathers? A subsidiary problem was to determine who cared for children that were left with their fathers.

In order to answer these questions, a list was prepared of every case of marriage breakdown involving children that could be unearthed, along with circumstances surrounding each case. DIAND census files (Canada, Indian Affairs 1936-1969) produced records of over 20 instances of separation among couples with children at West Saanich, but unfortunately, information on most of these was scanty and could not be supplemented. Three cases seemed adequately documented, although none described the economic situation of either parent, a factor that might possibly have been related to the phenomenon under consideration. With another five cases mentioned in DIAND files, additional information could be obtained from native people currently living at Tsartlip. Another ten instances of marital separation involved at least one partner still living at Tsartlip, so that information could be acquired during fieldwork. It should be noted that three of these couples at Tsartlip separated twice, so that there were ten *instances* of

separation involving seven couples. In addition, three women from other reserves had left children with maternal relatives at Tsartlip and, since my interest was in child care arrangements rather than in marriage dissolution, *per se*, these cases were included. In each of the latter three, the children were left with mothers' kin, because the parents of the children had separated.

Since there have not been any divorces or legal separations at Tsartlip, to my knowledge, from the time that DIAND began taking note of marriage breakdown in the early 1960's,¹⁸ separation is defined here as any instance where a married couple live apart, in different houses, for six months or more, because of marital or domestic disputes. Separation because of one partner's out-of-town employment, illness, or other non-domestic cause is not counted as a marriage breakdown. In keeping with the definition of marriage used in this study, separation of a couple in a consensual as well as a legal union is considered, so long as the union produced at least one offspring.

Eventually, 21 cases of child care arrangements resulting from separation were examined. In 12 (57.0%) instances, the children of the union were kept by the mother or by maternal kin when the marriage ended. These

¹⁸Given Canada's stringent divorce laws before 1969, it is doubtful that any divorces occurred among the Tsartlip population during the 1960's, or before.

arrangements have been termed matrifocal. In the other nine (43.0%), children of the union were kept by the father or by the father's female kin. In none of the cases examined, did a woman ever leave her children by a former husband with a current spouse.

From the mother's point of view, when her marriage ends, her alternatives for caring for the children of that union seem to include:

Matrifocal Arrangements: (1) Mother keeps the children and either returns to her natal reserve if she is not from Tsartlip or remains at Tsartlip. In the latter case, she may remain in the conjugal home or find other living quarters.

(2) Mother puts the children in the care of her own kin, living separately from them. She may live on another reserve than her children, or even off-reserve, especially if she is establishing another marital relationship.

Patrifocal Arrangements: (1) Mother leaves the children with their father, who may have to make arrangements with his mother, sister, or other kinswoman to care for the children, at least during the day.

(2) Mother leaves the children with their father's kin.

In addition, one case was discovered where the

mother left two of her children with her mother's sister and the third child was placed in a non-Indian foster home. The institutional arrangement for the third child is not counted.

As mentioned previously, it was anticipated that the economic position of one or the other parents, with respect to income, would be a significant factor in determining whether a woman decided to keep her children herself or to leave them with someone else. It was assumed that if the father had a relatively stable, adequate income and the mother did not, she would leave their children with him.

Establishing the income of either parent, much less its adequacy and stability, was not possible in many cases. Even when one of the parents or a close relative could be interviewed, some individuals were unable to remember their earnings at the time of the separation. Moreover, a man or woman with fairly regular employment and adequate wages when the separation occurred might have obtained the job only a month or so before. Finally, an attempt was made to calculate economic status only for those individuals at Tsartlip whose marriages had ended during 1970 or 1971. The seven instances did not reveal any relationship between child care patterns and annual income of either parent. For example, both matrifocal and patrifocal arrangements were fairly evenly distributed whether parental incomes were

above or below the poverty line. Similarly, employment did not seem to be a factor. Of two working mothers, one kept her children, and the other left them with an unemployed father. Of five fathers who were employed at the time of separation, two were left with their children and three were not.

When income and employment did not prove to be fruitful avenues to explore, level of education was considered, with the expectation that, because of the potential for employment, the parent with more education might keep the children. Again, using the seven couples for whom information was available, calculations indicated that education levels of both parents in a conjugal relationship tended to be almost equal. The two high school graduates were married to each other, as were a man and woman with Grade Ten education and another couple with Grade Six. Among the other four couples, education levels were within a year or two of each other, and no association between education of parents and child care patterns was discovered.

Band membership of the parents, including natal membership of the mother, was considered but proved unproductive, also. When band membership of children was examined, it became evident that although the mother invariably kept those of her children who did not have the father's band membership, she did not necessarily leave with their father those children with his band membership.

