Hunters and Workers among the Nemaska Cree: The Role of Ideology in a Dependent Mode of Production

by
Taylor Brelsford

Department of Anthropology
McGill University
Montreal

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Abstract

This thesis extends the analysis of persistence in James Bay Cree economy and society by examining the role of ideology in the stability of a dependent mode of production. Using Althusser's notion that ideology interpellates individuals, this study asks about the reproduction of collective and individual commitments to the subsistence sector as a livelihood. The findings identify a number of challenges to the traditional sector, but suggest that a substantial proportion of the population, still the majority, continues to be drawn to a primary commitment to the hunting and trapping livelihood. Neither schooling or consumerism is seen to have substantially eroded this commitment to date. More broadly, the role of ideology in this articulation is seen to be subordinate to the political practices which, in policy initiatives from the 1930's until the James Bay Agreement, have done much to reenforce the material conditions of subsistence production.

Resumé

En examinant le role de l'idéologie dans la persistance des formes traditionelles d'economie et de société parmis les Cris de la Baie James, cette these s'interroge sur la stabilité d'un mode de production dépendent. A la lumière du concept d'interpellation developé par Althusser, on propose l'analyse de la reproduction des engagements collectifs et individuels envers le secteur dit de "subsistence." Selon l'étude, les défis d'ordre idéologique qui y sont identifiés n'ont pas réussi à diminuer l'intention d'une proportion importante de la population, actuellement la majorité, de poursuivre la chasse et le piégage comme mode de vie. Jusqu'ici, ni l'école, ni la société de consommation n'ont miné cette détermination. Dans un context plus large, on considère que l'idéologie a une moindre importance dans cette articulation par rapport aux pratiques politiques, qui depuis 1930 jusqu'a L'Entente de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois ont, à plusieurs reprises, renforcé les conditions matérielles d'une production de subsistence.

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Preface

This thesis arose out of a deep respect for the subsistence rights movements among Alaska Natives and the people of James Bay in the early 1970's. The urgency of these attempts to reinsert the subsistnce sector in the scenarios for "development of the north" could not help but impress a student raised on the quiescent community studies of the acculturation idiom popular in northern ethnography through the mid-1960's.

In the literature on James Bay, Quebec the mid-1970's saw an important new effort to theoretically account for the persistence of subsistence production, employing the theoretical framework of modes of production theory. This thesis sought to extend and deepen this analysis by looking at the role of ideology in the articulation between the Cree and Euro-Canadian society.

Developing this analysis has been an undertaking far more demanding than I originally conceived. The modes of production framework embodies a number of theoretical difficulties, including an as yet unresolved tension between theoretical elaboration and concrete analysis. Similarly, a critical analysis of persistence and change in Cree economy and society required field data far beyond that available in a 6 week period of fieldwork. Within these limits, it was finally possible to discern

important new elements of the articulation, and I am hopeful that this analysis will prove fruitful for the on-going efforts to defend the subsistence sector of the James Bay Cree.

I have many people to thank for the successful completion of this research. First of all, I want to express my appreciation to George Wapachee, Harry Jolly, Rosie and Peter Wapachee, Kennie and Rosie Tanoush, and Andrew and Winnie Moar, all of Nemaska, for the very gracious hospitality and assistance they extended to my wife, my son and myself. Secondly, without the substantial support provided by the Centre for Northern Studies and Research of McGill University, and the Max Bell Foundation this research would not have seen light of day. I owe them a debt of gratitude for summer research bursaries and the Max Bell Fellowship in Northern Studies respectively. In addition, I should like to thank Colin Scott and Ignatius LaRusic for the benefit of many hours of discussion. Professor Harvey Feit devoted hours to reading and revising the several preliminary versions of this manuscript, a kindness I very much appreciate. Finally, I thank the members of my Thesis Committee, Professor Richard Salisbury, Professor Jerome Rousseau, and Professor Carmen Lambert, for their patience, as other projects have resulted in far too many delays in finalizing this study.

Chapter One: Ideology and Persistence in James Bay Cree Economy and Society

1.1. Perspectives in the Regional Literature.

The problem of persistence and transformation in James Bay Cree society and economy has had an extraordinarily rich literature. In what has since became a classic formulation of the consequences of the fur trade, Leacock (1954), emphasized the fundamental transformation wrought by production of fur for exchange among the Algonkian peoples of Quebec-Labrador. Since then, nearly two decades of scholarship have largely refuted the key empirical elements of Leacock's hypothesis, as applied to this region. Subsistence production remains a vital part of Cree economy and society; not the least of its manifestations is found in the persistence of an elaborate religious belief system. Most recently, the attempt to theoretically situate this persistence, alongside the substantial, but partial, domination of the external Euro-canadian society, has adopted the theoretical framework of modes of production in articulation (Tanner 1979, Scott 1979). From the unanswered question posed in these analyses emerges the concern of this thesis, namely the role of ideology in the stability of a partially dominated mode of production.

In Leacock's view, aboriginal socio-territorial organization among the Northeastern Algonkians had been

characterized by multi-family cooperatively organized hunting groups (1954:21). However, the result of involvement with the fur trade was to set in motion a unitary process of transformation, which if not fully culminated in 1954, was well advanced and nonetheless inevitable. In the key proposition of this formulation, involvement with the fur trade lead inexorably to the replacement of hunting - a form of production for use - by trapping - a form of production for exchange (ibid:7). The former is logically constrained by a principle of sufficiency, whereas, under production for exchange, the goal of production shifts to theoretically limitless accumulation. Whereas under the former, production units were cooperative, under the latter, especially as purchased foods render production groups self-sufficient, the relations between them become "objectively" relations of competition.[1] Family production groups come, as a result, to adopt proprietary attitudes toward their traplines, leading to the establishment of exclusive territories. While acknowledging the fact that not all Naskapi-Montagnais bands had reached this culmination point, Leacock dismisses the anomaly as mere cultural lags, in which "attitudes and personal relations" were simply temporarily recalcitrant (ibid.: 24, 26).[2]

Leacock's view is based on the premise that hunting and trapping are fundamentally incompatible, not merely

in the abstract sense that they derive from theoretically incompatible logics of production, but also in the concrete sense that the physical activities of hunting and trapping are mutually exclusive. Moreover, trapping is seen as replacing hunting, since the demand for trade goods, spurred in part by the possibility of stable purchased food supplies, is seen as unlimited. Leacock's model of transformation is interesting, inasmuch as it posited wide ranging concrete consequences of a conflict between production systems characterized by different central logics, but the ethnographic elements on which it rests are untenable in the case of the James Bay Cree.

The ethnographic refutation of the Leacock hypothesis took place along four related dimensions. First, as Knight (1968:45, 105) pointed out, there is no reason to assume the radical incompatibility of the physical activities of hunting and trapping: beaver provide meat (26.7% of the country food consumption in his nine-month sample), and hunting for moose can readily be undertaken on the winter trapline without compromising trapping effort. Feit's figures for the proportion of calories provided by various species in Waswanipi (cited in Salisbury 1972a:46) further demonstrate the importance of beaver as a food source, in this case slightly exceeding the contribution of moose.

More resoundingly, a number of studies have shown the that the magnitude of contemporary subsistence

production is far from insignificant. Rogers (1963:35) described an instance in which a thirteen-member Mistassini hunting group in 1953-54 produced 5,499 kilograms (12,097 pounds) of food during the winter. Salisbury et al., in the first attempt to assess subsistence harvest for the region as a whole, estimate that for coastal communities 45% and for inland communities 60% of all food consumed through the year results from subsistence harvests. (1972a: 49-50). They assign this production an in-kind value of $3,864,300, or twelve times the monetary return from fur production. Finally, in the most extensive survey of subsistence production yet produced, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Harvest Research Committee (hereafter NHRC) documented a total annual subsistence harvest for the James Bay Cree communities ranging from 918,000 kilograms (2.2 million pounds) in 1975-76 to 809,000 kilograms (1.78 million pounds) in 1978-79 (1982: 320).

A third line of refutation came from Roger's extensive historical research concerning band organization among the Mistassini. He found that hunting group size has historically and more recently been held within a fairly narrow range of variation (6-15 members) by the combined effect of several ecological, cultural and acculturative factors (1963: 77-81). The small size of hunting groups among the Mistassini was not the result of the fur trade. However, Rogers is drawn to concur with

Leacock in the matter of the hunting territory. In his view, aboriginal patterns of land tenure where considerably more flexible, and the notion of exclusive rights of access associated with the hunting territory, appears in the historical record only after 1850 as a result of intensification of the fur trade (ibid.: 82-86).

A fourth refutation concerns the premise that the Cree were drawn to favor trapping over hunting as a result of an unlimited desire for trade goods. This premise was shown to be untenable on two grounds. Rich (1960), an economic historian of the fur trade, found that throughout the 18th century, Indian trappers simply did not respond to price incentives to increase production. Rather, higher prices for furs decreased production, as the trappers could obtain the limited level of trade goods they desired with fewer furs. Anderson (1961: 105-8) and Tanner (1979:68) demonstrate the means by which some trappers in Mistassini continued during this century to trap only up to the level of their existing debt.

Taken together, these challenges made it obvious that the Leacock hypothesis was in need of a substantial revision as concerns the region of the James Bay Cree. The major attempt to reformulate a theory of transformation and persistence in the James Bay Cree

region has been proposed by Tanner (1979) and Scott (1979) who call for analysis of two modes of production in articulation.

Drawing from the structuralist Marxist notion of modes of production, these authors argue that the particularity of persistence within domination derives from the articulation of a non-capitalist, with a capitalist mode of production. They characterize Cree subsistence production as occurring within a "domestic" mode of production (Sahlins 1972), the defining features of which include general access to the means of production, although access to land is mediated through the talleyman system of land tenure,(Scott 1979: 16-26), and religiously sanctioned redistribution of the meat, though not the furs, resulting from the hunt (Tanner 1979:153-181). In this view, the distinctive relations of production, and not the mere fact of production of meat or fur alone, define the coherence of the Cree domestic mode of production. The capitalist relation of production, on the other hand, is based on the commoditization of labor power. A worker, having no access to means of production, is obliged to sell his or her labor power to the owners of the means of production. Wages are the sole means of subsistence. In the articulation model proposed by Tanner and Scott, 350 years of sustained interaction with the capitalist mode of production of the incursive Euro-canadian society,

have brought many changes, including the obvious dependence upon imported technology, but have not eliminated the distinctive features of the Cree domestic mode of production. These authors offer several leads in specifying the process of persistence in articulation.

Tanner's first contribution is to suggest that degree of domination by the external economy during the fur trade was limited by the nature of this economic system. The fur trade engaged Cree trappers, not directly in capitalist relations of production, but in a "putting out system" (1979:63), in which the trader advanced credit to a trapper, who in turn produced and returned furs. As this system of production relies on Cree expertise in the bush and the wide dispersal of the direct producers, the trader was unable to re-organize, and hence intensify, production along capitalist lines. Conversely, the Cree producers are able, under such a system, to organize production and to maintain social and religious systems with little interference. Tanner further posits some of the wider conditions which are necessary for this particular kind of articulation to endure: namely, a stable resource base and relative isolation so that a trader is assured the finished products will return to him. When these conditions were ruptured, most notably by the extension of the national communication infrastructure in the form of the Transcanada Railway constructed on the southern

periphery of the James Bay region between 1910 and 1920 (Feit 1978:32), the stability of a "putting out system" was severely challenged, but not eliminated in the Cree region.

The burden of Tanner's monograph is to describe and analyze the elaborate system of religious beliefs among the contemporary Mistassini Cree. He shows, in considerable detail, that religious beliefs and the productive activities of hunting and trapping are deeply integrated. And while at several points, he argues that religious beliefs have a relatively autonomous quality as cultural products, more generally Tanner concludes that Cree religion has persisted in large part because of the persistence of extensive subsistence production. Persistence, in this case, is not reduced to simply material or cultural factors, but the two are shown to be closely intertwined.

Scott's monograph, on the other hand is devoted in large part to a quantitative assessment of the effects of provisions of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (hereafter the James Bay Agreement). However, on the basis of this and other historical data, Scott proposes an analysis of the historical process of the articulation of the domestic and capitalist modes in James Bay. His major contribution in this regard, is the attempt to characterize the specificity of the period ushered in after the 1930's by the emerging transfer payments and

wage labor. The decline in the traditional stability of the fur trade was offset in part by federal government transfer payments, and the increasing availability of casual wage labor. However, increased reliance upon these unreliable sources for the cash needed to purchase supplies and equipment represented a new form of vulnerability for the Cree, and trapping and subsistence production declined in some cases as a result of insufficient cash income (1979: 69). This decline in the security of the financial conditions of subsistence production did not eliminate such production, nor did it diminish the broadly shared commitment to retain a hunting way of life. Rather, in the early 1970's the Cree reaction to the announcement in 1971 of the vast James Bay Hydro-Electric Development Project was a political mobilization aimed, in large part, at protecting and improving the conditions of the subsistence production sector.

Having established the persistence of the Cree domestic mode of production, both authors identify questions for further research into the on-going stability of this articulation. Is the relative dominance of the capitalist mode of production, likely to result in an erosion of the current conditions of the domestic mode in the next few years?

Tanner directs attention to what he sees as two

forms of vulnerability. In very general terms, he suggests that the ideological conditions of reproduction of the domestic mode of production may be at risk in the case of young people:

> However, since not all young Mistassini people have abandoned the "putting out" system of trapping, it is clear that the primary cause for the shift in young people away from this economy depends on ideological and not material conditions (1979:64).

In a more specific remark, Tanner wonders whether the traditional religious belief which underlie subsistence production and redistribution are going to decline with the rise of evangelical fundamentalism in the Cree communities.

> ...we do not know if the fundamentalist converts, many of whom are members of families who are most attached to the bush sector, are abandoning their beliefs and practices any more quickly than before.

Scott, writing about the effects of the Income Security Program under the James Bay Agreement also sees several forms of ideological vulnerability. First, he asks about the collective commitment of the Cree people to protect the hunting and trapping sector through political action:

> Will the Cree people themselves continue to insist on the maintenance of a viable subsistence base, or will alternative forms of compensation be accepted? Here the balance of interest between Cree subsistence-oriented and wage-oriented sectors will be critical, as will the policies of Cree local and regional government (1979:154).

Secondly, Scott asks about changes in values concerning levels of income and consumption:

> If the economic conditions of subsistence production come to be socially devalued in relation to wage employment and to more permanent access to the conveniences of the settlement, some move out of subsistence production could follow (ibid.: 155).

In sum, against Leacock's model emphasizing the fundamental transformation of Northeastern Algonkian society and economy, Tanner and Scott have proposed a model which examines persistence. They propose a highly differentiated historical interpretation of the articulation between the Cree domestic mode of production of the larger capitalist society, and find that in the current articulation, the Cree domestic mode evidences many strengths as well as potential vulnerabilities. In suggesting that the material conditions of the subsistence sector, particularly under the new Income Security Program, are relatively secure, they direct attention to ideological factors as a key to the further persistence of the distinctive James Bay Cree economy and society.

1.2 Ideology and Modes of Production

In the regional literature concerning the James Bay Cree, the modes of production framework has been invoked in response to a reductionism, which posited the simple elimination of a non-capitalist mode of production upon

contact with capitalism. Tanner (1979) and Scott (1979) have argued that a concept of the totality of Cree economy and society as a mode of production permits an examination of the complex process of articulation, without presuming that the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production are the sole determinants. Modes of production theory is seen as a non-reductionist historical materialist theory of social totalities. Following a brief exposition of the general aspects of the theory, the concept of ideology within modes of production theory will be examined in several major aspects.

Generally speaking, modes of production theory derives from an attempt to refine the epistemological foundation of historical materialism (Althusser 1979, Althusser and Balibar 1979) while broadening its conceptual armature to encompass the analysis of non-capitalist societies, including those long studied by anthropologists (Godelier 1977, Meillassoux 1964, Rey 1971, Terray 1972).[3]

More specifically, this perspective posits a particularly complex concept of contradiction and causality within the social whole. According to a premise of "relative autonomy", no instance can be reduced to an epiphenomenon of the others, each must be analyzed for its specific effects. In particular, politics and ideology are not mere reflections of

economic practices (Althusser and Balibar 1979). Concurrently, the levels or instances of a mode of production are seen as mutually influencing one another: Althusser terms this relationship "overdetermination" (1979), while Godelier conceives a similar relationship under the concept termed "structural causality" (1970). And finally, the form of contradiction and causality between instances is differentiated through the use of the concepts of "dominance" and "determination in the last instance" (Althusser and Balibar 1979:216-224, Godelier 1978). In these terms, it is possible that in some modes of production, religion or politics dominates inasmuch as this level of practice gives overt form to the society, while the economic level of practices retains the longer term and qualitatively stronger form of determination.[4]

Transposed to the question of relations between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production, these concepts of complexity of causality give rise to several theories of articulation. For example, Terray (1972) reexamined Meillassoux's Gouro ethnography (1964), offering a preliminary method for the identification of the relations of domination between modes of production. Sharply criticized for a concept of modes of production founded solely on the basis of differences in productive forms (Godelier 1978:764-5, O'Laughlin 1975), Terray's method, including the suggestion that the theoretical

relations between two modes can be deduced from the identification of the dynamics of each mode separately, has not been influential.

More influential has been Laclau's (1979) challenge of the dependency theory orthodoxy that only capitalism has existed in Latin American since early in the Spanish period. Drawing the distinction between capitalist relations of production, and an economic system dominated by capitalist relations, but in which other relations of production co-exist, Laclau argued that in order to avoid the failings of economic dualism, one was not obliged to ignore the importance of non-capitalist forms of production.

In these two instances, conceptual distinctions within modes of production theory have been employed to sharpen the analysis of diversity. Other theorists have directed attention to identifying historically differentiated processes of articulation between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production.

Rey's attempt to periodize the history of articulation between West African non-capitalist modes of production and the capitalism of the colonial regimes (1973) has been positively received (Foster-Carter 1978). Along a similar line, Bradby (1978) has identified a diverse range of internal dynamics for capitalist expansion as the basis of a historically differentiated

theory of articulation (cf. Wolpe 1978).[5]

In both cases, the effect is to emphasize the historical diversity of the process of articulation, a process which defies reduction to the simple destruction - or maintenance- of non-capitalist forms in the "interest of capital." As Wolpe suggests, the persistence of non-capitalist forms is often the "effect of struggle of agents organized under differentiated relations and forces of production" (ibid.: 40).

The concept of ideology in historical materialist analysis has generally been associated with a notion of distortion of awareness in the interests of a dominant class, more especially with the symbolic representation of wages as equal exchange for labor power. However, since at least Lenin, ideology has also been conceived as the world view of a class, connoting instead the notion of ideas which mobilize action, without particular reference to the problem of distortion, as for example in the notion of "proletarian ideology". Following Larrain, these can be distinguished as negative and positive concepts of ideology respectively (1979:13). However, within modes of production theory, the conceptualization of ideology takes a different emphasis, generally more concerned with the relation of ideology to other practices within the social whole.[6]

In modes of production theory, the concept of

ideology may first be located by reference to the concepts of complex causality. The concept of relative autonomy leads to rejection of a reflectionist view in which ideology is a mechanical symbolic inversion of class interest as defined in economic practices. Furthermore, the concept of overdetermination requires that the specific effect of ideology be discovered within the ensemble of practices of a mode of production or in the complex relations of articulation between two modes. As Godelier has demonstrated convincingly, religion and kinship dominate in some non-capitalist modes of production by "function[ing] directly and internally as a relation of production" (1978:765). In a very similar fashion, Tanner's exposition of religious belief and ritual demonstrates that religious ideology defines the role of talleymen in mediating access to the land and concurrently the obligation of all hunters to redistribute parts of the fruit of their hunt (1979).