Ultimately, an explanation was offered by Lorna Simpson, one of the native Indian women on the reserve. She and her husband, Frank, reconciled in 1971 after a long, nine-year separation. Lorna was born a member of a mainland reserve, but has been a Tsartlip member since her marriage. When she was asked, during one of our interviews, why she had left her children with their father and his mother rather than keeping them herself, she replied:

I wanted them to have a home, a real house, not some old two-room place like some of our people live in. I didn't want them to be like my brothers who don't own any land or houses, because they grew up off the reserve. I wanted my kids to have something when they grew up. There was nothing I could give them. I'm nobody here [at Tsartlip], because I don't come from around here, and I'm nobody any more on my own reserve.

Considering that Frank Simpson's house is a fairly large dwelling, in good condition, that was built with the financial help of his parents and that he holds a Certificate of Possession to several acres of reserve land, Lorna's comment suggested that parental access to housing or land might play a part in determining child care arrangements when a couple dissolve their marriage bonds. Access to housing seemed the easier place to start. Presumably, a house would have to be in good or new condition to affect the mother's decision. Since men tend to have more chance

of obtaining adequate reserve housing, paternal access to a new house or one in good condition was assumed to be more important than maternal access.

The original 21 cases selected were then examined to determine if a relationship might exist between paternal access to housing and matrifocal or patrifocal child care. After some initial tabulations, it was found that a number of recently separated fathers who did not have new houses were left with children, nonetheless. The housing priority lists for the last two years were checked and people who were high on the lists and likely to obtain a new house within two years were included. Table XLII summarizes the results when paternal access to adequate housing is considered in relation to child care arrangements.

TABLE XLII: CASES OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS
AFTER MARITAL SEPARATION, BY PATERNAL ACCESS
OR LACK OF ACCESS TO ADEQUATE HOUSING,
TSARTLIP RESERVE, 1971

Paternal Access to Adequate Housing	Child Care Arrangements				Total	
	Patrifocal		Matrifocal		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Father has access to new or good house	8	89.0	3	25.0	11	52.0
Father lacks access to new or good house	1	11.0	9	75.0	10	48.0
Total	9	100.0	12	100.0	21	100.0

Source: Author's 1971 census and field notes; Canada, Indian Affairs 1936-1969; Tsartlip Band Council 1971.

With so few cases, it can only be tentatively suggested that, when their marriages end, women take into consideration the potential of adequate shelter for their children, in deciding who should care for them. The suggestion is further substantiated, however, in that of the three cases where matrifocal child care arrangements were made in spite of paternal access to adequate housing, one case involved a woman who was not a Tsartlip band member and who, presumably, had the potential of obtaining her own new house on her home reserve. Another was the Tsartlip woman from a nearby natal reserve who remained with her children, in her ex-husband's new house at Tsartlip, certain that he could obtain a second new house on his own.

Furthermore, among the eight cases of patrifocal child care with paternal access to decent housing, three were situations where the mother actually left their children with a female relative of the father, rather than with him. In all three, the father was on the waiting list for a new house, while the female relative was already in a new house. When a new house was built for one of the fathers in late 1972, he took his children to his new house, although the youngest girl remained with her father's mother during the day.

When a native Indian mother decides to keep her children, she seldom has adequate housing for them herself,

nor is she likely to obtain it, especially if she has lost her natal band membership. If the children's father is also unable to provide adequate shelter for them, she may attempt to find a place for them with her own maternal kin, particularly if a close relative has a new or good house. In 5 of the 12 matrifocal arrangements, the mother either moved with her children into a relative's new house or, eventually, left them in the care of a maternal relative who had adequate accommodation.

Five of the nine fathers who did not have access to new houses within the near future were legally single and very young; two were not Tsartlip band members nor had they applied for housing on their own reserves. It was not possible to determine why the other two fathers did not have access to new houses.

Thus, a pattern of caring for children that resembles an aboriginal or early contact-time pattern has persisted. To some extent, Barnett's conclusion that Coast Salish children were left with their fathers, because men controlled property and access to social advancement (1955:195) holds true in the modern period, if new housing is considered a social resource. The pattern has persisted or re-occurred because it enables the native woman to adapt, in some small measure, to the restrictive conditions imposed upon her. Although she may be unable to provide adequate

housing for her children on her own, because of her status and other factors, she is able to select from limited alternatives to obtain the best life chances that she can for her children. Although the decision to leave her children is always a painful one, she is somewhat reassured that they will grow up in a healthier physical environment than she can offer. For other mothers, not even this meagre opportunity is open.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

In this investigation, a contemporary, suburban, Coast Salish Indian reserve on Vancouver Island has been viewed as an underdeveloped, internal satellite within the modern Canadian metropolis. Within this broad framework, the focus of the study has been an ethnography of reserve poverty. In characterising its physical and cultural environment, I have depicted West Saanich Reserve as a hinterland with dwindling natural resources whose utilisation by reserve inhabitants for subsistence or commercial purposes has been severely hindered by the dominant metropolis.

In describing certain aspects of the aboriginal and post-contact culture of the Saanich people, I have attempted to draw a contrast between the apparent economic and political self-sufficiency of pre-contact Coast Salish village society and the dependency of post-contact reserve

society. The relatively rapid eroding of aboriginal Saanich lifestyle and political economy is portrayed in terms of loss of natural resources, shrinking territory, and decreasing alternatives for acquiring the basic necessities of life, as a result of legal restrictions, including colonial treaties and the stipulations of the Indian Act.

The enforced entry of the Saanich people into the colonial market economy coincided with severe population decline and the development of Indian administrative policy. The combined effect, for the Saanich, was a steady decline into a position of chronic poverty and political subordination that has persisted into the present. In addition, three aspects of that administrative policy, namely, the development of the reserve system, the imposition of a narrow and discriminatory legal definition of who is an Indian, and the withholding of adequate capital to compensate the native people for the expropriation of their land and resources and to provide them with a new economic base, have created particularly devastating and unforeseen complications in their daily lives.

For native women, especially, the three have fused into a situation of severe hardship made more intolerable by the relatively greater economic deprivation of those women. The purpose of the last two chapters has been to illustrate how women, lacking economic self-sufficiency and control

over their own legal status and band affiliation, also lack access to land and, more important, to decent housing for themselves and their families. Without the power to define themselves in order to be eligible for the housing dole of DIAND and without access to land or to capital funds to finance construction of their own houses, the native Indian women of Tsartlip Reserve, especially those who lose band membership or Indian status through the accident of marriage, face a never-ending search for a secure place to live and to raise their children.

Without denying that native Indian men are also unable to obtain good jobs, with sufficient income to provide the basic necessities of life for their families, and recognizing that the Tsartlip band council does everything within its limited power to provide accommodation for those in need, it can be concluded that native women are particularly vulnerable to the combined realities of economic deprivation and loss of legal right to a dwelling place on their home reserves. For this reason, a younger Indian woman moves frequently from one reserve to another and from one reserve house to another, in an attempt to find a suitable place to live. She may visit for short periods in some homes and move into others for longer periods. She must often rely on the goodwill of kin who increase their own discomfort in already crowded houses, by making room for

her and her children, and sometimes for her spouse.

If she is fortunate, a woman may eventually be able to establish a claim, based on her kin affiliation with a former occupant, to a condemned house that affords her a little privacy, if no more comfort. Whatever her band membership, she will then attempt to consolidate her right to live there by helping out, by offering her services for funerals and other community activities, and by extending hospitality to others. Although this extension of hospitality to other homeless people then creates overcrowding in her own dwelling, it serves to ensure that she will be welcome later in the homes of her guests, if she loses her own house.

If she is a Tsartlip band member and can demonstrate that she meets enough of the criteria that determine priority for new houses, a woman may obtain a place on the waiting list and, after several years, attain a house of her own. On the other hand, if she has lost that membership, a woman may remain an alien among her own family, kin, and friends, dependent upon them for shelter just as she is dependent upon meagre government transfer payments for support.

Finally, I have attempted to demonstrate that women, whether band members or not, are aware of their potential or real insecurity with respect to housing and that they are

concerned about its effect on their children. Consequently, when a woman is involved in the dissolution of a consensual or legal conjugal union, she will make decisions about the welfare of her children in order to provide them with the most adequate, long-term shelter available. The reasons why a woman sometimes leaves children in a patrifocal arrangement with their father or father's kin when her marriage ends are not because she wishes to abandon the offspring of the union but, on the contrary, because if the father or his near kin has access to a new house or one in relatively good condition, the chances for her children to grow up in healthier surroundings outweigh other considerations, including her desire to be with them. If she cannot make a suitable patrifocal arrangement for the children of a union, a mother may arrange to leave them with her own kin who have adequate housing. If there is no alternative, a woman keeps her children with her and does the best she can to find a place for them all.

Thus, the relationship of West Saanich, a hinterland Indian reserve, to the exploitative Canadian metropolis is one that not only prevents the people of that hinterland from full access to their own traditional resources, to self-definition, and to self-determination, but also limits their alternatives to make an economically and personally adequate living, to find pleasant, durable, and satisfying

places to live on their own land, and to provide even some security for their children. For the native women of this hinterland, the alternatives are narrowest and the struggle greatest.