The function of ideology is further specified as the reproduction of relations of production - even when these are exploitative - through symbolic representation of the predominant relations of production as "natural" (Godelier 1971) or as an "obviousness" (Althusser 1971:172). Attention is directed here to the seeming paradox by which exploitative relations of production are reproduced without recourse to violent force; ideology appears as a mechanism of self-subjection

(Althusser 1971, Godelier 1978). Althusser proposes the formula of interpellation to conceive this process: "Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects" (1971:170). Stated another way, an individual's subjectivity derives from the ensemble of practices in a social whole, and contradiction and change derive from the social whole, not from individual consciousness. Finally, in positing this very broad role for ideology, Althusser is led to suggest that in the capitalist mode of production, the schools play a particularly important role in reproducing the relations of production, a role which obviates the need for the exercise of coercive, or repressive state power (ibid.: 152-157).

This attempt to conceptualize ideology and its function for the social whole has clearly functionalist overtones. Laclau, however, argues that so long as the presumption is not made that only the dominant ideology exists, then the concept of interpellation can be useful in analysis (1979). He reinserts the notion of contradiction and struggle into the concept of ideological interpellation. In his view, an ideology of the dominated sectors of society can interpellate individuals into a stance of resistance, in the same way that the dominant ideology interpellates them into a stance of acquiesence. More important for the present study, Laclau suggests that the process of interpellation serves to condense many ideological elements

into a relatively unified subjectivity which forms the ground for action (ibid.: 102).

In short, the concept of ideology in modes of production theory proposes several analytic propositions:

1. The process of articulation between modes of production is the result of an ensemble of relations, including ideological practices. The mutual relations between practices must be discovered.

2. Ideological practices are reflected in individual subjectivities, so that in individuals' expressions of their sense of commitment can be seen the workings of ideology in reproducing relations of production.

3. In an articulation with a capitalist mode of production, it can be presumed that the school plays a major role in the extension and reproduction of capitalist relations of production.

1.3. Problem and Method in the Field Study.

The abstract question of ideology and the persistence of a dominated mode of production was reframed for field research as a question of the factors influencing livelihood commitments among the contemporary James Bay Cree. Livelihood commitment, in this sense, corresponds with the notion of ideologically constituted subjectivity, and it is this "sense of self" as Cree, or as a hunter, or as a worker, which is seen to form the basis of acquiescence or resistance to the domination of the capitalist mode of production and the erosion of the Cree domestic mode.

The Cree, through their political and administrative efforts during the period leading to the signing of the James Bay Agreement had clearly demonstrated a commitment to maintain the conditions of the subsistence sector. Scott's (1979) research showed that the Income Security Program had effectively reinforced the financial security of this sector of the local economy. Assuming that the material conditions of the domestic mode of production were secure, what remained unclear was whether that sense of commitment was being reproduced broadly throughout the community. What range of factors compels some young people towards a commitment to the hunting and trapping way of life while others seek wage work? Does increased schooling, for example, consistently diminish the likelihood that a young adult will undertake a commitment to the hunting sector?

The research designed to address this question sought two kinds of information. On the one hand, information was needed identifying the availability of various livelihoods, and the proportions of the population involved in each. If this information supplied a picture of the context of livelihood decisions, in-depth interviews on schooling and livelihood were seen as a means of learning about the substantive factors entering into these commitments.

A two month field project to gather this information

was proposed in June 1979 to the Mistassini Band Council with the hope that this information could be incorporated into a Human Resources Survey which the Band contemplated conducting. In addition to the possibility of contributing to the Band's research efforts, this community was chosen for the considerable diversity of schooling and wage labor experience among its members. However, the very high volume of research associated with the implementation of the James Bay Agreement led the Mistassini Band Council to reject participation in any additional research.

Another possibility emerged for fieldwork on the same topic in the much smaller and more isolated community of Nemaska. Discussions with the chief, followed by his discussing the matter in a Band Meeting, resulted in permission to conduct this project in Nemaska during August and September 1979. The Band asked, however, that interviewing be limited to a sample of the community, not exceeding 25-30 people. Moreover, it was agreed that informants would be paid a small honorarium for their efforts. Finally, the Band was concerned that the results of the research be made available to them, and accordingly, I returned briefly in August 1980 to submit a preliminary version of analysis.

During the six weeks of fieldwork in 1979, data were collected from several sources. Data on age,

schooling level and livelihood experience for the whole active population was provided by a Band official. While it must be pointed out that except for age, this information was based on his personal knowledge, it was not possible to institute a comprehensive survey of the population on these topics. Moreover, since Nemaska is a small community, the knowledge of the band officials is extremely reliable. By cross-checking data collected in this way with information from the 30 interviews, it was possible to establish an error rate of less than 5% (4 of 90 instances).

In order to identify the factors which individuals saw as influencing their livelihood commitments, lengthy interviews were conducted with 30 people, representing 29% of the active population. The topics covered included early experiences in the bush, schooling and recent employment and hunting. Interviews were conducted through translators for uni-lingual informants, or in 8 of the 30 cases. The choice of informants was influenced by two factors. Given a limited number of interviews, I wanted to concentrate on the younger age cohorts who presumably had been exposed to a greater diversity of influences concerning their livelihood commitments. Secondly, it was not always possible to conduct interviews with the people whom I asked, a not surprising difficulty in a short period of fieldwork. As a result, the interviews were predominantly conducted

with males, and predominately in the 25-34 age category, as shown in Appendix 1. While this is partially defensible on the grounds that the greatest diversity of livelihood commitments occurs among just this cohort, it does imply that patterns for some of the smaller sectors of the population are inferred from only a few interviews.

Finally, from participating in the everyday life at Nemaska for six weeks it was possible to learn a great deal about the social processes in the community. With religious services, band meetings, bear feasts, the life of a small community is extremely rich. Moreover, it was often the unhurried conversations sitting on the bank of the lake in the evening which provided, in the end, the most sensitive insights into the broader question of community commitment to the hunting and trapping way of life. The beginning of the Cree Construction Corporation housing construction project in August provided the special opportunity to observe social relations in the workplace. Of particular interest in this regard were patterns of delegation of responsibility and exercise of supervisory responsibility.

The methods of analysis of field data reflected in the present version of this thesis differ significantly from those used during an earlier version, largely the result of a shift away from an overly abstract application of the theory to an attempt to more conscientiously

and more holistically examine the field material itself. While modes of production analysis has both a side which is given over to the celebration of elaborate concepts, and a side which calls for the analysis of concrete diversity as an antidote to reductionism, it was the former which, unproductively, governed the early period of analysis.

Upon returning from the field, a preliminary analysis was conducted using the following method. First, presuming a simple opposition between the interpellation of hunters and that of workers, the interview material was examined to identify the ideological themes in the remarks by these two groups. Next, these elements were rated for their correspondence to one or the other mode of production. For example, the aspiration for a high level of schooling was seen as incompatible with a commitment to hunting, as was the desire for a high level of consumer goods and conveniences. Conversely, poor workplace discipline, expressed by leaving jobs early to go visit family for example, was considered incompatible with the commitment to working. Relations of ideological incompatibility between the two modes of production were then identified on the basis of the consonance and dissonance between ideological elements and position in relations of production within the interview remarks of each individual. The presence among hunters of ideological elements judged more appropriate to the wage

sector was considered evidence of contradictions potentially eroding the commitment to the subsistence sector.

The results of this analysis were not very satisfactory. It was possible only to say that aspiration for high levels of schooling appeared to challenge the reproduction of the commitment to hunting, that the desire for increased levels of consumer goods was not prevalent among hunters, and that Nemaska workers retained a sense of commitment to their community and family, which in many instances made them unreliable as wage laborers. But little in the way of a conclusion emerged concerning the stability or vulnerability of the domestic mode of production due to the effects of ideological practices. These were the observations offered to the Band Council in August 1980. While they were graciously received, I was disappointed to have not come to a more definitive understanding of the processes of persistence and change.

On reflection, this form of analysis rested on three untenable assumptions, all of which proceed from an overly abstract appreciation of the issues involved. First, ideological elements and forms of production were assumed to be mechanically associated: thus hunters were expected to display a hunter ideology and workers a wholly different one. This is particularly unreasonable

in the case where many adults both hunt and work, for clearly there had to be some condensation into a whole, an interpellated subjectivity, even in these cases. Secondly, the assumption was made that the two modes of production founded a simple duality between hunters and workers, when a more concrete analysis revealed that not all wage labor is conducted in enterprises governed by capitalist relations of production. The fact that Cree agencies and enterprises provide the vast majority of wage employment in the community calls for a more differentiated view of the simple category of worker, in this articulation. Finally, the problem of ideology is not a whole problem, except as it is analytically excised from the ensemble of relations between the two modes. The tendency to erosion or persistence of Cree domestic relations of production derives from the changing configuration of economic, political and ideological practices, as posited in the notion of overdetermination.

Where the initial analysis had foundered on too abstract a conceptualization of the relation of position to ideology and hunter to worker, the recognition of the important differences between the various forms of wage labor opened the door to an analysis based on the diversity of the positions in production. A less mechanistic appreciation of the relation of position and ideology led to a more holistic, thematic review of the

interview material regarding livelihood commitments. And a more concrete appreciation of the implications of the concept of overdetermination led to a more careful reflection on the relations between ideological and other practices in the current articulation.

The results of this revised analysis are presented in the following progression. Chapter Two discusses the Nemaska Labor Force, its age, language, and schooling characteristics, as well as its livelihood, or occupational, distribution. A brief review of developmental trends in each sector is included. Chapter Three then examines the factors which, in interviews, emerge as influences in the livelihood commitments of the active population. These factors are considered as forming two types - those influencing the collective commitment of the community and those influencing the individual commitments of the Band members. Chapter Four concludes the field study by analyzing the field data for an understanding of the role of ideology in the stability of the domestic mode of production at Nemaska. In the final chapter, the discussion steps back from this case study to reflect on the broader topic of the adequacy of theory and method in the analysis of persistence and transformation among the James Bay Cree.

Chapter Two: The Nemaska Labor Force

2.1. Population and Age Structure

The Nemaska Band has historically been the smallest of the Cree communities on the east side of James Bay. Although the region surrounding Lake Nemiscau[7], roughly 160 kilometers upriver from Rupert House on the Rupert River, has long been home to a recognized group, there has not always been a settlement by this name. A French trading post at this site during the first half of the 18th century, represented the northernmost extent of the fur trade operated out of the St. Lawrence Valley. After the fall of the French in 1760, the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to extend its influence inland. As part of the larger project of establishing a post at Mistassini, successfully accomplished in 1790, the Company experimented with a number of inland posts, among them a post operating at Nemiscau from 1794-1809 (Davies and Johnson 1963: 298). However, it appears that these intermediary posts were not productive, and the Company relied on the canoe brigades traversing the Nemiscau region to bring in furs for most of the 19th century. Only in 1905, under the renewed competition from the Revillon Freres of Paris, did the Hudson's Bay Company reopen a post at Nemiscau. This post remained active through most of the century, until it was closed in 1970.

Population figures from the middle of this century, shown in Table 1, demonstrate that this has been a very small community indeed, comprising perhaps as few as 15 households in the early 1950's, and only 37 in 1979.

The pattern of growth of the Nemaska population has been erratic over the past quarter century. Although the most important influence on this population was the abandonment of the Lake Nemiscau settlement in 1970 and 1971, the growth pattern during the preceding decade was irregular as well. While the Nemaska population grew at a net annual rate of 4.7% from 1954 to 1961 and 2.61% from 1961 to 1965, the population scarcely grew during the five years preceding the move away from Lake Nemiscau. From 1965 to 1970, the population grew at an annual rate of only 0.57%. While more detailed information would be necessary to establish the relative importance of natural increase as against migration in this pattern, the size of the cohort born during the 1960's suggests that it was migration, rather than declining fertility, which is responsible for the diminishing growth rate during the late 1960's.

After 1970, the Band registry figures in Table 1 are a poor reflection of population size, since most of the Nemaska Band transferred membership to either Mistassini or Rupert House. Only in 1978, when 140 people moved to the new Nemaska settlement on Champion Lake,

does the Band re-emerge as a residential unit. Later that year, the Nemaska Relocation Coordinator identified the Nemaska population as comprising 256 people who had declared their intent to re-locate to the new site. Taking this figure as the basis of an assessment of population growth, it can be suggested that from 1970 to 1979, the identifiable Nemaska population continued to grow at a rate of 4.65% annually. In the summer of 1979, when this fieldwork was undertaken, 188 people were residing at Champion Lake, among whom 100 make up the active population.[8]

The age structure of the resident 1979 population, shown in Table 2, shows a relatively young population in which males slightly outnumber females, for a sex ratio of 1.14. This age distribution is instructive in several respects. In the first place, the relatively high proportion of young people argues against the inference that decreased fertility was responsible for the slow growth in the late 1960's. The mean age for males is 22.7, while that of females is 21.0, but when median ages are used, the youthful characteristic of the population is even more pronounced. Half of the males in Nemaska are 18 years of age or less, while half of the females are 17 years of age or less.

Another striking feature of the age structure, noted by the James Bay Environmental and Social Impact Review Panel (hereafter Review Panel) is the very small

number of people aged 35-49 (1979: 38). Although again it is not possible to establish the role of out-migration in this respect, historical evidence suggests that the 1930's, during which people of this cohort were born, was a period of very few births. This was the era of the collapse of the beaver population and the provincial moratorium on all beaver trapping in the James Bay region (Tremblay 1959). While the Beaver Preserve system instituted at this time successfully reestablished the beaver populations, the period is remembered by the older people in the community as a time of real hardship. It would appear that one of the consequences was a diminished birth rate, at least until 1944.

A third inference may be drawn from the age structure. Judging from the size of the cohort of 5-15 year olds, it can be assumed that the active population, or those aged 15-64, will grow by at least 43% over the next decade. This assumes that 54 young people will enter the present active population of 100, while 11 people currently aged between 55 and 64 years, will attain retirement age. This increase will have many implications for the livelihood structure at Nemaska over the next decade.

In sum, then, the Nemaska Band population appears to have grown very slowly during the 1930's and at an accelerated pace from the late 1940's to the mid-1960's.

The net growth rate slowed markedly during the years immediately preceding the abandonment of old Nemiscau, but picked up sharply during the years spent by band members in Rupert House and Mistassini. From the size of the resident population in 1979 and the larger size of the band membership which intends to move to the new site, it can be assumed that this community will continue to grow relatively rapidly. The Review Panel concurs in the estimate that the Band will attain "300 by 1985 and between 330-350 by 1988" (Nemaska Band 1978, cited in Review Panel 1979: 43).

2.2 Schooling and Language Ability.

Formal schooling was introduced in Nemiscau during the 1960's as a summer school offered by a resident missionary. Also during this decade, the Indian Affairs Bureau began to arrange for the attendance by Nemaska children at residential schools run by the Department, especially the Moose Factory school. In the mid-1960's many of these students were transferred to the new residential school at LaTuque, Quebec. And during the decade of the 1970's access to formal schooling became general as the Band members resided in Mistassini and Rupert House. During the decade and a half in which schooling has been available, the proportion of Nemaska Band members with formal schooling has increased rapidly.

From a mere handful of individuals with any exposure to formal schooling in the mid-1960's, nowadays, as shown in Table 3, only 28% of the population lacks formal schooling. Just over a third (34%) have attended only primary school, and 29% have attended through secondary school. A small number of people, amounting to 5% of the active population, are still in secondary school, while 4% have attended post-secondary school. Patterns of schooling differ slightly among males and females. While a higher proportion of females have no schooling experience (32.6% : 24.1%), more females have reached secondary or post secondary schooling (39.1% : 36.9%). This suggests that while women are slightly less likely to have entered school, once there, they were slightly more likely to continue through to high school.

As formal schooling is a relatively recent introduction, most of the elderly people have no exposure to school, while the average level of schooling tends to increase with each younger cohort. Table 4 displays the correlation of age and schooling level for the active population considered in 4 age cohorts. The proportion of the cohort without schooling, is 100% for the 45+ group, 36.4% for the 35-44 category, 14.3% for the 26-35 category and only 2.5% for the 15-25 cohort. Conversely, the proportion with secondary schooling increases with each younger cohort: from 0% among the eldest cohort, to 9.1% among those 36-44 years old, 42.9% among the 26-35

year olds, and 50% (including secondary students) among the 15-25 year olds.

Bilingualism (Cree-English) has, of course, increased alongside increased levels of schooling. And while Cree remains the language most commonly heard in Nemaska, across all ages and in all settings, a vast majority of the community is now bilingual. As shown in Table 5, 71% of the Nemaska population is considered functionally bi-lingual, while 27% are unilingual Cree speakers. A small proportion of the Band, 2%, is also fluent in French. The proportions differ only slightly between males and females: 76.4% of males, but 68.9% of females are bilingual. Moreover, as schooling levels decrease with age, so does bilingualism. Thus, as Table 6 shows, Only a handful of people above 35 years of age are bilingual, while only a handful below this age are unilingual Cree speakers. The very limited occurrence of tri-lingualism in Nemaska drives from the recent transfer of a Cree, French and English speaking couple raised outside the region. They are in the 25-34 age cohort.

For comparative purposes, LaRusic's data for the neighboring Waswanipi Cree in 1968 are useful. He found that only 39.2% of this community was functionally bi-lingual in Cree and English, while an additional 4% spoke French (1968: 33). As Nemaska was a great deal more isolated than Waswanipi, it is likely that in 1968 the number of Nemaska English speakers was even lower. If

this is so, then the increase in bilingualism has been truly dramatic.

2.3 The Livelihood Structure

2.3.1 Analytic Perspectives.

The simple distinction of hunters and workers appears at face value to neatly reflect the distinction between a Cree communal mode of production and the capitalist mode of production of the encapsulating Euro-canadian society. Contemporary hunting, as Scott (1979) and Tanner (1979) have shown, is largely organized around communal relations of production in which access to land is widely shared and food from the harvest is re-distributed within and between communities.[9] At the other end of the spectrum, Cree adults who work in the resource extractive industries, such as timber and mining, work in capitalist relations of production: they have no tie to the means of production, and the value they produce accrues to the owners of these means, except for the portion returned to the worker as wages. What, then, to make of the substantial portion of Nemaska Cree wage employment which takes place in the context of Band administered programs and Cree Regional Authority agencies? Although as wage labor, these positions superficially resemble capitalist relations of production,

there is no appropriation of surplus value from workers by non-workers. These agencies and enterprises are funded through government subsidies and the monetary benefits negotiated under the James Bay Agreement. Even the Cree enterprises, such as Cree Construction, are run on a non-profit basis, and no private capital accumulates.