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APPENDIX A

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TSARTLIP BAND COUNCIL AND

MARJORIE MITCHELL, SEPTEMBER 22, 1970

I have received a Canada Council grant for research in anthropology and ecology and would like permission to undertake a study on the Tsartlip Reserve.

This study would be concerned with an analysis of the economic position of the reserve from the point of view of natural and human resources. I am particularly interested in the effects of resource exploitation on the Indian reserve by non-Indian Canadian society. An essential part of the research would be devoted to an examination of the outward flow of resources, capital, profits, and labour from the reserve and the inadequate return flow, in the form of low wages, government funds, and a few services, from the larger society.

The purpose of my investigation is to describe in detail the precise nature of this system of exploitation, of the relationship of the Indian community to the non-Indian economy, and to explore the consequences of under-development for the reserve.

Policies of the federal and provincial governments, of industry and the business sector of non-Indian society, of schools, and other public as well as private institutions will be analyzed with regard to Indian land and other resources, Indian employment, education, industrial and commercial development, housing, health, and other socioeconomic factors. Hiring practices, working conditions, wage levels, and job opportunities for the Indian people of Tsartlip will be considered as well as the relationship of education to employment and income. The problem of political and economic power and control over resources and capital will be investigated, also.

This study would be, I believe, of considerable benefit to the Indian community and to Indian people. In order to ensure that the project is truly useful to you, I propose to do the following:

1. Discuss with you ways in which the project I have outlined can be altered or expanded to fit your immediate and long-range needs for information on environmental, technological, and socioeconomic factors in relation to the reserve and its inhabitants and the larger Canadian economy. If the study can be designed to encompass more of your ideas and views than my own on these issues, so much the better.
2. Turn over to the band council all relevant information that is gathered during the year, in a form which

should be useful for your own studies and reports. I intend to store data in a filing system so that different categories of information will be easily available to anyone you authorize to examine it. In addition, a complete set of any photographs and maps that are made will be given to you.

3. Interviews and questionnaires with residents of Tsartlip will be duplicated and each resident who participates will receive a complete copy of the information he contributes upon request. Permission will be requested from each individual to make available another copy of that information to the council. If permission is not forthcoming, his information will be kept anonymous.
4. All questionnaires and interviews will be regarded by me as confidential and the information in them will be presented in my doctoral dissertation and in any publications that follow in anonymous form.
5. Data from interviews and questionnaires collected outside the reserve will be made available, in anonymous form, to the band council. On the other hand, unpublished information collected on the reserve will not be made available by me to any outside agency or group, other than my thesis advisory committee and the University of British Columbia examining committee.
6. None of the information collected or results of the study and no statement about the work we are doing will

be released to any newspapers, radio stations, or TV networks through me. If you wish to inform the general public about any aspect of the study through these channels, I will be pleased to help prepare a statement, but it will be released only with your written consent and approval.

7. Throughout the year, I will submit progress reports to the council concerning the research. As the manuscript is written, advice and criticism from the council members will be solicited and their views on the problems dealt with in the study will be incorporated into the analysis.
8. The material gathered over the duration of the study will be compiled and analyzed for a doctoral dissertation to be presented to the Department of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, where I am a graduate student. Copies of the completed dissertation will be submitted to the council in the hope that the results of the research will provide the people of Tsartlip with documented evidence that they themselves can use.
9. When the study is completed, I am prepared to assist you in the writing of any specific reports, based on the information we gather, for distribution to whatever agencies, groups, or individuals you feel should be informed about the nature and extent of exploitation of

the reserve and its resources. I will make no recommendations in these reports that are in opposition to the wishes of the Indian people, as represented by the council. Since these reports would be written on behalf of the Indian people, any recommendations they contained would come from them, rather than from me.

10. If the dissertation is to be published in book form, I would like to include, as one of the final chapters, the written comments and criticisms of a number of Indian people from Tsartlip, selected in consultation with the council. In this way, those most concerned - the Indian people - will have some opportunity to express their own views and opinions on our findings and on the issues and problems raised by the study. Furthermore, if any royalties should accrue from the sale of this publication, all of these will be turned over to the Tsartlip band. However, it is somewhat unlikely that there will be any profits since most publishers of scholarly material do not grant royalties to authors.
11. Any articles for publication in anthropological journals will be given to, let us say, three Indian people chosen by the council, for discussion and comment before they are submitted to the journal for consideration. Any criticisms made by this panel of

Indian reviewers will be incorporated into the article and will be included in the published form.

12. A resident of Tsartlip Reserve will be hired, on a part-time basis, at the rate of one dollar per hour, to assist in gathering information, transferring it to the files, and cataloguing it.

This agreement may be terminated by either the Tsartlip Band Council or myself, upon notification of the other party.