The middle sector comprising the Cree agencies and enterprises, must, as a result be held analytically distinct. Collapsing all wage labor into a single category obscures the very important dynamic through which an increasing proportion of Nemaska Cree wage labor is not under capitalist relations of production, but rather under the auspices of the Cree agency and enterprise sector.

Another analytic difficulty concerns the widespread practice of seasonal combinations of hunting and wage labor in either the Cree or the private sector. Is it possible to speak of livelihood commitments when many of the Nemaska Cree alternate seasonally between different sectors? In most cases, it is possible to identify a sense of priority in an individual's livelihood history, particularly since some seasonal undertakings, preclude others. Thus, summer wage labor does not preclude winter hunting and trapping, and people practicing this combination are presumed to be primarily committed to the hunting and trapping sector. In contrast, wage labor throughout the winter can only be undertaken at the

expense of intensive hunting and trapping. People practicing this strategy are assumed to be primarily committed to wage labor. On this basis, it is theoretically possible to identify primary commitments to the hunting sector, the Cree sector of wage labor, or the private sector of wage labor. Unfortunately, much of the information available for this analysis collapsed work experience for the past three years, during which time many individuals had worked for both the Cree sector and the private sector. As a result, it is not possible to identify a single commitment for these individuals, and they are treated separately in the following description and analysis.

Finally, this attempt to identify primary commitment on the basis of patterns of labor deployment is necessarily provisional. Expressed commitments, examined in the next chapter, also play a major role in an assessment of the likelihood that the Nemaska Cree will retain an active involvement with the hunting and trapping sector. The livelihood structure, as characterized here, gives an important reading of the possibilities for gaining a livelihood at Nemaska.

2.3.2 The Trapping and Subsistence Production Sector

In 1979, 54.6% of the resident active population at Nemaska could be classified as having a primary commitment to hunting as a livelihood. As shown in Table 7,

this can be broken down to three subcategories. Hunters who take no summer employment represent 22.7% of the population, while those taking summer work under Cree agency or enterprise auspices make up another 18.5%. Those hunters who have taken summer work in the past three years in both the Cree and the private wage sector comprise 13.4% of the total.

When age is taken into consideration, Table 8, hunters are seen to predominate in all but the 25-34 year old cohort. They make up 88.2% of those over the age of 45, 77.7% of the small group of residents between 35 and 44 years of age, and 53% of those between 15 and 24 years of age.

When livelihood is distributed by education, as in Table 9, it is clear that hunters have generally lower levels of education than do non-hunters. Among hunters, 48% have no formal schooling, 30% have primary schooling and 22% have gone as high as secondary schooling.

Within the subgroups making up hunters, the people who have hunting as their only form of livelihood differ rather strikingly from the others, with additional differences between males and females. Among males, the hunters who do not work are all over 53 years of age, while females in this livelihood category range in age from 15-64. As for level of education, 77.3% of those who hunt as their exclusive source of livelihood have no

formal schooling; among males this it true for all members, while there are a handful of females who have primary schooling and one case in which a woman with secondary schooling still pursues only hunting as a livelihood. In contrast, the hunters who combine seasonal work range more widely in age and have sharply higher levels of schooling. In this group 27.6% are without formal schooling while 38.4% have primary and 34% have attended through secondary schooling.

Beyond these measures of the hunting proportion of the Nemaska population and certain of their characteristics, secondary sources provide additional insight into the recent patterns of participation and intensity of production in the subsistence sector.

Reporting for the recent past, the Review Panel found that 18 traplines were used by Nemaska band members, although 2 lines were in the process of being consolidated, leaving a total of 16 (1979: 65). Between 75-88% of these lines were reported to have been used during the past several years, even though the hunters were residing outside of the vicinity (ibid.). The hunting population was estimated at 30-40 hunters and their families each year. As of the time of fieldwork in the summer of 1979, only 14 traplines were reported in use, since two traplines had recently been reclaimed by neighboring settlements after long periods during which

Nemaska hunters had frequented them. More recently, 16 Nemaska traplines are reported in use (ssDcc 1982: 244).

Another measure of the intensity of participation is found in the fact that in 1978-79, 175 people, or 70% of an estimated Nemaska Band population of 250 (not all residing at Champion Lake) were out of the settlement on the traplines for periods exceeding 90 days (ISP Annual Report 1982: 23). In fact, the average number of days spent in the bush that year was 223 per beneficiary unit (NHRC 1982: 318). In 1979-80, 166 or 80% of the estimated resident population of 200 (ISP Annual Report 1982: 23), spent periods on the traplines averaging 250 days per male head of a beneficiary unit (NHRC 1982: 318).

Interestingly, the profile of Nemaska participation differs from that of the neighboring villages and of the region as a whole. First, a considerably higher proportion of the population (80% in 1979-1980) benefits under the program in Nemaska than in neighboring Mistassini (56%) or Rupert House (37%). The Nemaska rate is almost twice the 42% which was the average for the region as a whole in 1979-80. Beneficiary units were smaller in Nemaska, averaging 2.96 members, while in Mistassini the beneficiary units averaged 4.00 members, and in Rupert House the average was 4.91. The average for the entire region was 3.71 members per unit in 1979-1980. The smaller average size in Nemaska is due to the greater

number of single member beneficiary units, as well as the generally smaller family size. The Nemaska beneficiary units averaged slightly fewer days in the bush than the region as a whole: against a regional average of 236 in 1978-79, Nemaska averaged 219, while Rupert House averaged only 151, and Mistassini, with an average of 256, was the highest in the region (NHRC 1982: 318).

Contemporary subsistence hunting is, by any measure, an extremely productive activity. For the five year period from 1974-1979, the average annual food-weight produced by all Nemaska hunters considered together was 30,018 kilograms (66,340 pounds) (NHRC 1982: 232). Of this 65% was big game, almost always moose, 16% was fur mammals, almost all beaver, 7% was fish, in which white fish were especially important, 7% small game, and 6% waterfowl (NHRC 1982: 231-232). This profile differs markedly from that of other villages in the region in the higher reliance on big game and lower dependence on waterfowl.

Expressed as a per capita average for the period from 1974-75 to 1978-79, this quantity amounts to .471 kilograms. (1.04 pounds) of meat per person per day (NHRC 1982: 232). Nemaska, in this respect, shows a higher level of production than that of Rupert House, Mistassini, and the region as a whole, with averages of .262 kilograms. (.58 pounds), .362 kilograms. (.80

pounds) and .332 kilograms.(.73 pounds) respectively.

Finally, the financial significance of the subsistence sector can be assessed in two ways. First, benefits under the Income Security Program in 1979-80 provided Nemaska beneficiaries with a total of $287,438 or $5,133 per beneficiary unit (ISP Annual Report 1982: 28). Second, although figures for individual communities were not available, for the region as a whole Income Security Benefits were estimated to represent 66.4% of the average gross annual income of beneficiary units in 1979-80 (ISP Annual Report 1982: 29). The Nemaska pattern in this regard also differs slightly from the neighboring communities and the region as a whole: smaller beneficiary unit size, and a marginally smaller number of subsidized days in the bush combine to produce a somewhat smaller average benefit level in Nemaska than in the neighboring communities. While in Nemaska the 1979-1980 average was $5,133, Mistassini units averaged benefits of $7,000 and Rupert House units average benefits of $6,380. The average for the region as a whole was $6,111 (ISP Annual Report 1982: 28).

Taken in total, these indicators document the degree to which the subsistence and trapping sector remains a highly productive activity which commands the primary commitment of a majority of the population in Nemaska. This discussion also suggests the higher dependence of the Nemaska Band on subsistence production relative to

some of the other bands whose location gives access to a greater variety of wage labor positions.

Although a detailed history of the subsistence sector in the James Bay Cree communities is beyond the scope of this discussion, nonetheless several important historical trends must be noted. Foremost among these is the fact that the current patterns of participation are quite recent and result in large part from the successful implementation of the Income Security Program of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The period from 1920 to 1970 was one in which a number of challenges came to impinge on subsistence production in the James Bay Cree region. Unified by the increasing importance of federal and provincial policy initiatives in support of the subsistence sector, the period nonetheless comprises two distinct phases.

The first phase begins in 1929 with Quebec's Order in Council prohibiting non-Indian trappers from operating north of a line of demarcation along the transcontinental railroad (Québec Official Gazette 62 (33) 1854-1855). The province was drawn to intervene by the precipitous decline in beaver populations, itself the result of many factors, including the new pressure of competition from white trappers operating in the areas opened by the railway. While Quebec's intervention was conceived primarily as a conservation initiative, it was also

an attempt to reinforce the trapping livelihood of the Indian villages by reducing outside competition for the furbearer resources.

By 1932, a longer term solution was sought, and the provincial cabinet reacted favorably to a plan devised by a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader in Rupert House (Knight 1968: 26-31, Tremblay 1959). In this plan, beaver conservation would be effected by registering traplines, which would correspond with recognized patterns of land tenure and authority in the Indian communities. Indian tallymen would be responsible to report on the beaver population on their trapline and to limit harvests to a quota set by the province. The moratorium on harvests, first set in 1927, was latter extended to all harvest of beaver, including that by the Cree. Nearly a decade transpired before beaver populations were again large enough for trapping to recommence, in most areas after the mid-1940's.

The loss of fur income was compounded by the loss of income from the canoe brigades, the Hudson's Bay Company having established alternative means of supplying its posts during the 1930's. As a minimum level of cash was necessary to purchase supplies and equipment for the winter, these losses meant a great hardship for the Cree people. The federal government responded in 1941 with the introduction of social welfare transfers. Initially, these took the form of surplus food and clothing, but

from 1946-1949 the recently enacted Family Allowance program was extended into this region (Feit 1978: 38). Even as the beaver populations improved, transfer payments remained an important source of cash for trapline necessities. Fur prices entered a steady decline after World War Two (Brochu 1971), and the sector was never again financially self-sufficient.

In this early phase, the massive challenge of increased competition and declining resources was met by provincial and federal policy initiatives which established an exclusive Cree right to harvest beaver in the region, and provided transfer payment income to support the Cree livelihood based at this time, almost exclusively on trapping and subsistence production. These initiatives, it can be seen, converged in the reinforcement of the subsistence hunting and trapping sector at a time when market forces alone would have rendered it virtually impossible to continue this livelihood.

A new phase emerged in the 1960's, however, as this relatively stable system combining transfer payments with extensive hunting and trapping was upset by new developments in the southern communities of Mistassini and Waswanipi, with ramifications which reached to Nemiscau as well. The post-war decline in fur prices obliged the Hudson's Bay Company to restrict its credit

practices. At the same time, summer employment was becoming more readily available as timber and mining operations were established in the southern periphery of the region (Feit 1978: 40). Pressures to find cash for outfitting expenses led to a partial turn to seasonal wage labor, and in some cases year round employment. Although this seasonal activity did not of itself restrict trapping and subsistence production, it gave rise to a set of mutual reenforcing tendencies in that direction. Most important was the effect on the orientation of the Indian Affairs Branch personnel, who came to assume that the resource extraction sector offered the only hope of a viable economy in the region, and increasingly directed their efforts to integrating the Cree into this sector.

The most explicit of these efforts involved the encouragement to relocate to nearby, small white communities in order to obtain employment, reportedly as early as 1952 (LaRusic 1970: B-6). In 1957, the Indian Affairs Branch undertook a commercial fishery program, which if never financially viable on its own (ibid.: B-42), was seen as a means of training a skilled labor force among the Cree. Nemaska Band members were involved in this enterprise, although only for the last few years of operation, and in any event, in very small numbers (LeBuis 1971: 38).

Less explicit measures also impeded the former

ways of making ends meet. Administrative arrangements which tailored the dispersal of transfer payments to the trapping season were discontinued. As a result, trappers were obliged to return to the post each month, or forego either trapping or the transfer payments.

These changes had important ramifications for the Hudson's Bay Company as well, for in 1965, mounting deficits, including declining commercial sales as the people made their purchases in the larger stores of the small towns, led the Company to close its Waswanipi post, further exacerbating the dislocation experienced in that Band. By 1970, mounting deficits would lead to the closure of the Nemiscau Post as well.

In short, the decade of the 1960's saw many new challenges to the stability of the subsistence production sector. However great these challenges were, they do not appear to have substantially diminished the attraction of the hunting and trapping livelihood, for when the James Bay Hydro-electric Development was announced in 1971, subsistence production was still providing an average of 50% of all food consumed in the region (Salisbury et al. 1972a, 1972b). Not suprisingly, the major goal of the Cree strategy in response to the James Bay Project, was to protect the hunting and trapping livelihood.

Legal proceedings were undertaken to stop the project until Cree rights to the land were taken into

account. A complex series of judgements in November 1973 first granted and then suspended an injunction halting the construction work (Malouf 1973, Owen et al. 1974). Negotiations were undertaken in 1974, resulting finally, in the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in November 1975 (Anonymous 1975, see also Richardson 1975, LaRusic et al 1979: ii-iv, 161-178).

The central importance accorded subsistence production is reflected in four major sections of the agreement. The Land Regime provides an extensive right of preferential access to lands for Cree hunters, although exclusive rights of access are limited to a relatively small proportion of the total. The Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Regime establishes a system of priority for Cree subsistence harvest, including an elaborate system of Cree participation in wildlife management decisions. Provisions for environmental assessment and review provide an avenue for the protection of wildlife habitat. And finally, the Income Security Program for Cree Hunters and Trappers provides for a continuing subsidy to reinforce the stability of this sector (Feit 1979, LaRusic 1978).

Implementation of the Income Security Program has contributed in important ways to the current strength of the subsistence hunting and trapping sector. The injection of funds through this program reached

$5,120,687 in 1979-1980 (ISP Annual Report 1982: 28), with far-reaching social effects. Among the most important, Scott points to increased participation of women and children in the winter trapping camps, with all that this implies for the transmission of skills and values (1979: 101-103). Secondly, equipment has been sharply upgraded, including a much wider use of ski-doos (ibid.: 117). And finally, the Income Security Program subsidy has made possible some redistribution of effort so that distant traplines, for which higher costs meant diminished use, are again being harvested regularly (ibid.: 114).

This brief review serves to emphasize the many changes in the subsistence sector over the preceding half century. The strains of the 1930's were effectively offset through the provincial and federal policies of beaver preserves and social aid respectively. By the 1960's a much more complicated set of forces were involved, as Cree society and economy was further integrated into a regional economy lead by growth in the resource extraction sector. However, these challenges too, were largely overcome, this time through the complex protections provided under the James Bay Agreement.

Although definitive measures of the future of this sector are not possible, several major influences can be identified at present. First, the provisions which establish the Income Security Program include a ceiling

on the total subsidy to be paid under the program. This means that at a certain level of participation, both in number of participants and their length of time in harvesting each year, no further subsidy will be available. The 1981-82 season saw the level of participation approach this threshold (ssDcc 1982: 243). When the original limit was met in the second year of operation of the program, it was renegotiated sharply upward without difficulty (Feit, in press). Secondly, the limited number of traplines suggests that at some point new entrants into subsistence production will not find land available, although this appears to be less of a problem at Nemaska, than at neighboring communities (ssDcc 1982: 244). Third, the biological productivity of the Nemaska region places a constraint on subsistence harvests, although this threshold is a matter of many interacting factors. Wildlife species go through cyclic variations in population level, and human use varies in the relative emphasis place upon various species.[10]

The fourth, and perhaps most important single factor is the projected impacts of the Nottaway-Broadback-Rupert (NBR) phase of the James Bay Hydro-electric Project, now slated to start sometime in the last decade of this century. This phase involves major alterations in the drainages of the three southern watersheds of James Bay, including diversion of the Broadback River into the Rupert, alterations to Waswanipi and Mistassini Lakes, to

serve as upriver reservoirs, and a smaller series of storage reservoirs along the Rupert River.

When this project is undertaken, the impacts of flooding will be especially severe along the Nemaska traplines. Flooding in excess of 2% of the surface area is estimated to reduce beaver and moose populations by 50%; of 16 Nemaska traplines, 10 or 62% will sustain damage of this magnitude (ssDcc 1982: 247-248). While remedial efforts might diminish some of the effects, the eventual effects of the NBR project on subsistence production will be severe indeed, a fact not lost on many of the hunters in the community, as will be seen in interview comments.

However, the timing of the project is a major variable, which cannot at present be reliably projected. The NBR project has been modified and its schedule set back several times, so the current estimates may reflect optimism on the part of the planners. Under present projections, the project will commence in 1993, with half of the loss to flooding occurring by the year 2000 and the rest shortly thereafter.

The subsistence sector has, during the past half century absorbed far more in the way of transformation than many thought possible. This alone invites caution in projecting the future of this sector, despite the very real challenges raised by the NBR project.

2.3.3 Cree Agencies and Enterprises.

If hunting and trapping remain the primary commitment of the slight majority of the active population in Nemaska, one is nonetheless struck by the high proportion of wage employment generated through Band and Cree Regional Authority administration and programs. The list in Table 10 suggests the wide variety of positions now operating under Cree auspices.

In 1979, 40.2% of the resident Nemaska population were nonhunters working for wages most or all of the year. This group included a large proportion, 13.4% of the total population, which worked exclusively for Cree agencies and enterprises. And as shown on Table 7, an even larger proportion, 21.5% of the total population, worked in both the Cree agency and the private sector over the preceding three years. Assuming for the sake of argument that half of the individuals in the ambivalent category manifest a primary commitment to the Cree sector, then this category would make up 24.1% of the total active population. Even this proportion understates the case for the recent past, as discussion of wage earning opportunities at Champion Lake will show.

In terms of distribution by age, shown in Table 8, non-hunters, predominate in only the 25-34 age range, where they comprise 64.3% of the cohort. Otherwise,

nonhunters make up a quite small proportion of the two eldest cohorts, 11.8% and 22.2% respectively, while nearly having parity with hunters among the youngest cohort, where they constitute 47%. Commitments to the Cree sector outweigh commitments to the private sector when both are found in a cohort. All of the small group of nonhunters in the eldest cohort, amounting to 11.8%, work for Cree administered programs, while 14.3% of the large 25-34 year old cohort, and 20.6% of the youngest cohort do so. However, in all but the eldest cohort, a lack of firm commitment to either sector characterizes an even larger proportion. All nonhunters in the 35-44 cohort, 39.4% of the 25-34 cohort, and 20.6% of the 15-24 year olds have worked in both the Cree and the private sector in recent years. This distribution suggests that except for the eldest cohort, in which schooling and language ability constrains wage work, non-hunters are most likely to combine work in both the Cree and the private sector, followed by the likelihood of a commitment to the Cree sector.

As for schooling, as shown in Table 9, nonhunters generally average much higher levels than hunters: while 48% of hunters had no formal schooling, only 7.9% of nonhunters lack schooling of any sort. The levels of education among those workers committed to the Cree sector differ very slightly from those who have taken wage employment in both the Cree and the private sector.

Among the former, 15.4% have no schooling, 23.1% have primary schooling, 46.1% have secondary schooling, and 15.4% have post-secondary schooling. Among the workers who are not committed to either sector, only 5% lack formal schooling, 45% have primary schooling, 40% secondary, and 10% have some post-secondary education. Schooling levels alone do not seem to distinguish between these two categories.

The rise of what is termed here Cree sector employment is of fairly recent date. Using the livelihood distribution among the neighboring Waswanipi in 1968 for comparison, only a single form of employment of this sort was found: the Indian Affairs Branch commercial fishing project on Waswanipi and later Matagami Lakes. As noted in Table 11, this form of wage employment engaged 27.4% of the Waswanipi Band on a seasonal basis, In contrast, combining the proportion of the 1979 Nemaska Band which works seasonally or year-round in Cree agencies and enterprises, including half of the portion of the population which works in both Cree and private sector positions, the Cree sector provides the employment for an estimated 49.5% of the population.

Another way of assessing the importance of employment of this sort is to identify the sources of employment for the Nemaska Band since the move to Champion Lake, a task made possible by a very lengthy

interview graciously given by a former Chief (Interview Notes, August 13, 1979).

From February 1978 to August 1978, and again during the period from October 1978 to July 1979, the Nemaska Band administered Canada Works programs. Both projects worked on clearing the planned access road to the community as well as clearing and improving the site of the new settlement. In the first case 18 employees were hired, while during the second project 11 people were employed. From June to September 1979, 4 students were employed in a Summer Student Program administered by the Band, and during the same period a joint project of Canada Manpower and the Cree School Board trained and employed 16 Nemaska women in a handicraft sewing course. In aggregate these Band administered programs provided an estimated 1,252 man-weeks of employment and an estimated $153,400 in wages during the first two years of settlement at Champion Lake.

In June 1979, the Cree Housing Corporation began the preliminary work for a large-scale housing construction project in Nemaska (and all other Cree communities). During the early part of the summer 27 men were employed for a relatively short time in transporting materials from the road access staging point across Champion Lake to the the settlement. All the material needed for construction of 6 houses was transported across the lake in boats no larger than 16 foot skiffs, including

several thousand sacks of cement. Beginning August 8, 1979 the bulk of the housing materials arrived by truck to the staging point and the housing construction began in earnest. From the boat and hauling crew, to the later addition of excavation crews, carpentry crews, and cement crews, the project built up in scale until by the end of August an estimated 40 males in the community were employed on the housing construction.

Band administration employed 3 people and local administration of regional programs employed 1 person in Nemaska.

The only significant exception to this pattern of almost exclusive Band administered employment at Nemaska was a group of 6 young men who worked as laborers at the Nemaska Sub-station of the James Bay Hydro-electric Project, located some 15 miles further down the road which gives access to Champion Lake. These men were employed for approximately 12 weeks after June 1978, for an estimated total of 72 man weeks of employment.

Less striking examples of private sector wage employment include a local resident who manages the Hudson's Bay Company store in Nemaska and two residents who operated a number of small entrepreneurial undertakings, from hauling supplies by truck from Matagami to selling drums of gas and tanks of propane in the village.

In short with the exceptions of the employment for 6 men at the Hydro Project substation, and the resident Hudson's Bay Company manager, all wage employment since settlement at the Champion Lake site has been under the auspices of Cree agencies. This points to the fact that the relocation to Champion Lake was undertaken with full recognition that most wage employment would have to be provided by the Cree Regional Authority and the Band. In fact, the $3.3 million Cree Housing Corporation project for Band housing was conceived as a means of providing employment for virtually all the Cree who sought employment, until other undertakings of the CRA could come into effect to supply other forms of employment (LaRusic 1979: 69, 84-86).[11]

2.3.4 Private Sector Employment

As of 1979, the Nemaska labor force has had experience in a wide variety of positions in the private sector, predominantly in the natural resource extraction sector. The are noted in Table 10. In spite of this range of experience, however, private sector wage employment was the primary commitment of only a small number of individuals in Nemaska in 1979, representing 5.2% of the total population, as noted in Table 8. Of the larger proportion of people, 21.6% of the total, who had worked in both the Cree and the private sector during the preceding three years, it could be argued that less than

half were likely to seek out employment in the private sector on a steady basis. Private sector employment, then, is the primary commitment of perhaps 16% of the village population.

Age and schooling patterns are quite distinctive for the small portion of the population committed to private sector wage employment. All of these people are less that 34 years of age, 60% in the 25-34 age range, and 40% in the 15-24 years of age cohort, as shown in Table 8. Moreover, 4 of the 5 are female. Of this small group, 60% have secondary schooling, while the remaining 40% have primary schooling, as shown in Table 9. When the workers who have worked in both the private and the Cree sector are taken into consideration, the picture changes. Among this group, 80% are males, and 45% are in the 25-34 years of age cohort, while 35% are in the 15-24 year old cohort and the remainder (20%) are 35 years of age or older. The education levels of these workers with experience in both sectors differs little from that of their counterparts working exclusively in the private sector. Among the former, 45% have primary schooling, 40% have secondary and 10% have post-secondary. A single individual in this group has no formal schooling. Among the private sector workers, as noted, 60% have schooling through the secondary level, while the remainder have been to primary school.

A comparison of the current range of job experience demonstrated in Table 10, with that found in Waswanipi in 1968, Table 11, draws attention to several important dynamics in the evolution of the Cree response to private sector wage labor.

Since the demise in the 1930's of the canoe brigades, arguably the first wage labor among the Nemaska Cree, participation in wage labor was extremely rare until quite recently. Although the total range of types of employment experienced by the Nemaska Cree is fairly diverse, most of this is of very recent date, and most of it occurred in the southern periphery of the James Bay Cree region, during the 7-8 year period when the majority of the community resided in Mistassini. Thus, while the breadth of experience represented in this list of jobs is important, it would be misleading to assume that the same range of opportunities remains available in the Champion Lake settlement. This point is particularly important in the category of private natural resource development jobs, the sector to which most attention was devoted in the analyses of the late 1960's (ie. LaRusic 1969, Tanner 1968). This sector is almost exclusively limited to the southern periphery of the region, and participation by Nemaska Band members dates predominantly from the period of residence in Mistassini. An important exception to this limitation is found in employment in the James Bay Hydro-electric Development Project: prior

to the abandonment of Nemiscau, and again after the resettlement to the new Champion Lake site, proximity to construction activities resulted in construction employment for a handful of Nemaska workers.

Several significant differences emerge when this portrait of employment is compared with the full range of employment experience among Cree adults in 1979. Most striking is the growth in diversity of employment experiences relative to a decade ago. The point is even more telling when it is seen that the Nemaska have generally had a great deal less exposure to wage labor than have the Waswanipi. As LeBuis noted (1971: 38), the IAB commercial fishery was the first wage labor available to Nemiscau residents since the canoe brigades. Only a handful of Nemiscau residents took part in this program, and even then, they stayed only a season or two.

Secondly, the mention of contract slashing and staking reflects a dramatic increase in workplace and entrepreneurial sophistication among several members of the Waswanipi and Mistassini Bands. These entrepreneurs undertake contracts with mining and timber companies, under which they organize their own equipment and work crews. These operations are well liked by the Cree, and the work is usually finished well ahead of schedule.

Finally, while the rise in Cree competence in the resource development sector is significant, the increase

in Cree sector employment, particularly under the Cree Administered agencies and enterprises is an even more dramatic trend. Particularly with the establishment of the full range of Cree agencies contemplated in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, and with the Cree enterprises stipulated or anticipated as a result of the compensation monies received, the predominance of employment under Band and Cree Regional Authority programs is only likely to increase. This trend, which is true for the region as a whole, is even more marked in the case of Nemaska, as can be seen in the profile of employment since the establishment of the new community. In particular, the resource development activities found in the Mistassini and Waswanipi region are unlikely in the Nemaska region for some time to come, since mining deposits are not known in this region, and timber exploitation would require construction of access roads and more favorable price conditions than have recently obtained.

Chapter Three: Factors in the Livelihood Commitments of the Nemaska Cree.

3.1. Analytic Perspectives.

In turning from consideration of the structure of opportunity to the question of factors which influence the livelihood commitments of the Nemaska workforce, an important analytic assumption is being made. The preceding review has established, I believe, the diversity of alternatives available to the Nemaska workforce as a whole, although different pressures operated differentially on some individuals within that workforce. While some, for reasons pursued in the present chapter, are more likely than others to pursue wage labor, and even wage labor under capitalist relations of production, not all of the Nemaska residents are subject to the same pressure. The mere presence of a diverse set of livelihood possibilities, then, does not explain the pressures and influences which result in the current deployment of the work force. A series of factors are at work in influencing the subjective commitments of Nemaska adults to the trapping and subsistence sector on the one hand, or the various kinds of wage labor - including non-capitalist wage-labor for Indian agencies and enterprises on the other.

The supposition embraced in this analysis, then, is that the factors influencing "subjectivities", in the sense of Althusser's usage, must be considered in

attempting to explain the present deployment of the Nemaska labor force, and in consequence the stability of the dominated Cree traditional mode of production.

Secondly, commitments are here conceived as comprising two orders. In the first instance, the community exercises, or abandons a collective commitment to the maintenance of the traditional mode of production. That is, the majority of the members might well view hunting and trapping and the associated values as a collective good to be defended, even while many individuals decline to participate in this form of production and exchange. Conversely, the collective commitment might decline leaving only an irredentist fraction of the community to defend the conditions of existence of this sector. In the first section of this chapter, the factors of community identity as reflected in the Nemaska relocation, forms of traditional authority, and traditional religious beliefs will be examined as indicators of the status of this collective commitment. As a separate matter, a number of factors, schooling, consumerism, and values in the workplace, appear to bear more directly on individual commitments. That is, even within the context of a collective commitment to the maintenance of a viable subsistence sector, a number of individuals, for these and other reasons, do not see themselves active in subsistence production.

3.2. Factors in the Collective Commitments of the Nemaska Cree

3.2.1. The Nemaska Relocation

The case of the Nemaska relocation offers an important occasion to examine the factors influencing the collective commitments of this community. Upon abandoning their traditional community on Nemiscau Lake in 1970, band members moved to either Rupert House or to Mistassini, with about half the band moving to each (Review Panel 1979: 12-13). Uncertainty about the rumored consequences of the proposed NBR project, originally slated to commence in 1971, and the closure of the Hudson's Bay Company store as a result of deficits were cited as the principal reasons for the move. Over the next five years, most Band members continued to frequent their traplines, although some took advantage of the greater availability of wage labor in these two alternative communities. As part of the discussions leading to the James Bay Agreement the Nemaska band met in Mistassini in 1974, and formulated the request to re-establish the Nemaska Band on an alternative site within its former region. In September 1977, a novel community planning exercise, the Nemaska Consult, drew over 200 residents, Cree agency personnel, and federal and provincial representatives to a week-long workshop conducted in tents at the new Nemaska site (Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec 1977).

The comments regarding the reasons for which people moved to the new site on Lake Champion are instructive, for the decision to move meant abandoning many of the more developed amenities found in Mistassini and to a slightly lesser degree, in Rupert House. In addition, these comments suggest that while the Band as a whole shared this commitment to reunite, some saw the move as resulting from a more differentiated set of motives.

The Nemaska Band Consult Report (GCCQ 1977: 11-12) emphasized that the relocation was seen by the Band members as a matter of taking their destiny into their own hands. Another source refers to the eloquence with which the Band documented its desire to rebuild in its traditional harvesting area (Review Panel 1979: 11). The sentiment of collective identity and purpose figures prominently in interview comments. The following remarks by a 32 year old man and a 79 year old man respectively were typical.

> [We moved to] be closer to traplines, and to be together with Nemaska people (Informant 12).

> The Nemaska band people had no band [before the relocation]. He likes staying in the bush, closer to the trapline (Informant 1).

Interestingly, there was some suggestion that the motivation to move was not equally shared across the age spectrum:

> ... but the first people that signed up was the old people. They were really after the

relocate (Informant 21).

> [I moved] because I'm from Nemaska Band. I wanted to stay over in Mistassini, but my father told me to stay here (Informant 8).

Finally, in addition to the positive reasons commonly mentioned, some informants (Informant 10, Informant 14) commented on the difficulties in integrating into the communities of temporary residence. Band services and amenities, particularly houses, were extended first to registered band members, rather than to the temporary Nemaska band residents.

In short, the relocation appears to have arisen from both a collective sense of identity, and a commitment to be close to the traplines. Although this sentiment was not shared equally throughout the community, it was sufficiently strong to carry even those members who, for other reasons - including the availability of wage work- might have stayed in either Mistassini or Rupert House.

3.2.2. Authority and Diverging Interests

In a suggestive remark, Scott (1979: 154) posits that one way in which the seemingly stable conditions of the subsistence sector, as established under the James Bay Agreement might decline is if the political leadership of the communities becomes filled with non-trappers who are relatively isolated from the interests and aspirations of the more traditionally oriented

members of the community. Framed another way, this asks whether the collective authority in the village might be exercised in a manner which abandons the interests of the hunter-trapper segment of the community.

As assessment of the divergence of interests in a small community and the degree to which the exercise of authority promotes, reflects or counteracts this divergence is a complex problem, beyond the methodology of this field study. However, interview comments and limited observation of local formal political processes can be taken as indicative of certain aspects of this problem.

More importantly, for the Nemaska Band, this question is not merely academic. The impending NBR project represents a case in which the possibility of negotiations between the Band and regional leadership and the developers poses precisely the sort of dilemma contemplated by Scott. In this case, the terms of the James Bay Agreement environmental and social impact review process provide an administrative procedure through which the consequences of the project for the subsistence production sector, among other concerns, are to be identified and remedial efforts specified. The issue then, is whether the Cree leadership, in participating in these deliberations will hold out for the greatest protection of the bush production sector, or whether trade-offs of new community services in exchange

for relaxed environmental standards will be considered.

LaRusic, referring to a partially analogous situation in Fort George-Chisasibi, interprets the re-negotiation of certain environmental protection provisions in exactly these terms (1979: 99-101). In return for a total commitment of $50 million on the part of the James Bay Energy Corporation and the federal government for re-location of the community, the Fort George Band agreed to the modification of two provisions. The Agreement required that the downriver generating facility, LG-1, be located at Mile 44 in an attempt to preserve the spawning grounds at Mile 23, the preferred site for this plant. Similarly, the Energy Corporation was originally required to protect the island on which Fort George was located from erosion due to the changes in the flow regime of the La Grande river brought about by the impoundment and hydro-electric generation facilities. Under the Chisasibi Agreement, the Energy Corporation is permitted to build the plant at mile 23, and the erosion control problem is eliminated by moving the community. In LaRusic's words:

> It is possible to view community improvements gained in these negotiations as being more importan to that part of the community not intensively involved in the subsistence economy, which would suggest that they have gained at the expense of the resource base of the hunters and trappers (ibid.: 102).[12]

In Nemaska, interview comments bear on this

important question in two ways. First it is apparent that the distribution of hunters and non-hunters on positions of political representation is noticed, and for some constitutes a concern. A 30 year old man spoke quite adamantly on the topic.

> But sometimes, like when they chose [the current chief] to be chief, [he] doesn't know nothing about trapping. Like when the Indian people have to speak up about trapping, [he] doesn't know about that. All he knows about is office work. In Rupert House they have a chief who knows about the bush. He speaks english very good, and writes very good. They chose the right chief. Like that man doesn't have to say to a trapper 'How am I gonna say this.' He just says it from his mouth. Sometimes the people complain about the chief. Like the man comes here to talk about the bush and some people complain why he's the chief if he can't speak up about trapping (Informant 8).

In a similar vein, a 42 year old unilingual Cree speaking man pointed out that it is not only the fact that non-hunters hold most positions; the language barrier of meetings conducted in English is also an obstacle.

> Only the young hunters are taking part in the meetings and the older hunters, who've been hunting for 20 years, they get left behind. [Should they put an older hunter on the Band Council?] Yeah, just as long as there 's a translator (Informant 21).

While the first of these views is uncommonly harsh, the second reflects a widespread concern about the process of representation. However, this concern is qualified by a very striking degree of deference to community opinion. Although many people suggest that it

would be better to have hunters included on the various political bodies, they also express a great hesitation to criticize the decision of the community as a whole in the elections. An older, unilingual man, a hunter, suggested that "the people are going to talk about it", implying in the context that the community's decision was beyond reproach (Informant 10). Similarly, a prominent elder man, often pointed to as an informal spokesman for trappers, responded to a question about the elections and trappers in the following terms:

> He was thinking about that [whether there should be a trapper elected], but they picked [the current Chief]. He wanted a trapper, but they picked [the current Chief] (Informant 9).

Finally, another elder unilingual hunter said:

> They can't say anything. they're not the guys giving them those jobs. (Informant 18).

The subjective assessment of Band members on this topic is inconsistent. While many see potential or actual difficulties in the selection of non-hunters for most political positions, generally speaking, the problems do not seem to be sufficient to rupture the collective commitment to the sovereignty of Band decisions.

In addition to the observations reported in the interviews, it was possible to make limited observations of the political process in the village. Two major band

meetings were held during my brief stay in 1979. While a thorough analysis of political processes in the village would have required a more extensive focus on this topic, the limited observations provide important clues.

On August 25, 1979 a Band Meeting was held to elect a new member to represent Nemaska on the Cree Board of Compensation, and a new Band Council member. In addition, a lengthy discussion of the housing project ensued, touching in particular on hours to be worked, rates of pay, and the effects of the housing project pay on Income Security Program payments (Field Notes, August 25, 1979).

Several features of this meeting were of interest. First in the seating arrangement, the older, unilingual Cree men sat at a central table, headed by the Chief, a man 20 years their junior. Secondly, the attendance of 35 persons was predominantly males, with only 7 females present. And while none of the women rose to address the meeting, this did not prevent them from interjecting in moments of levity with loud ripostes to the jokes made by men. Thirdly, the meeting was conducted largely in Cree, although English was prevalent in some of the discussions, and particularly when the verbal formulas relating to Robert's Rules of Order were used. This did not prevent the Chief from switching into Cree in reply to a question posed in Cree, nor did the older men hesitate to make their interventions in Cree. Finally,

the Chief's interventions were of two notable sorts. He often made comparative lengthy explanations of the issues before the Band. Though generally partially in English, in many instances these were exclusively in Cree. Also striking was the consensus building and verbal deference displayed in his interventions. In beginning the meeting, the Chief did not raise his voice to quiet the conversations and laughter as people were arriving. Instead, speaking relatively softly, he simply began to discuss the business before them, at which point other conversations quickly died out. In another example; following a question about whether nominations were finished after a single name had been mentioned, the Chief said: "It's up to you. If you feel you don't want to have another election." After a call for a show of hands, he further commented "So I guess we're all in favor." (ibid.) The Chief's handling of the election of the Band Councilor was similarly non-directive.

Observations in another context suggest the degree of importance attached by the Band leadership to the views of the elder hunters and trappers, and the means by which these are sought out. On August 31, 1979 a special meeting was called in order to view and discuss a video-tape presentation prepared by Hydro-Quebec regarding the effects of the proposed NBR project. Although not an entirely satisfactory exercise, an attempt was made to enumerate the number, length, and order of in-

terventions by all 17 participants in the meeting. All in attendance were male; of these 7 were unilingual hunters.

The results of the listing of order of intervention were interesting. Following an introductory comment from the chief, and one from a band councilor, both fairly young and educated men, for the next 30 minutes the discussion was carried on exclusively by 4 elder hunters the chief and 2 band councilors. When the number and length of interventions are tallied, the prominence of the elected leaders and the elder hunters is again expressed: during the 104 minute meeting, the chief intervened 18 times for a total of 41.33 minutes, the former chief, also a young man spoke 12 times totaling 18.5 minutes, the second eldest man in attendance spoke 11 times for a total of 6.25 minutes, the first Band Councilor to speak intervened 9 times for a total of 13 minutes, while 2 other elder hunters intervened 6 and 3 times, for totals of 4.25 and 5 minutes respectively. The remaining 6 speakers intervened a total of 11 times, and 4 people did not speak.

Neither subjective interview reports, nor limited observations of the process in political meetings can stand as definitive measures of the degree of divergence of interests or the degree of representativeness in the political structure of Nemaska. However, from these data, it is clear that traditional values of deference and collective obligation have not been abandoned. The

political leadership in the Band acknowledges a sense of responsibility for the representation of the hunting and trapping segment of the community, and the communication style of the meetings suggests that the views of the elder hunters and trappers are still taken quite seriously.

3.2.3. Authority and Trapline Re-organization

One of the proposed responses to the trapline damage anticipated under the NBR project has been re-organization of traplines. Although discussion of this topic in Nemaska in August 1979 remained very general, an incident the preceding spring had brought it to many people's attention. At that time, a representative from Hydro-Quebec had, with not a little showmanship, arrived in the village by helicopter to talk over the impending NBR project. During the course of comments following the presentation a question was asked about how tally-men whose lines were damaged would be compensated. Generally, the reply focused on reorganizing traplines to accommodate the displaced trappers. To this a very respected old man replied that just as he had received his trapline from his father so he had to save it for his sons and their sons. Anyone asking him to give up part of his trapline, he said, would have to speak to the man who destroyed their land.

This remark was mentioned several times, before I

began to ask about the topic of trapline re-organization. The views offered on this topic illustrate on the one hand the challenges confronting the traditional system of recognized authority in the tallymen, while at the same time indicating its relative persistence.

Some informants felt the resistance to trapline re-organization conflicted with the obligation to be generous. The following remarks are from a mature hunter who stands to lose much of his trapline, followed by the view of a young adult hunter who is not a tallyman.

> Some of these men think that they don't want to invite.... They just want to have the land for themselves (Informant 21).

> Some of the tally men are pretty strict. ... wonder what he'd say if it was his trapline [being flooded] (Informant 5).

In contrast, others expressed pessimism about the re-organization idea in a way which supports the old hunter's rejection of the idea. The first comment comes from a 63 year old man, a hunter, while the second is from a 30 year old man who does not hunt.

> Probably won't work.... Like the younger children once they grow up, they won't have much land to hunt, they're gonna have small trapping grounds. So they can save it for children and their grandchildren (Informant 9).

> I don't think that people here are gonna give up their traplines. It would be pretty difficult to do here. I don't think you have that much to go around. Willing to give it to their sons, [or] divide it among themselves.... The only part they would give away is part that's no good (Informant 14).

The seeming paradox represented in these conflicting views was joined by a view which appeared to reconcile them. Several informants in 1979, suggested that the tallymen who lost land could be accommodated through the traditional system of invitations. The key element in these remarks appears to be the expectation that tallymen will be generous with invitations, coupled with the view that no one has the right to override the authority of the tallyman to dispose of the trapline under his stewardship. These remarks come from a 35 year old nonhunter and a 53 year old tallyman respectively.

> Some that lost completely their traplines, they could just try to trap with another trapline,... they just find another friend to stay with. That's the way it's been done for quite awhile now. Some trapper closes up his line because not enough fur, and finds a friend to trap with. (Informant 22).

> [He] doesn't think [trapline re-organization] is a good idea. The guy that's hunted there has to be asked permission (Informant 18).

When I again asked about this topic in August 1980, the urgency of the previous year had gone out of it, and people seemed to feel that the traditional invitation system would have to be respected, and would be sufficient to the challenge.

In sum, these remarks point out the degree to which the old system of tallyman authority is still respected, despite the very real strains which the flooding will

cause. On the one hand, the obligation to share is widely recognized, but at the same time, a tallyman is seen as sovereign in the disposition of his trapline. Thus, while the tallymen collectively are seen as obliged to offer invitations to users of damaged traplines, no one is considered to have the power to force a particular course of action upon a given tallyman. This, I believe, represents a collective commitment to the maintenance of the modified traditional land tenure system of the tallymen.

3.2.4. Traditional Religion

If the persistence of the structure of tallyman authority can be seen as an important element in the collective commitment to the maintenance of subsistence hunting and trapping, the persistence of the religious beliefs and the ethical standards which they establish can be seen to have an even more crucial role. For the persistence of subsistence hunting and trapping as a domestic, or communal mode of production depends at bottom on the survival of the ethical requirement to share access to the land and to redistribute the fruits of the hunt. It is this relation of production, and not the mere fact of producing subsistence foods which makes of the subsistence sector a communal mode of production.

In the present context, information about reli-

gious beliefs was only rarely volunteered, and the perhaps awkward questions of a neophyte fieldworker were redirected or avoided. The principal exception to this came with the opportunity to attend several bear feasts in 1979, and a feast following a walking out ceremony in 1980. Reticence about discussing traditional beliefs, in the context of the settlement, has been remarked by Tanner (1979: xiv) and the Rousseaus (1952).

Fortunately, several published sources provide considerable information regarding the contemporary forms of Cree traditional belief and ritual. Tanner (1979), writing of the neighboring Mistassini Cree in the late 1960's, and Feit (1978), writing of the Waswanipi in the early 1970's identify the contemporary manifestations of an elaborate traditional religious belief system. In both instances, a normative belief system is identified which centers around a cosmology of "spirit masters of the animals" and the means of maintaining right relations with these beings in order to ensure hunting success. In addition Preston (1975) provides an extensive discussion of a major spiritual entity, the mistabeo, based on an examination of narratives from Rupert House. Finally, LeBuis (1971: Chapter 8) reports on the religious rituals surrounding the taking of fish, particularly the sturgeon at the old Nemiscau site, rituals which reflect the same religious

precepts outlined in the other sources.

The relation of religion to domestic relations of production is established in two directions. The first concerns the authority of the tallyman, who, quite apart from their having been formally recognized by the Quebec government in the registration of traplines, are accorded stature within the community on the basis of the visible signs of their relations with the spirit masters of the animals. Among the most important signs of the strength of this relationship is enduring success in hunting. The basis of the tallyman's authority, then, derives from his relationship with the spiritual beings. On this ground, his wishes regarding the use of the trapline are respected.

Secondly, the religious belief system establishes a set of standards which give regularity of expectation to the relations between humans and the spirit masters of the animals, defining these relations in terms of reciprocal responsibilities. The animals which a hunter takes are conceived as having "given themselves" to the hunter, and he in return must display respect for this gift, including proper disposal of the remains, a deferent or reverent attitude, and generosity with the fruit of the hunt in the form of gifts to the other families. The ethical responsibility of generosity between human beings, then, derives from the relationship between

a hunter and the spirit masters of the animals.

Feit's (1978) analysis goes on to examine at some length the nature of the hierarchy of spiritual beings glossed above as the "spirit masters of the animals" including the conceptual "recipes" by which hunters assess the likelihood that an animal will be given under particular circumstances. Tanner (1979), on the other hand, examines the ritual behavior through which hunters apprehend the wishes of the spirit masters, and display the appropriate deference and respect in the disposition of animals taken.

The most dramatic indication of the continuing relevance of the traditional religious beliefs in Nemaska emerged in bear feasts, held August 13, August 15, and August 26, 1979. The following description of the first of these outlines the major elements.

> In the late afternoon, the former Chief came to tell me to come along to the bear feast. As we approached the plywood cabin in which it was being held I noticed that all of the 16-25 year old young men were standing around the front door, not entering. Inside, the married, older men of the village were seated in a a circle around a large tarp on which were set large platters of meat and other foods. The oldest 5 men sat together at the point farthest from the door. No women were in the room, although the young women, some married but most not, were watching though the windows.
>
> The man who shot the bear had given it to another for the feast, and it was this fellow who had overseen preparation of the feast and who began each platter of food circulating, always in a clockwise direction, around the circle. [During the second feast, the man's

words were translated for me: "Because the sun goes like this we pass the foods this way."]

First came a platter with the head of the bear, followed by the paws. From these each of the men sliced a small piece, which they placed on their plate. Next came a platter filled with large chunks of meat, each person taking three of four, followed by a large pot of bear grease, presented to me, half in jest, as "syrup." Pots of "pudding", a form of bannock made with molasses and raisins completed the circulation of food.

Some ate from their plate as the platters were circulating, but we did not eat for long before the older women began to file in. The men wrapped their cloth napkins over the plates of food and left the cabin as the women sat down (Field Notes, August 13).

Even this brief account reflects several important features, each given fuller treatment in Tanner (1979). First, differentiations in social relations are ritually acknowledged: only married males were included in the first sitting, while the women and unmarried males waited outside in separate places (ibid.: Chapter 4). Secondly, space is given ritual significance, with the oldest men occupying places of honor, and food passed in the clockwise motion which, according to Tanner, "often appear[s] in Cree religious symbolism, always in the context of communication between men and spirits" (ibid.: 92, see also p.166). Thirdly, certain parts of the bear, reserved for males, were served first, namely the head and the front paws (ibid.: 162). Food removed from the cabin was covered up as a gesture of respect (ibid.: 167), and the special puddings, rather than plain bannock were served (ibid.).

The following year, 1980, a walking out ceremony (see Tanner 1979: 90-93) was held for a young boy on his first birthday. At the feast which followed, several differences were observed. Most notable was the fact that both men and women were served at the same sitting - as a friend said "It won't be like before, men first and women second. [The boy's mother] won't stand for it" (Field Notes August 23, 1980). The meal itself was similar to the preceding year, although goose, as well as bear was served. The pieces ritually reserved for males were circulated first and only males took portions of the head and front paws. Special breads, including birthday cakes and doughnuts, were served, and as before, everyone left before finishing their plates, carrying home some portion of the feast for later consumption.

These indications, plus the occasional comments in other interviews - Informant 27 mentions the importance of food offerings - and the published literature reporting on Nemaska and neighboring bands during the last decade combine to suggest the enduring significance of traditional religious beliefs in Nemaska.

Unfortunately, this is not a fully satisfactory treatment of the question. In particular, this normative treatment does not illuminate the range of variation along two important dimensions. Synchronically, the question concerns the variation found in the degree of

adherence or intensity of commitment to traditional beliefs along the age spectrum, with varying degrees of exposure to formal schooling and capitalist wage labor and consumption, and in relation to the Anglican, and for Nemaska, the Baptist, religious traditions. Diachronically, what trends have been set in motion by the recent, circa 1973, rise of a very deeply felt Protestant fundamentalism in the Cree communities?

Neither the field data collected for this thesis, not the published material on religious beliefs provides information regarding the degree of adherence to traditional beliefs among younger Cree adults whose experiences have included considerable schooling and wage labor. However, by way of commenting the relations between the traditional and Christian belief systems in Mistassini, Tanner makes several important points. In the first instance, he points out that there has been little perceived conflict between Cree traditional religious beliefs and the doctrines of the Anglican church (Tanner 1979: 109). Generally, the two traditions are segmented in experience, so that traditional beliefs abound in the bush context, while Christian practice is prominent in the settlement, a point also made by Rousseau and Rousseau (1952). Along similar lines, Feit (1979: 271-275) shows that many Christian precepts have been assimilated into Cree traditional beliefs; notably, God now figures as the paramount figure of the Cree

cosmology, with the other spiritual beings referred to as his helpers.

More strikingly, Tanner suggests that whatever the degree of variation found, Cree traditional beliefs retain an importance out of proportion to the strict degree of adherence to them among community members, because for all Cree

> ...the hunters act as a positive reference group, and the religious ideology appropriate to the hunting mode acts for both villagers and hunters as an important ideological source (1979: 109).

As for the transformations set in motion by the rise of Pentecostalism, while the challenge is clear, adequate data is entirely lacking. Tanner suggests that the occasional intolerance shown by Pentacostal leaders towards traditional beliefs and rituals, characterized as "devil worship", represents a qualitatively new challenge of the longstanding accommodation of Christian to traditional beliefs (1979: 211).

In Nemaska, three religious traditions are actively represented. Anglican missionary efforts from late in the 19th century have left a strata of the oldest members of the community who identify themselves as Anglicans. There are no regular services conducted for the members of this faith, although they tend to participate in the services of the Baptist group in the settlement, these resulting from the efforts of a missionary who resided in Nemiscau

from the mid-1960's until the dispersal to Mistassini and Rupert House. The services, held most Sundays, are conducted exclusively in Cree by a local man. Finally, the Pentacostal faith is quite active in Nemaska, dating from what some characterize as the "Cree revival" in Mistassini in 1973-1974. These services are conducted by one of several Nemaska residents, with Cree the predominant language, although English language materials from national and international missionary organizations oblige the service leader to undertake a considerable amount of translation.

There is no clear pattern in the distribution of active hunters by religious affiliation. Indeed, many people attend several services each week, combining their participation in both Baptist and Pentacostal traditions. Intensive hunters are represented in all three traditions, and there is no discernable trend for non-hunters to be predominantly of one faith or the other. Nor is it clear what the consequences of their Pentecostalism are for the hunters who have joined this faith. The question of the trends in traditional religious belief patterns under the influence of fundamentalist Christianity, must therefore remain open.

Traditional religious beliefs, it has been shown, play a crucial role in reenforcing the communal or domestic relations of production of the Cree subsistence

sector. The preceding discussion has drawn attention to the indicators of the persistence of this belief system in Nemaska, largely through comparison to a broader published literature. The communal ritual of the bear feast reflects, I have suggested, the enduring significance of this system of beliefs, although the lack of fuller information on the range of variation in intensity of belief is a serious handicap to a fuller analysis. At present, it is only possible to say that the traditional belief system remains important; it is not possible to specify the nature of changes currently underway.

3.3. Factors in Individual Commitments

3.3.1. Schooling: Formal and Informal Socialization.

The influence of schooling upon individual livelihood commitments is clearly an important topic. Not only do correlations between schooling levels and livelihood, discussed in Chapter Two, indicate an influence, but informants' remarks propose several views of the strength and valence of this influence. In the paragraphs which follow, informants views regarding the strength and the type of influence exercised by schooling will be examined. A particularly striking feature of views of schooling emerges in informants' accounts of their "experimental year" in the bush following long absences for schooling. This in turn will raise questions

regarding the relationship between formal and informal mechanisms of socialization.

Generally, informants views on schooling were of three types. The first is the view, common among the elder generation, that schooling is valuable to teach English, but is otherwise relatively benign. Secondly, a number of remarks reflect the view that schooling is a powerful influence, and tends to take young people out of the bush. And finally, for some, particularly those who see the future of the hunting and trapping sector threatened, schooling is seen as a powerful and positive influence: schooling will help young people obtain better paying jobs.

Speaking of the pragmatic and minimalist view of the role of formal schooling, a 31 year old man, a hunter, referred to the attitude prevalent a decade ago as follows:

> In those years I don't think Indian people realized why you go to school. They didn't know what it meant to get a good education. They thought as long as you learned a little English it was all right. As long as you understood (Informant 5).

A middle aged informant, one of the first from old Nemiscau to leave the settlement for elementary school provides an insight into why the use of English would have been seen as so crucial.

> When I quit school, there was nobody who spoke English. I was the only one who spoke a little

> bit. So when the trappers came in to see the manager about something, I had to help. Sometime [it was] not easy, had to pass a message about someone sick in the bush ... tell exactly. The manager would give medicines to send out (Informant 22).

And as suggested, many of the elder informants expressed the view that the importance of school for their children was in learning to speak English. There appears, however, to be a lack of consensus as to how much schooling is necessary for this task. When an opinion was given on the amount of school preferred for their children, informants commonly named secondary school (Informants 1,8,12,13). However, many younger informants reported incidents in the past decade in which they were removed from school in order to assist their parents on the trapline. The three accounts which follow, from a 31 year old male, a 21 year old woman and a 29 year old woman respectively, are not unusual for the generation going to school in the 1960's.

> It was my old man's idea, that's how I quit.... I went to school, but he wanted me as a power man [to help him] (Informant 5).

> I had to quit and stay with my mother. She was kind of sick and shouldn't do anything in the bush. I had to do most of the work (Informant 19).

> Well, my foster parents didn't want me to go back [to 5th grade]. My aunt, she needed some help. She wanted me to learn the bush life again (Informant 30).

Not everyone at Nemaska has taken this limited and pragmatic view of the purpose of schooling. Some ex-

press concern that schooling has the effect of removing the children from the opportunity to learn the hunting and trapping skills. The first of these remarks comes from a 30 year old man with post-secondary schooling, while the second was made by a 56 year old man, a hunter without any formal schooling.

> As far as pushing the kids to school, I don't know. But once you send a kid to school, his involvement with trapping is cut off (Informant 14).

> Like when a boy is small and never seen anybody go hunting and hasn't gone hunting. And when he goes to school and finishes about 10th level and tries to go hunting he doesn't know anything because he can't remember (Informant 10).

Finally, there is a group which views schooling as powerful and positive influence, able to increase the family's income by increasing the likelihood of high paying employment. This view is found both among a number of young and older adults who express pessimism about the future of the hunting sector and count on their own or their children's earnings to support them, in some cases as they continue to hunt. The following comment is from the elder hunter, cited just above, whose trapline stands to be badly damaged by the NBR flooding.

> Well once you finish school, you make money. Help your parents buy groceries, pay for the trip in the bush, buy him guns or what he needs, so he doesn't have to use [all] his Income Security.
> ....
> It's good for a child to go to school, because people are saying there's not going to be anymore hunting grounds, they're going to be

flooded. So they're better off going to school, so they can get jobs (Informant 10).

The same view is expressed indirectly by two young men who note their regrets at not having completed their schooling. They now wish they had the advantages which they believe this confers in seeking wage employment, for they have given up year-round hunting.

> I should have gone back. More educated,.. have a good job. I used to think if I finished school, I'd be a pilot. I guess that will never come true. It's too late (Informant 29).
> Yeah I was glad [to quit school after 6th grade], but sometime I wonder. Maybe I should have kept going.
> ....
>
> Better education for better jobs, I guess. Like here you don't have enough people with the right kind of education. I'm pretty sure I could have done it.
> ....
>
> With 6 years education, you can't be too choosey [about the jobs you take] (Informant 2).

And in an important variation on the view that school is a powerful and positive influence, two people pointed out that the skills learned through schooling could - or should - be devoted to improving the welfare of the community as a whole, not simply for personal gain. The first remark is from a 31 year old hunter who schooling is limited to primary school, while the second comes from a well educated 30 year old man who works year round in Band Administration.

> My kids have to go to school, and won't stop until I tell them. Learn what you think you can learn, something useful to help the community in the future (Informant 5).

> I know when I was going to school, my father was pushing me. I think he thought I'd be able to help him. But that hasn't worked out [since I end up helping all the people] (Informant 14).

While a number of views were expressed regarding the power and the type of influence exercised by formal schooling, perhaps the most novel insight into the consequences of schooling came as many informants, all under 30 years of age, described a year, normally their first back from school, in which they would "try out" the bush life to see if they liked it. These accounts at once suggest the power of the bush as a positive pole of identity, and the obstacles which confronted these young people as they tried to assimilate some of the many skills necessary to function competently in this setting. In the following accounts, none of the informants successfully reintegrated themselves into the hunting and trapping sector. The many Nemaska residents who successfully took up trapping after various lengths of time at school did not tend to refer to their first year back in such vivid terms. Thus the value of these accounts is not in projecting them to the whole of the school age population, but rather in understanding the personal turmoil experienced by those students who initially thought they wanted to return to hunting and trapping only to find that their skills and aspirations had changed during the intervening years.

In the first instance a 19 year old young woman went to the bush after completing 9th grade:

> I wanted to quit for one year. I wanted to try out bush life. Then I wanted to go back [to school], but my mom wouldn't let me. I was supposed to go to Hull. Now, I don't like bush life. I thought it was going to be fun, but it was boring. The work was hard (Informant 28).

In another case, a 28 year old man left school at 19, two years before graduating. While the French language requirements had made school increasingly difficult, he was also interested in trying out the bush. He quickly reached another conclusion.

> No, I didn't think I'd be a trapper for the rest of my life. I thought it was hard work. ... I couldn't trap like a real trapper, so I didn't see any money in it (Informant 13).

In another instance, a 24 year old young man left school after 6th grade.

> I decided to go in the bush with my dad. Around 15 years old. When I went into the bush for one year, I liked the bush better than school. I was so excited to go hunting, I used to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning. But not any more now.
>
> [What did your friends think?]
>
> Like [a friend] was my age. I used to tell them about the bush life. I'd tell them stories and they quit [school]. Now he seems to like the bush (Informant 29).

But by 1979, this man had grown pessimistic about the future of the hunting sector, and explained his leaving the bush partly for the following reasons.

> That's stopped the young people from trapping.... The floods and everything.... That's

> why they can't make no plans. I bet if there was no flooding, no dams, if this was Indian territory, I bet a lot more young people would go trapping.(ibid.)

In another case, a young women decided to try out the bush after having left school at 18, without graduating, and working for 2 years. At 20 years of age, she went out in the bush with her elder sister and her family.

> Then I quit and went to the bush. I guess I was tired of working, staying in one place. So I asked my parents. At first they didn't want me to, they said I didn't know anything.... Well I went to the bush with my sister. I asked her if I could go and she said OK. It was new, really hard work.
>
> Yeah, I [skinned beaver], but it's hard. At first I couldn't get it, then I tried again and I got it. I only remember skinning 1 beaver, 2 beavers I think, in the 5 months I was there.
>
> She taught me how to cook a beaver one time, I got it burned, she never asked me again. Well, bannock. I didn't know how to make bannock, so she showed me how. Asked me to make bannock one time... but it was all hard. [After that,] I came back to the office in Val d'Or... the Grand Council (Informant 17).

Finally, on this topic, a 30 year old man told of his experience during the year following 11th grade. After a not very satisfying effort at trapping, he went back to school and completed a post-secondary technical course.

> I went back to trap for a year after 11th grade. It wasn't the same thing. I wasn't treated the same way. Tend to treat them like a white person. Watch 'em closely, make sure they're not alone in a canoe.
>
> Made 500, bucks. Looked for something better. All that hard work for 500 bucks. Must be

something better (Informant 14).

These cases of an experimental year following schooling draw attention to the problem of continuity and discontinuity in socialization, a problem first raised in the Cree region by Sindell (1968). Interestingly, Sindell suggests that the informal and interpersonal side of the residential school setting may have been more disruptive than any specific curricular content. And in the case of the experimental year, it is possible that lack of familiarity with the non-directive style of teaching, as much as loss of specific skills, may have been at work.

The notions of continuity and discontinuity derive from Spindler's attempt to examine the broad process of cultural transmission (1973). He uses a third term, compression, to refer to the progressively narrowing range of permissible behavior in the transition from pre-adolescence to adolescence to adulthood. Together, these draw attention to the broader context of schooling as a highly formal mechanism of socialization, but one which interacts with other informal mechanisms. In this light, two incidents in the field notes emerge as significant.

The first comes from remarks by a 19 year old young woman. When asked at the end of an interview for her ideas about whether young people would continue to frequent the bush, her remark suggested the extent to which the goals promulgated by schooling, whatever they

may be, are still confronted by an enduring set of expectations in the community about what it means to grow up.

> The old people like [for the young people to go in the bush]. They say you gotta do this. Like they say if you don't learn [bush skills] nobody will marry you. Or if the boy doesn't have a boat and guns [it is the same] (Informant 28).

In another context, the importance of informal socialization and social control, conceived - by the Cree - as a series of stages in which different types of behavior are appropriate was pointed out to me. As the housing construction project gathered momentum in September 1979, I was impressed by the interactions between young unmarried adult men and married men on the work site. Generally, the former were between 18 and 25 years of age, while the latter were between 25 and 35. The younger men were exuberant in the work, if somewhat unreliable. They would occasionally take long breaks off in the woods for cigarettes, and could be pretty rough on the tools and equipment. While the Nemaska resident serving as the foreman on the worksite commented on this behavior - neither he, nor the other men appeared overly concerned. No sanctions were imposed, and the others seemed to just devote their efforts to getting the job done as best they could, making do when tools were lost or broken, but not making a big fuss about it. When I returned in August 1980, one of the younger men hardly seemed the same fellow: he was much more like the quiet,

steady working older men. It was pointed out to me that in the interim he had married, and so now he couldn't act "like those young guys" (Field Notes, August 22, September 1, 1980).

The point brought home in this incident was rather like Spindler's notion of compression. The values to which a teenager aspires are formed in a context of relatively wide latitude, while, if this view is correct, with the arrival of adulthood, greater pressure would be exerted to conform with socially accepted norms. In short, the schooling period, while an important formative period, does not operate in a vacuum. Upon returning from school, young people interact with other informal mechanisms of socialization, and with increasing age, it appears that some of these begin to narrow the range of acceptable behavior.

In sum, these remarks on schooling indicate a very complex process in which lengthy experience at school - and for most of these informants schooling included at least some years of residential school - does appear to increase the likelihood that a young person will not return to the hunting and trapping livelihood as a primary commitment. However, this process is far from unilateral: not all students abandon the bush, and the preceding discussion has pointed out the complexity of interaction between formal and informal mechanisms of

socialization as these bear on individual livelihood commitments.

3.3.2. Consumer Comforts

Alongside his queries regarding political representations of hunters, Scott (1979: 154) asks whether increasing desires for consumer goods might not also erode the sense of commitment felt by some individuals for the hunting and trapping sector. In the paragraphs which follow, interview remarks on this topic are organized in terms of several themes, ranging from expressions of satisfaction with the level of consumer goods available since the establishment of the Income Security Program, to the identification of two groups in the Nemaska population which are most likely to define as inadequate the level of consumer goods available to them in the hunting and trapping sector.

For those expressing satisfaction with the current level of consumer comforts, two items loom largest. The old people clearly appreciate the use of skidoos, among other conveniences, but more striking is the strength of appreciation expressed for the trapper radios, recently distributed under an emergency communication program by the Cree Trappers Association. Under this project, VHF radios were rented at nominal rates to a number of trappers to enable them to communicate regularly and for

emergencies with a base station in the community. The program may be generalized in the future so that each winter camp will have this means of communication.

In one the first interviews conducted, a 79 year old man spoke of how much harder it was when there were no skidoos and planes. "It's easier now, we also have radios(Informant 1). This same man latter referred to the safety provided by the radios during discussions on improvements in the hunting and trapping sector (Field Notes, August 31, 1979).

A 29 year old women characterized those who go out on the traplines as quite satisfied with the new conveniences, especially the older people:

> I think the old people are really happy to go in the bush. Like [a particular hunter], he just went and left [his son] behind. Those young boys, they want to stay behind and work [on the community housing project].
> ...
> Well, like the skidoos. Most of the people have skidoos now, since they left old Nemiscau. Chainsaws, washing machines, radios. I think it's nicer now. Especially the radios. Like that old man, (a 53 year old hunter) he had to leave at 12 midnight. One of his kids was sick. And now people go by airplane instead of all the portages (Informant 30).

On the other hand, a number of women who continue to go into the bush for the winter said or implied that the level of convenience was sufficient for them, but they identified younger women as a group not altogether satisfied with the level of consumer comforts and leisure

available in the bush.

For example, a 21 year old women stated:

> I go because I like the bush, want to be with him [her husband]. I know most of the women don't like it.
>
> [Why?]
>
> Don't know. Too lazy, I guess (Informant 19).

Similarly, a 33 year old woman observed:

> I think [the young girls] would rather have jobs. I've even heard some of them say they don't like to go in the bush. Too much work (Informant 23).

And finally, while it was not possible to interview a cross section of women of the age considered vulnerable to rising expectations in levels of consumption And leisure, an interview with A 19 year old young woman did tend to confirm the observation that some young people see the bush as an unrewarding undertaking, in part, it appears, because of the relatively greater amount of leisure enjoyed in the settlement.

> I thought it was going to be fun, but it was boring. The work was hard. I'd take any job. Most of the young people think its hard, getting wood. Boring, cold, cleaning pelts (Informant 28).

Another group identified itself as unsatisfied with the income, and hence with the level of consumer goods available, from hunting and trapping, even under the new Income Security Program. These 4 young adult males are 21-24 years of age. Although 3 of these men

are married, 2 of them made their decisions to leave the Income Security Program prior to marrying. In this respect they resemble the profile of young, single hunters, whom LaRusic cited as the group somewhat more likely to leave the Income Security Program as a result of the formulas used in calculating benefits.(LaRusic 1978: 65,71).

> Once I didn't have the things I wanted. Like a ski-doo. I didn't make much money in the bush. I did better with a job. My check from Income Security used to be $800 every 3 months. When I worked for Hydro [at the nearby substation], I bought a skidoo just like that. I went in the bush for 4 weeks, my vacation. I took an otter trip full of gas, just paid it off. I didn't used to do that on Income Security (Informant 29).

> I used to be on Income Security, I was only getting $500 a month, so I had to find a summer job to pay off my bills. I usually came out in the hole. I got off it last fall. But really, I would rather work. And go to the bush whenever I feel like it. Like this winter probably I'll go to the bush, not all winter, just 3 months (Informant 2).

> No, never bothered [trapping]. Back then, I thought if a trapper went in the bush all he did was make a great big pile of bills. I didn't really think I could survive. Actually, I couldn't picture myself as a trapper. (Informant 16).

> But some of them single guys realized after [they started Income Security] they didn't make enough money. They started working. That's when Cree Construction started hiring boys (Informant 3).

The general question of consumerism has been addressed here in a number of rather disparate aspects. In common with the others, each of the topics treated here asks about the possibility that the limited cash

income relative to the demanding physical labor involved in the hunting and trapping sector might lead some to look for other forms of livelihood. The evidence here does not suggest a general sentiment of this sort. In fact, for the most part, consumer goods are assessed pragmatically, and consumerism appears to bear little on livelihood decisions. The important exception to this generalization concerns young, unmarried women and young adult men. While not all people in these categories are hesitant about the hunting and trapping sector as a livelihood, many are, and an attachment to consumerism appears to enter into their sentiments.

3.3.3. The Workplace

The final topic of consideration includes a number of aspects of the various work settings which informants noted as significant in their choices of and reactions to various livelihoods. While these remarks occasionally referred to physical features of the job, such as the quality of bush to be cut or the duration of the shovel work tasks, it appeared that two other themes were of greater concern: time away from the community and supervisory style. In addition, there were several remarks related to familiarity with but hesitance about "industrial patterns of work", including standards of punctuality, pace and reliability.

First, attention will be directed to the question of the opportunity cost of time and the oft-expressed desire to work in the communities.

> Oh yeah, I picked the one I like best, just took whichever came along when I wanted some money. There were other jobs, more permanent jobs that I could have taken, I preferred the ones that only lasted awhile. Then, I could easily go home when I was out of work. Permanent jobs meant you had to stay away from the community. Most permanent jobs were outside of the community (Informant 16).

A 32 year old man described his reasons for leaving a longterm job in which he had worked for 4 years during the winter for a mining company as simply a matter of being tired (Informant 26). His wife's remarks about his subsequent job, suggest that being away from his family was an important part of his reaction.

> He left in summertime for 10 days then he came home because he was lonesome of [the baby]. Ever since the baby was born, he didn't stay so far. (Informant 19).

Another informant, a 28 year old male, described a varied employment career in which he generally left jobs when he tired of it or something else came up. However, after having children, he felt at once constrained to stick with a job ("I didn't quit this time. I had a family."), but at the same time an even stronger desire to get home to see his children.

> Hydro was looking for experienced men with chainsaws.... They just looked for some men, didn't say what kind of job. Hopped on a DC-3 from Chibougamou to LG2. Kissed my wife good bye with a two month due baby. Well, it was the only job, I needed money for the baby. I

wasn't going to go on unemployment.

> We had a nice foreman. He didn't push us to do things. It's one of the easiest jobs you can get, working for Hydro.
>
> Well, then [my son] was born, so I wanted to go home. I still had two more weeks to go. Because after two months they send you home. But after 6 weeks when [my son] was born, I wanted to go home, told them I'd come back. So they told me ok. But I never did go back.(Informant 13).

While other examples of similar remarks were found (Informant 12, Informant 14, Informant 17), these point out the essential elements of this view. However, it should be noted that other factors as well enter into the decision to leave wage jobs. These comments made by a 31 year old man point to the unreliability of some wage work.

> I had a lot of odd jobs, cutting lumber, working in a sawmill for 3 months, and then I jumped to the bush. I received a note, I was supposed to go back in 5 days or I'd be fired. I never went back. It was a steady job, but you get laid off for shortage of work. I got laid off twice that summer, that's why I never bothered to go back (Informant 5).

The second striking topic commented in the interviews concerns the nature of on-site supervision, including the novelty of all Cree work groups under Cree direction.

The most pointed remarks on this topic were made by a 24 year old man as he contrasted his experiences under a white supervisor with those under Cree Construction.

> [At LG 2] Indians fill laborers jobs, unless you had some sort of operators license. No

> white men where we work, in the kind of work we were doing. Shovel all day long. Felt like prison work.... I could take two months the first time. Pay was good, $700 a week.
>
> Next time was with Cree construction, chainsaw work. When you're all Cree it's better. They're not bossy, they know you, they listen, you can tell them something even if it's a foreman and he won't tell you to go home. Foreman worked with us. About $250 a week, but I'd still say it was better.(Informant 2, August 11, 1979).

Many aspects of supervisory style in the housing construction at Nemaska in 1979 reflected a deep appreciation of this sentiment. Cree Construction organized the housing construction in Nemaska to use only a minimum of non-residents. A non-Cree project director was hired as well as a carpenter and an equipment operator. These were the only non-residents on the site. Under the project director, a Nemaska Band member served as foreman, and the project director was extremely conscientious about working through the Cree foreman to recruit work groups and maintain quality standards. This approach generally worked quite well and proved proved especially well founded in the one dispute case which occurred during the first month of the construction.

During the first weeks of construction, less than 20 men were needed. The project director indicated to the foreman how many people were needed, and it was up to the foreman to choose from among the men in the community. In one instance a man who had not been selected was quite upset, especially since he thought it was the white

project supervisor who had made the decisions. A brief exchange on the topic ended with the project director replying:

> You've got no cause to say that. That's not right for me. The Band hired me. I take the men the Band Council gives me. You talk to [the foreman] (Field Notes, August 18, 1979).

This incident ended amicably the next day, when realizing his error, the man apologized to the project director.

While supervision by whites was clearly a matter of great sensitivity to the Nemaska workers, it is important to balance the picture with the fact that occasionally, informants would refer to positive working relations with white supervisors. The project director hired by Cree Construction for Nemaska, for example, earned a special place of respect in the community, not only in the early months of the project in August and September 1979, but this position was well entrenched by August 1980. Another example comes from a young man who spent several seasons guiding a German prospector.

> [I enjoyed prospecting better than guiding with father] because of more pay, [I] like the land up near Chimo, Gert [a German prospector] was a good man (Informant 3).

The same fellow, speaking of a latter job with Cree Construction on the James Bay project, summarized several features of a good job, including the fact that the work group was all Cree.

> Good place to work, hardly any big trees, no swamps. All Cree on work groups, some boys and only four of us that were married. Young group, they can really work. I like slashing, time goes fast when you work.(Informant 3, August 13, 1979).

A number of these remarks suggest young men who are entirely familiar with the expectations which accompany wage labor positions, whether they appreciate the supervision or not. A 34 year old man, often pointed out in Nemaska as someone who works hard, commented on the importance of his experience in contract slashing with a Cree entrepreneur in Mistassini, in this process. His remarks were made in reference to his concern that some of the younger people working on the housing construction in Nemaska were not working very hard at their jobs.

> That's what happens to a person who's been contracting. Like slashing. Always have to rush. Even staking claims, when they give a contract, you better finish it fast, as fast as possible.
> ...
>
> The other money I made was in a contract given to [a friend] of Mistassini. A staking contract for 10 days... took maybe 4 days to do it. Some of those guys who have contracts from a long time ago they really go good. Stake maybe 50 claims in a day (Informant 27).

In short, these remarks suggest a labor force that is increasingly sophisticated in terms of awareness of what is expected in wage labor, but which is far from docile and compliant. Proximity to family and all-Cree work groups and direction appear to be the two substantive values expressed in these remarks. And these in turn

suggest that, given an option, Cree adults are likely to work for Cree agencies and enterprises, even at lower wages, in preference to wage employment in the private natural resource development enterprises.

Chapter Four. Livelihood Commitments and Ideology at Nemaska.

The problem posed in this thesis concerns the role of ideology in the stability of the partially dominated Cree domestic mode of production. However, as discussed in the introductory discussion on problem and method in the field study, this broad issue was addressed through a case study at Nemaska in the more narrow terms of livelihood commitments. The present chapter addresses two tasks. First, the demographic and regional economic data presented in Chapter Two, and the thematic interview data presented in Chapter Three will be distilled and the mutual implications considered. More importantly, the concluding sections of this chapter will return to the theoretical question of ideology and modes of production, employing the technical vocabulary introduced in Chapter One. This task is all the more important for the fact that the technical vocabulary was generally avoided in the presentation of data, and this for two reasons. Modes of production terminology is stylistically awkward, but more importantly, it appeared to constrain the definition of relevant data at the expense of a wide ranging and exploratory effort, such as that undertaken here.

4.1. The Structure of Opportunities

The data in Chapter Two permit reliable identification of two crucial trends for the next decade and

beyond. First, from the demographic data, it is clear that the active population will change considerably in size and in character in the next decade. A minimum of 43% growth will be registered during this period, with the education and language ability levels of the incoming cohorts uniformly quite high. The majority of the entering cohorts will have attained the level of secondary schooling, raising the average among the active population to this level within the next few years. Bilingualism will become virtually universal among the active population.

Inferring from present patterns, these changes suggest a declining rate of recruitment to the subsistence sector. At present, of those whose educational attainment is secondary school, 40% hunt while 60% work for most or all of the year (over half of these, 35.7% of the total category, work in the Cree sector). Assuming that this rate of recruitment continues, an estimated 21 of the individuals entering the active population in the next decade would be recruited to the subsistence sector. Since all people reaching retirement age are hunters, the addition of these young people would increase the subsistence oriented portion of the community by 20%. The addition of an estimated 33 individuals in the working sectors of the population represents an increase of 85% over present levels.

It is, however, unsound to simply infer from the figures in this fashion, since the social dynamics which gave rise to this pattern during the past decade and a half are now changing rapidly. The disruption of residential schooling outside the Cree communities has now ended, since primary schooling is provided in all communities, with the temporary exception of Nemaska where construction of the school is now pending. Moreover, secondary schooling is now provided within the Cree region in Chisasibi and Mistassini. In addition, Cree School Board has undertaken a wide array of programs to reinforce familiarity with and appreciation of the hunting and trapping life, not least of which is a modification in the scheduling of the school year to permit the children several weeks each spring in the bush with their families. These factors represent a major change over the case a decade ago, and they may be presumed to decrease, though not eliminate, the tendency of increased schooling to diminish commitment to the hunting and trapping livelihood.

The second series of trends to emerge from Chapter Two concerns the evolution of the occupational structure. The last decade has witnessed the revitalization of the subsistence sector under the Income Security Program, and a dramatic increase in the proportion of employment provided under the auspices of Cree agencies and enterprises. Wage labor in private sector resource development

enterprises has been extremely rare at Nemaska.

An important regional analysis for the Nemaska area, prepared in 1982, argues very strongly that the sectors which showed dynamic growth in the 1970's will not be able to absorb the inevitable increases in the size of the active population into the 1980's and 1990's (SSDCC 1982). In this view, the subsistence sector is presently approaching saturation, and the NBR project will cause a massive dislocation in subsistence production towards the turn of the century. The Cree administrative agencies will grow very slowly in overall size, though some new employment for educated Cree will result from the replacement of non-Cree in many functions. In this scenario, then, only the Cree enterprises, such as Cree Construction and perhaps a new Cree forestry enterprise, are likely areas of growth in the next decade.

This scenario rests on complex, and in some respects, tenuous assumptions regarding the biological limits to the productivity of the subsistence sector and the scheduling of the NBR project. And while a more cautious view might challenge the speed and intensity of the trends identified by SSDCC, these do demonstrate the increasingly complex challenges facing the Cree domestic mode of production.

In sum, the growth in the active population, and the changes in view for the occupational structure imply that

reproduction of the subsistence sector will require recruitment of a smaller portion of the incoming cohorts of young people. The proportion of the active population devoted to intensive subsistence production as a principal commitment will decline as growth is absorbed into the Cree agency and enterprise and private sector. The rapidity of this change, and its consequences for collective and individual commitments cannot, however, be inferred in a simplistic fashion.

4.2. Commitments and Opportunities

Turning to the factors in livelihood commitments in Chapter Three, is it possible to infer from these factors the likely response to these changes in the structure of opportunity? Given the complications surrounding the dynamics and the durability of commitment, even generously granting that the means used in this study were adequate to assess those commitments, one undertakes the exercise at some peril. Nonetheless, some general comments do seem warranted.

Consider first the conclusion offered in the discussion of the collective commitment of the Nemaska community. The relocation decision clearly reflected, as of 1978, the predominant commitment throughout this community to an identity as Nemaska Band which included in its connotations a vision of this community with a very active hunting and trapping sector. Also very impressive

was the frequency and affective intensity of participation in the community feasts, with all that these connote for the traditional religious beliefs. Although there are real uncertainties in our knowledge of changes in this sector, the manifest continuity between the forms of religious ritual described by Tanner (1979) and that observed in Nemaska in the summers of 1979 and 1980 was striking indeed.

A more problematic aspect of the collective commitment to maintain the hunting and trapping sector is found in the question of tallyman authority and trapline reorganization. These remarks display a lively tension between respect for the autonomy of the tallymen in their role as stewards of the trapline and the expectation that they will show themselves generous with invitations. It appeared to me, by 1980, that this tension was largely resolved in the direction of trusting the tradition of generosity, and this seems to coincide with the community identity noted above. With the effects of the NBR project a full decade or more in the future, it is likely that the current resolution on this topic will remain intact, and perhaps solidify, during the next decade. But as the consequences of the NBR project take effect, one wonders if the commitment to the collective identity as Nemaska people will continue to straddle the paradox in Cree land tenure, in which a general right of access, expressed in the expectation of generosity with invita-

tions, coexists with the individual control of the tallyman's stewardship.

On the topic of the exercise of authority and the divergence of interests, the evidence in Chapter Three is perhaps more problematic than on the others. While the tenor and climate in which local level politics is conducted - most notably the non-verbal forms of deference - suggests the persistence of traditional forms of authority alongside the new structures, this does not inform us of the character or the dynamics of that persistence. Nonetheless, the evidence speaks for itself; under the present level of challenges to the collective definition of the interest of this community, political process is far from ruptured between hunters and non-hunters.

Thus, the weight of evidence, qualified though it is, suggests the persisting strength of the collective commitment in Nemaska to maintain the viability of the subsistence sector. In terms of the trends which emerge from Chapter Two, this implies that the collective political action of this community will not retreat from efforts to protect whatever opportunity for subsistence production can be wrested from the NBR proposal and review process.

The complex set of remarks regarding the effects of schooling on livelihood commitments defy simple reduction, however, two interesting points emerge. First,

higher levels of schooling are associated with a greater likelihood of a commitment to wage labor, but this association is not absolute. Only for students whose education approaches the completion of secondary schooling does the tendency approach inevitability. Secondly, the accounts of the efforts by students to reintegrate themselves into the hunting and trapping way of life attest to the positive attraction of this livelihood, even for students with years away from the community. This suggests that the efforts by the Cree School Board to reinforce familiarity with the traditional way of life rest upon a substratum of deep interest on the part of the students.

If the results of schooling do not reduce to a simple formula, it would be all the more interesting to understand the process by which schooling takes its effects. Sindell's (1968) holistic account of the discontinuities in forms of interpersonal communication occasioned by the long absences at residential schools was an important first step. However, since then, many of the institutional features of schooling have changed dramatically, especially in the explicit attempts to allow students to retain continuity with the hunting and trapping traditions of the majority of their parents. A crucial and unanswered question concerns the interplay of school day learning - in its style perhaps more than its content - and the style of learning which young adults

will be expected to master upon returning, even experimentally, to a trapline. Evidence was also presented to suggest that the effects of schooling upon the values and aspirations of the young people are modified in the process of informal socialization which continues in the community. While discontinuities are apparent, so are continuities, not least of which is the fact that behavior is still strongly influenced by the expectation that behavior will more closely parallel community norms as an adolescent reaches adulthood and marriage.

Comments on levels of consumption and the relative convenience of life in the bush suggest that for most, the availability of new consumer goods and settlement amenities is still a means to an end, namely a source of reduced labor and greater security in the hunting and trapping sector. For these people, the prospect of abandoning the hunting sector in pursuit of higher levels of consumer goods appears unlikely. For a relatively small portion of the younger cohorts, a decision to abandon intensive hunting in favor of wage labor as a livelihood was explicitly associated with the labor requirements and reduced earning potential of the bush: the question of consumerism, in effect, was a salient factor in their decisions. However, this sentiment appeared to characterize few among the sector of the community committed to hunting. In the view of adult women, and this was substantiated in the sparse interview information available,

this attitude was found mostly among teenage young women, although some young adult males shared the same attitude. It is hard to know whether teenagers' attitudes are enduring or temporary, especially in view of the evidence concerning the informal processes of socialization which still prevail. In all, it appears implausible that an ethic of consumerism will be at the root of decisions to abandon the bush.

Finally, the remarks regarding the workplace reinforce a central trend in the occupational structure of the community: wage labor under Cree auspices is vastly preferred over that in the private sector. At the same time, when satisfaction is expressed regarding employment in the private sector, it is often a result of strong personal relations with individual supervisors. The common denominator, then, appears to be permissive supervision and the non-directive exercise of authority in the workplace. If this observation is correct, then the key expectation of employment in the Cree agencies and enterprises is for a style of delegation of authority which is not incongruent with Cree values on individual autonomy and styles of interpersonal communication.

The factors in the individual livelihood commitment of the Nemaska Cree might be provisionally synthesized as follows. First, there is a greater diversity of commitments among the 15-25 year old cohort, including an

indication that for perhaps as many as half of this cohort, increasing schooling levels and an ethic of consumer convenience do erode individuals' sense of commitment to the bush. Secondly, even where the individual's sense of commitment to the bush is attenuated, Cree workers do not generally exhibit the ideological consequences of efforts to create a docile and disciplined labor force for capitalist relations of production. Instead, given the opportunity, wage work under the auspices of the Cree agencies and enterprises is vastly preferred.

4.3. Ideology and Mode of Production

We can now return to the question which initiated this case study. What is the role of ideological practices in the stability of the dominated Cree domestic mode of production? Given the present material conditions of subsistence production established principally under the provisions of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, do the ideological practices of the capitalist mode of production erode the commitment of the Cree to maintain this form of production and the community-oriented relations of production which guide it?

On the face of it, the identification of trends in Chapter Two argues that reproduction of the subsistence sector will require recruitment of a decreasing proportion of those young people entering the active popula-

tion, and information on collective and individual commitment suggests that this process of ideological reproduction is secure. The challenges posed by opposing ideological practices - and the nature of these must be further established - will not erode the reproduction of a subsistence producing sector up to the level of its material possibilities.

What are the specifically capitalist ideological practices reflected in the remarks about livelihood commitment in Nemaska? Strong hypotheses exist to suggest that schooling and consumerism are key ideological links in the reproduction of contemporary capitalism (Althusser 1971, Ewen 1976). Assuming for the sake of argument that prior to the establishment of the Cree School Board, the school represented a relatively unmediated ideological apparatus of the capitalist state, the question yet remains: how successfully did it acquit its responsibility of creating a compliant work force? The evidence cited above is complex, but at a minimum, it is unreasonable to reduce the effects of schooling to such a simple formula. One only need recall that schools have been notoriously unsuccessful as an instrument of assimilation of the Native peoples of Canada and the United States, despite this explicit goal and the use of occasionally quite harsh methods. Our understanding of the consequences of schooling for the reproduction of the traditional forms of production among North American Indians

must rely on a more subtle formulation, one in which the emerging ethnography of formal schooling and informal socialization must have a major say.

What of consumerism? Here again, my sense is that the effects are of only moderate intensity. The influence of consumerism in livelihood choices appears to rest on a prior question concerning the strength of an identity as hunter. For young people among whom this general identity is not clearly established, consumerism seems to play a role among the reasons for which they seek wage work.

In short, I think the compelling conclusion is that ideological practices logically attributable to a capitalist mode of production have only moderate effects in the reproduction of the Cree domestic mode of production. In other words, within an overall context of Cree dependence upon capitalist Euro-Canadian society, Cree traditional ideology has shown itself relatively immune to erosion. Cree traditional beliefs are found to continue to animate a collective commitment and wide spread individual commitments to subsistence production and communal relations of production.

As concerns the theory of ideological practice, this entails a serious challenge to the inevitability of interpellation found in Althusser's views. Laclau's insistence on the tension between dominant and non-dominant

ideologies appears to be a more plausible account of the problem. Concurrently, another aspect of Laclau's formulation appears to be sustained here, namely the notion that interpellations condense a wide variety of symbolic elements into a relatively coherent subjectivity. In these terms, it appears appropriate to suggest that among the Nemaska Cree a sense of self as "hunter" includes many elements, not all of which bear immediately and directly on relations of production. Of equal interest is the fact that Nemaska Cree who do not hunt intensively share many elements of this identity. In particular, the preference for wage labor under Cree auspices attests to the persistence of many elements of an identity as Cree, despite having left the subsistence hunting and trapping sector.

However, the finding of ideological persistence within a dependent mode of production raises an important larger question. For if, in modes of production theory, ideological practices are relatively, and not absolutely, autonomous, what sense is to be made of the seeming paradox in which Cree ideological practices appear insulated from the broader condition of dependence upon the capitalist mode of production for key conditions of reproduction? What role might ideological practices be said to have played, relative to economic and political ones?

In my view, the key events in the transformation and persistence of subsistence production among the James Bay

Cree are those surrounding the interventions of the provincial and federal governments, first with the establishment of the Beaver Preserves with exclusive Cree access and the introduction of transfer payments in the 1930's, and again in the 1970's with the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. In both instances clear trends toward declining subsistence production were reversed as a result of these political interventions. In the first instance, the exclusion of White trappers insulated Cree trappers from the market force of competition for an open access resource, classically a circumstance under which depletion of resources occurs. Later, in the case of the James Bay Agreement, negotiations followed upon a half decade of declining subsistence production, particularly in the southern Cree villages, and while the implementation of the James Bay Project can be expected to eventually damage a substantial amount of game habitat, the short and medium term result of the Agreement's compensatory programs was to revitalize subsistence production. Inasmuch as these political practices had the effect of reversing otherwise powerful trends eroding subsistence production, I consider them to constitute the dominant instance in the historical process of articulation between the Cree domestic and the Euro-Canadian capitalist modes of production.

To suggest that political practices have borne a particularly important causal weight in the history of

this articulation is not to imply that economic or ideological conditions have been unimportant. In particular, Cree commitments to sustaining the subsistence economy - the results of ideological interpellation - were not insignificant in the events leading to the establishment of the Beaver Preserves, and these commitments were even more visible in the Cree efforts to protect subsistence production in the face of the James Bay Hydro-electric Project. On the other side of the articulation, several emerging features of Euro-Canadian ideology also played an important role. The post-Depression rise of social welfare ideology played an important part in Indian Affairs Branch implementation of transfer payments, and more recently, the emergence of strong ideologies concerning environmental protection and minority rights was an important element in reversing the early Quebec position that the James Bay Project was non-negotiable.

The role of ideologies in the initiation and outcome of these political practices is clear to see, but by suggesting that the the political practices bear analytically greater weight, I am suggesting that the Cree ideologically based commitment to the protection of the subsistence economy was successful because it eventuated in the favorable exercise of state power. Absent this positive effect on state policy, the Cree commitments would have confronted considerably more difficult conditions, whether of competition on the traplines from White

trappers or of cash shortfalls restricting the ability to purchase desired and necessary supplies and equipment.

Material conditions and economic practices retain, as an axiom of modes of production theory, a final form of causal importance referred to as determination in the last instance. In the present case, the emphasis upon the effects of political practices after 1930 does not derogate from this premise. Indeed, the political practices had their positive effect precisely in reestablishing key material conditions for subsistence production. These material conditions had to be ensured for subsistence production to continue, and in this sense they can be seen as determinant in the last instance.

No one instance, then, can be seen as the sole determinant of this historical process of persistence and transformation. The interrelations between practices and the complexity of causality posited in the concept of overdetermination are here clear to see. On the other hand, the relative weight of various practices can be differentiated, and the paradox of persistence within a dependent mode of production can be partially illuminated in the following way. Cree ideological practices have persisted in creating a widespread sense of commitment to subsistence production and the domestic or communal relations of production which guide it, and this, in association with the on-going practice of subsistence hunting

and trapping. The persistence of subsistence production in turn owes much to the political interventions which have successfully reestablished and reinforced material conditions which are permissive, even conducive, to subsistence production. These political practices establish the particularity of this historic articulation, and for this reason may be said to constitute the dominant instance.

The historical success of political mobilization to protect the conditions of Cree subsistence production permits a certain optimism, for it is clear that the Cree have had not only the will, but substantial means to protect their way of life, despite the condition of relative dependence upon the capitalist mode of production. At the same time, however, it is necessary to point out that the remainder of the century will see a new intensity in the challenges to the Cree subsistence economy and society. In Nemaska, particularly, implementation of the NBR phase of the James Bay Project will unleash a qualitatively new level of challenge to subsistence harvest, as over half the village's traplines will be severely by flooding. While it is clear that the will to protect the subsistence economy will persist, one can only hope that the available means will be sufficient to the task.

Chapter Five: Theory and Method in the Study of Persistence and Transformation among the James Bay Cree.

This thesis began by outlining the attempt to systematize a number of ethnographic refutations of Leacock's prognosis by appealing to a non-reductionist theory of articulation drawn from modes of production theory. This concluding chapter offers an opportunity to step back from the case study to examine the adequacy of modes of production theory and method for the analysis of persistence in the subsistence sector among the James Bay Cree.

The substantive findings of this study are two. First, concerning ideological practices, this research demonstrates a continuing tension between ideological elements influencing commitments to hunting and/or various forms of wage labor. Despite the global dependence of the Cree domestic mode of production upon the capitalist mode of production of the larger society, notably for imported technology and transfer payments, the evidence presented here suggests that the ideological practices of the domestic mode of production remain quite strong. Ideological elements of the capitalist mode of production are not found to have fully , nor even predominantly, eroded the collective, nor in most cases, the individual, commitment to the subsistence sector. In sum, while under challenge, the ideological practices of the

domestic mode of production are seen as sufficiently viable to recruit hunters up to the level of opportunity in this sector.

The second important finding concerns the interaction between ideological, political and material conditions. On this topic, the research suggested that ideological practices play a relatively subordinate role in the structure of the articulation of the Cree domestic mode of production with the larger society, and this principally because, since the 1930's, a relatively permissive set of material conditions for subsistence hunting and trapping have prevailed, largely due to state policy interventions. While state Indian policy - if the amalgam of relevant provincial and federal initiatives can be graced with such a term - has been far from consistent, at crucial moments it has operated to insulate the Cree regional economy from market forces, the effect of which would have been a more radical dislocation of the Cree from their land and livelihood. This point, I think, merits attention, for while Scott (1979) directs attention to transfer payments and government employment for the period 1940-1970, these are not conceived within the frame of Indian policy as a particularly important form of state practice. Feit (1979), on the other hand, attempts to systematize analysis of the negotiation process as an influence on Indian policy, but the larger task of a systematic theory of Indian policy in a capi-

talist state remains unfinished.

The progression by which this latter conclusion was formulated is instructive, for one of the more important indicators of the strength of a theoretical framework is its ability to direct inquiry in directions which, as in this case, were not anticipated.

The dominance of state intervention in the articulation first came to my attention in attempting to make sense of the vast sector of Cree agency and enterprise employment. Although it came as a late insight, attention to concrete relations of production indicated that wage labor under Cree collective auspices was of a very different sort than the private sector resource development employment about which much had been written. The Cree sector was, in effect, a subsidized sector, although the pejorative connotations of the term are inappropriate in that much of the financing of the Cree agencies now proceeds from the compensation funds negotiated under the James Bay Agreement. In the subsequent stage of analysis, I found that the history of state intervention went back to at least the 1930's, and the seeming coherence of this period emerged in the rising importance of provincial and federal policy initiatives. The critical point was the recognition that despite the vaccilation in Indian Policy throughout this period, the changing articulation between the Cree and the larger society could not be satisfactorily explained by reference to market induced material

pressures alone.

In a sense, the "discovery" of the need for a theory of Indian policy in a capitalist state derives directly from the major emphasis within modes of production theory, namely its conceptualization of complex causality. The principal of overdetermination implied analytically that the ensemble of material, political and ideological practices had to be considered in identifying the specific dynamics of articulation between a capitalist and a non-capitalist mode of production. In this respect, the non-reductionism of the theory was of central importance.

The theory of interpellation, or at least Althusser's version, did not fare so well. While the concept of interpellation directed new attention within historical materialist analysis to the problem of subjectivities, or as I have used the notion here, of "commitments," Althusser's formulation was analytically suspect, and in empirical analysis untenable. Given the sensitivity to complexity of causality which pervades modes of production theory, the inevitability of interpellation in Althusser's formula is quite inconsistent. Laclau's reformulation to include the notion of tension between dominant and dominated ideologies is analytically more sound, and as shown in this study, empirically more plausible.

Although there is no acknowledged method for the

analysis of ideological interpellation, the approach used in this thesis, namely attention to the consequences of interpellation or expressed commitments to livelihoods, has not been entirely satisfactory. Given the limits of the length of time in the field, it was not possible to examine more extensively the social processes by which interpellation takes place, but the results of the present analysis suggest strongly the value of such an approach. In particular, the interaction between the formal socialization of the school, and the informal mechanisms of socialization throughout Cree society would make for a rich and important field study. In this respect, I think that a more processual approach to the question of interpellation is strongly indicated.

I now turn to a very broad tension within modes of production analysis, and indeed, more widely, one which characterizes much of the social sciences, namely the relative balance between abstract conceptual elaboration and concrete analysis. Modes of production theory had as one of its major lines of development a series of epistemological concerns, the consequence of which was a turn to an extraordinarily dense systematization of terms and concepts. This aspect in the theory has been the source of the sharp criticism, by Thompson (1978) among others, that modes of production theory is a scholasticism, or a theoreticism, divorced finally from concrete analysis and practice. Anderson (1980:126) has taken up this criticism

by pointing to a number of important empirical studies in the modes of production framework, notably Rey's analysis of colonialism and traditional modes of production in the Congo (1971). While Thompson's reaction may be intemperate, Anderson's defense is not entirely convincing.

In the context of the present study, I am inclined to associate the unproductive early efforts at analysis, fueled by a prior certainty that the two modes of production involved must interpellate hunters and workers in a symmetrical duality, with the scholasticism which Thompson denounces. Only in a second stage, in which I took the abstract categories as much more provisional, was I able to proceed more effectively, turning finally to the insight into the central role of state intervention.

And so, on balance, it is not the conceptual density of modes of production theory which offends, but its "cartesian rationalism", to recall Hart's (1981:29) apt characterization. From the entirely unobjectionable premise that "facts" are theory laden, the Althusserian school appears to have gone in the direction of presuming that "facts" are exclusively derivative of concepts. In this respect, Thompson, in my opinion, has the last word. His notion of "dialogue with the evidence," in which concepts are provisional and subject to revision in the face of the evidence, is a far more productive guide to analysis.

The value of a non-reductionist theory of articulation has surely been sustained through this analysis. In this respect, the grounds on which Tanner and Scott chose this framework appear to stand the test of further scrutiny. But, if the general thrust is seen as fruitful, important modifications are in order. The need for a processual approach to the analysis of interpellation is the first of these to emerge from the present study. More widely, the theory requires a thorough reconsideration from the standpoint of the relationship between the abstract and the concrete. The loss of a dialectic relationship between the two is, I am now inclined to agree with Thompson (1978) and Hart (1981), an important impediment to effective analysis.

Notes

1. Leacock intends the term "objective" in a particular way in this context. As Marx's analysis of commodities discovered the "objective" relations of value beyond the appearance of price as established in exchange, so Leacock believes that the true significance of relations between producers in the fur trade is found beyond the appearance of friendship and cooperation. While acknowledging that the latter exists, she is nonetheless able to refer to the "objective" relation of competition established between producers in production for exchange.

2. Leacock originally framed her argument as a refutation of Speck and Eiseley, who has suggested that the family hunting territories were aboriginal, resulting from the adaptation to dependence on non-migratory, non-gregarious game - principally moose and beaver. These species, they argued, could best be exploited by small and widely dispersed groups, exercising enduring rights over an area (Speck 1923, Speck and Eisley 1942).

3. Several important sources compare and contrast the modes of production framework with other theories in anthropology. Notably, Godelier, (1972) contrasts his approach with functionalism, including cultural ecology, and structuralism as practiced by Levi-Strauss. Meillassoux (1972) criticizes formalist economic anthropology from the modes of production viewpoint, while Dupres and

Rey (1980) challenge substantivist economic anthropology.

4. This distinction has been the source of considerable debate among historical materialist theorists. Althusser and Balibar (1979) suggest that the terms refer to the fact that the economic instance, by its structure, "selects" which of the various practices will be dominant. Godelier disagrees, arguing that politics and ideology dominate in the structure of some non-capitalist modes of production, because they function as relations of production (1978). Thompson (1978), dismisses these, and a good many other conceptual distinctions offered in Althusser's modes of production theory, as vacuous rhetoric, distinctions without difference.

5. Szymanski (1982) incorporates the elements identified by Bradby in a striking demonstration of the continuities and contrasts between the classic theories of imperialism, and those, including the Monthly Review school of dependency theory, which reverse many of the basic premises. The importance of Szymanski's treatment is to draw attention to efforts to periodize stages of development within capitalism, suggesting that different dynamics of imperialism emerge in different stages.

6. Ideology also figures as a crucial concept within Althusser's epistemology, and although these issues are beyond the scope of the present study, it is important to note that the science:ideology opposition in Althusser's

work has been sharply criticized (Ranciere 1974, Thompson 1978).

7. Following the convention suggested by the Review Panel (1979), the Band and the new settlement on Champion Lake will be referred to as Nemaska, while for historical accuracy, the former site will retain the name Nemiscau.

8. The resident population in 1979 is very similar in age structure to that of the population declaring its intent to move to the new settlement in Champion Lake (Review Panel 1979:36-37). Comparing the proportion of each population within 4 cohorts, 0-19,20-34, 35-49, 50-64, and 65+, the two populations differ by no more that 1.5% for any given cohort.

9. The first of these propositions may now be open to question, despite the strong terms in which it is advanced by Tanner and Scott. In my field notes occurs a single instance in which a 34 year old man reported that he went without invitations to a trapline for 2 seasons during the years before the Nemaska relocation (Informant 27, September 9, 1979). A recent account reports a small but consistent number of instances in Waswanipi and Rupert House in which families without traplines have been unable to obtain invitations (SSDCC 1982).

10. I am endebted to Professor Feit (personal communication) for this observation.

11. The CRA has been considering for many years various plans to decentralize the agency and relocate most or all administrative bodies within one or more Cree communities. Nemaska has figured prominently in these plans (Grand Council of the Crees 1981), and at the 1982 Annual Assembly, the communities voted to proceed with plans to relocate the entire Cree Regional Authority to Nemaska (Harvey Feit, personal communication). This would have significant ramifications for employment in the community, although most positions would continue to be filled by the present incumbents.

12. An alternative interpretation of this agreement is possible. According to Professor Feit (personal communication), many hunters in the community considered the spawning groups at mile 23 to be lost whether the dam was placed there or Mile 44. Only marginal benefits accrued from siting the dam upstream, and only marginal losses were incurred in relocating this dam to the downriver site. Under these circumstances, the agreement to accept financial assistance with the construction of a new community was not considered an abandonment of the commitment to subsistence production.

Table 1
Population Growth in Nemiscau-Nemaska

Year	Resident Population
1954	113[1]
1961	156[1]
1965	173[2]
1970	178[2]
1971	(135)[3]
1972	(121)
1973	(51)
1974	(49)
1975	(50)
1976	(49)
1977	(77)
1978	140[4]
1978 (Dec)	(256)[5]
1979 (Sept)	188[6]

Notes
1. Figures from LeBuis 1971:15.
2. Figures from Review Panel 1979:33.
3. The figures in parentheses are registered Nemaska Band members during the period following abandonment of the Lake Nemiscau settlement.
4. Figure from Review Panel 1979:39.
5. This figure refers to those former Band members currently residing in other communities who had, at this date indicated their intention to establish their residence in the new Nemaska community.
6. Field notes September 1979.

Table 2
Nemaska Resident Population Summer 1979
Age Structure[1]

	Males			Females
	1	*	80+	0
	1	*	75-79	0
	1	*	70-74	0
	0		65-69 **	2
	4	****	60-64 *	1
	2	**	55-59 ****	4
	3	***	50-54 **	2
	1	*	45-49	0
	2	**	40-44 ****	4
	3	***	35-39 **	2
	11	**********	30-34 ******	6
	6	******	25-29 *****	5
	10	**********	20-24 **********	14
	13	**********	15-19 *******	7
	16	**********	10-14 **********	15
	9	*********	5-9 **********	14
	15	**********	0-4 **********	10
	98		TOTAL	86
	22.7		MEAN AGE	21.0
	18		MEDIAN AGE	17/18

Active Population

1. Age unknown for 4 individuals: 2 males, 2 females.

Table 3
Levels of Schooling among the 1979 Nemaska Active Population [1]

Level of Schooling	Males N	Males %	Females N	Females %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Post-Secondary	3	5.8%	1	2.3%	4	4.%
Secondary	14	28.8%	15	34.0%	29	29.%
Secondary Students	3	5.8%	2	4.5%	5	5.%
Primary	21	40.4%	13	27.3%	34	34.%
None	13	23.1%	15	31.8%	28	28.%
TOTALS	54	100.%	46	100.%	100	100.%

Table 4
Levels of Schooling by Age Cohorts
1979 Nemaska Active opulation [1]

Age Cohort	Level of Schooling	Males N	Males %	Females N	Females %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
45+	None	10	100.%	7	100.%	17	100.%
35-44	Secondary	1	20.%	0	0	1	9.1%
	Primary	3	60.%	3	50.%	6	54.5%
	None	1	20.%	3	50.%	4	36.4%
25-34	Post-Secondary	2	11.8%	1	9.%	3	10.7%
	Secondary	7	41.2%	5	45.5%	12	42.9%
	Primary	7	41.2%	2	18.2%	9	32.1%
	None	1	5.9%	3	27.3%	4	14.3%
15-24	Post-Secondary	1	5.%	0	0.%	1	2.5%
	Secondary	5	25.%	10	50.%	15	37.5%
	Secondary Students	3	15.%	2	10.%	5	12.5%
	Primary	11	55.%	7	35.%	18	45.%
	None	0	0.%	1	5.%	1	2.5%
TOTAL		52		44		96	

1. Age unknown for 4 individuals:3 male, 1 female.

Table 5
Language Ability of the
1979 Nemaska Active Population

Language Ability	Males N	Males %	Females N	Females %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Cree, English & French	1	1.7%	1	2.1%	2	2.%
Cree & English	42	73.7%	30	63.8%	72	69.2%
Cree	14	24.6%	16	34.%	30	28.8%
TOTAL	57	100.%	47	100.%	104	100.%

Table 6
Language Ability by Age Cohorts
1979 Nemaska Active Population [1]

Age Cohort	Language Ability	Males N	Males %	Females N	Females %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
45-64	Cree	10	100.%	7	100.%	17	100.%
35-44	Cree, English	2	40.%	2	33.3%	4	36.%
	Cree	3	60.%	4	66.6%	7	64.%
25-34	Cree, English French	1	5.9%	1	9.1%	2	7.1%
	Cree, English	16	94.1%	7	63.6%	23	82.1%
	Cree	0	0.%	3	27.3%	3	10.7%
15-24	Cree, English	23	100.%	21	100.%	44	100.%
TOTAL		55		45		100	

1. Age unknown for 4 individuals: 2 male, 2 female.

Table 7
Livelihood Distribution
1979 Nemaska Active Population[1]

Livelihood Category	Males N	Males %	Females N.	Females %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Hunting and Trapping						
With No Summer Work	5	9.2%	17	39.5%	22	22.7%
Summer Work,Cree Sector	11	20.4%	7	16.3%	18	18.5%
Summer Work,Either Sec.	11	20.4%	2	4.7%	13	13.4%
Summer Work,Private Sec	0	0.%	0	0.%	0	0.%
Hunter Subtotal	27	50.%	26	60.5%	53	54.6%
Nonhunters						
Cree Agencies, Enterprises Only	6	11.1%	7	16.3%	13	13.4%
Either Cree or Private Sector	17	31.5%	4	9.3%	21	21.6%
Private Sector Only	1	1.9%	4	9.3%	5	5.%
Nonhunter Subtotal	24	44.5%	15	34.9%	39	40.2%
Students	3	5.5%	2	4.6%	5	5.2%
TOTAL	54	100.%	43	100.%	97	100.%

1.Livelihood unknown for 7 individuals: 3 male, 4 female.

Table 8
Livelihood by Age Cohort
1979 Nemaska Active Population[1]

Age Cohort	Livelihood Category	Male N	Female N	TOTAL N	TOTAL %	Summary[2]
45-64	Hunter, No Summer Work	5	6	11	64.7%	H = 88.2%
	Hunter, Works Summers	4	0	4	23.5%	
	Nonhunter, in Cree Sector	1	1	2	11.8%	NH= 11.8%
35-44	Hunter, No Summer Work	0	2	2	22.2%	H = 77.7%
	Hunter, Works Summers	3	2	5	55.5%	
	Nonhunter, Works Either Sector	2	0	2	22.2%	NH= 32.2%
25-34	Hunter, No Summer Work	0	3	3	10.7%	
	Hunter, Works Summers	5	2	7	25.%	H = 35.7%
	Nonhunter, in Cree Sector	2	2	4	14.3%	
	Nonhunter, Either Sector	9	2	11	39.4%	NH= 64.3%
	Nonhunter, Private Sector	1	2	3	10.7%	
15-24	Hunter, No Summer Work	0	4	4	11.8%	
	Hunter, Works Summers	9	5	14	32.1%	H = 53.0%
	Nonhunter, Cree Sector	3	4	7	20.6%	
	Nonhunter, Either Sector	5	2	7	20.6%	NH= 47.0%
	Nonhunter, Private Sector	0	2	2	5.8%	
TOTAL		49	39	88		

1. Information missing for 11 individuals: 4 for whom age is unknown, and 7 for whom livelihood is unknown. In addition, 5 students are not included, as they have not chosen livelihoods.
2. H refers to hunters, while NH refers to nonhunters.

Table 9
Livelihood and Level of Schooling
1979 Nemaska Active Population[1]

Level of Schooling	Hunters						Nonhunters								TOTAL
	No Work		Summer Wk.		SUBTOTAL		Cree Sec.		Either		Priv. Sec.		SUBTOTAL		
	N	%col.	N	%col.	N	%col.	N	%col.	N	%col.	N	%col.	N	%col.	
Post Secondary	0	0.%	0	0.%	0	0.%	2	15.4%	2	10.%	0	0.%	4	10.5%	4
(%row)	0.%		0.%		0.%		50.%		50.%		0.%		100%		100.%
Secondary	1	4.5%	10	35.7%	11	22.%	6	46.1%	8	40.%	3	60.%	17	44.7%	28
(%row)	3.6%		35.7%		39.3%		21.4%		28.6%		10.7%		60.7%		100.%
Primary	4	18.2%	11	39.3%	15	30.%	3	23.1%	9	45.%	2	40.%	14	36.9%	29
(%row)	13.8%		37.9%		51.7%		10.3%		31.%		6.9%		48.2%		100.%
None	17	77.3%	7	25.%	24	48.%	2	15.4%	1	5.%	0	0.%	3	7.9%	27
(%row)	63.%		25.9%		88.9%		7.4%		3.7%		0.%		11.1%		100.%
TOTAL	22	100.%	28	100.%	50	100.%	13	100.%	20	100.%	5	100.%	38	100.%	88

1. Information on livelihood is missing for 7 individuals, and level of schooling is unknown for 4 individuals. In addition, 5 students have not been included.

Table 10
Range of Employment Experience
Among 30 Nemaska Adults, 1979

1. Private Sector

1.1. Commercial and Petty Entrepreneurial Enterprises

Hudson Bay Company:
- canoe brigades - through the 1930's
- miscellaneous day laborer, ie. wood cutting
- sales cerk, stock clerk,
- delivery driver

Day laborer for construction entrepreneurs
Mink farm employee
Local Trucking-Transport Enterprise

1.2. Natural Resource Development

Minerals:
- Prospecting
- Slashing and staking claims
- Contracts to slash and stake claims

Timber:
- Log cutting
- Timberjack operation
- Sawmill operator
- Contract pulp cutting

Hydro-electric Development:
- Laborer, road construction, power line corridor clearance, Nemaska electrical substation construction
- Heavy equipment operator
- Work crew supervisor

Wildlife-Recreation:
- Fishing Guide

2. Public and Cree Sector

2.1 Public Employment and Training

Guide for Federal Agency Personnel
Surveyor, DINA
Firefighter
Canada Manpower Courses:
Mechanics
Sewing
Guiding
Logging Equipment

2.2. Cree Administered Agencies and Enterprises

Housing Construction: laborer, carpenter, equipment operator electrician trainee, plumber trainee
Commercial Fishing, IAB program, through 1970
Band Administration: Chief, Secretary, Manager
CRA Programs: Education Coordinator, Accounting Secretary, Relocation Coordinator, ISP Administrator Research Interviewer
Secretary, Chibougamou Friendship Center
Cree Construction employees on Hydro-electric Project contracts

Table 11
Distibution of Waswanipi Workforce
Summer 1968

	Proportion of 1968 Population	
1. Private Sector		
1.1. Commercial and Petty Entrepreneurial Enterprises.		
No employment of this sort.		0.%
1.2. Natural Resource Develpment		
Mining:		15.%
Mineral Exploration	(6.3%)	
Mining	(8.4%)	
Timber		18.9%
Pulp Cutting	(16.8%)	
Saw mill	(2.1%)	
Wildlife-Recreation		
Guiding		4.2%
2. Public Sector		
2.1. Public Employment and Training		
No employment of this sort.		
2.2. Indian Administered Agencies and Enterprises		27.4%
Commercial Fishing under IAB auspices	(20.0%)	
IAB Fish plant.	(7.4%)	
3. Miscellaneous		
Unemployed		20.0%
Odd jobs		14.5%

Source:
Larusic 1968: 40.

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Appendix 1
Interview Population as a Portion of Total Population

Males			Females		TOTAL
Int'd	Non-Int'd.	Age	Int'd.	Non-Int'd.	Int'd.
1	1	65+	0	2	1
5	5	45-64	0	7	5
2	3	35-44	1	5	3
10	7	25-34	2	9	12
5	15	15-24	4	17	9
23	34		7	40	30