

TELLING A MESSAGE: CREE PERCEPTIONS OF CUSTOM AND ADMINISTRATION

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Abstract/Résumé

This article considers some of the ways that "custom" is being used to reform formal administrations in James Bay Cree society. It points to a number of problems of administrative adjustment associated with regional autonomy that accompanied the implementation of the James Bay Agreement, especially in dealing effectively with the increased incidence of suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, family violence and juvenile crime. Cree perceptions of customary ways to overcome problems of self-destructiveness and violence are found to vary both within and between communities, yet they have the potential to be used productively in the strategies of autonomous institutions.

Cet article examine quelques-uns des moyens qu'on emploie de "coutume" pour réformer les administrations officielles dans la société Cree de James Bay. Il indique un nombre de problèmes d'adaptation administrative, associés à l'autonomie régionale qui ont accompagné la réalisation de l'accord James Bay, surtout en venant efficacement à bout de l'accroissement de la fréquence du suicide, de l'abus des drogues et de l'alcool, de la violence familiale et du crime juvénile. On trouve que les perceptions des Crees des moyens habituels de surmonter les problèmes de l'autodestruction et de la violence varient dans une seule communauté et dans des autres, pourtant elles ont le potentiel d'être employés efficacement dans les stratégies des institutions autonomes.

Introduction

Talking to Cree elders in Mistassini, Quebec¹ about the community lifestyle between the 1930s and 1960s, I was surprised to find that nobody could recall an instance of suicide or even alcohol abuse. Elders would gather regularly at the trading post with buckets of home brew made from boiled beans or raisins, but this was remembered as a venue for story-telling that did not lead to addiction or violence. In recent decades the Cree communities have experienced epidemics of addiction, suicide and violence that many, who look to the relative tranquillity of the past, are at a loss to understand. In an earlier paper (Niezen, 1993a) I argued that such symptoms of social crisis among the James Bay Cree are a consequence of hydro-electric construction on the La Grande River which began in the late 1970s. Promises of environmental protection and job creation were not enough to offset the negative consequences of community relocation and a shift from the values of the forest economy to greater reliance on formal institutions.

Many of those writing about Cree society in recent years have been justifiably concerned with the immediate consequences and potential dangers of large-scale development (Berkes, 1981; Richardson, 1991; McCutcheon, 1991; Niezen, 1993a). A more subtle and difficult issue, however, lies in examining the potential for autonomous Native administrations to effectively deal with the social impact of mega-project construction. In the eastern James Bay, as with many other regions where Native people have been compelled to accommodate themselves to extractive industries, the disastrous social consequences of project construction was accompanied by successful negotiations for regional administrative autonomy. Fledgling Cree administrations, especially those dealing directly with problems of violent and self-destructive behaviour, have been required to carry a heavy burden of responsibilities while adjusting to unfamiliar bureaucratic methods.

A consequence of this predicament is that until recently little attention was paid to the cultural appropriateness of many administrative goals and procedures. Beauvais (1985), for example, considers the need for Native personnel in the northern systems of health and social services but falls short of calling for the incorporation of Native values in this shift toward regional self-determination of health administration. An effort is currently being made in a number of Cree administrations to more thoroughly deal with this issue. Recent research into the relationship between Cree custom and the administration of justice (McDonnell, 1993), the adaptation of Cree social services to the village setting (Smith, 1986), and traditional helping systems for the Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay (Niezen, 1993b) are early steps in the attempt to use local knowledge to reform formal administrations.

The success of reform efforts that stem from such research depends upon an understanding of some important features of autonomous Native institutions and the communities they serve as well as the potential risks involved in the incorporation of custom into bureaucratic strategies. By looking at how the distinct lifestyle of the Cree can make some formal procedures ineffective, or even socially destructive, we can better understand the difficulties newly-autonomous Cree administrations experience in handling the social consequences of hydro-electric development. More importantly, by looking at Cree perceptions of custom we can understand the potential for Native institutions to base themselves on culturally appropriate policies and procedures and avoid administrative failure.

Native Regional Autonomy

One of the most important trends in the relationship between Native peoples and the state in recent decades has been a shift from so-called "welfare politics" to regional autonomy in the administration of government services. From Canada to Norway and Australia, Indigenous leaders have used what has been called "the politics of embarrassment" (Dyck, 1985:15) to present moral claims against the state to national and international organizations. George Erasmus, former chairman of the Assembly of First Nations, expressed a general strategy for achieving Native self-government: "go outside of this country. We must embarrass this country. We have to tell the world about our situation here in Canada" (Erasmus, 1988:53). Constitutionally entrenched autonomy for Native people has proven elusive, but the successful pursuit of limited political goals has changed the pattern of relations between local Aboriginal groups and government bureaucracies. In Norway a hunger strike by the Saami reindeer pastoralists in 1979 protesting dam construction in their northern homeland unexpectedly elicited public sympathy, forcing the government to accede to their demands and eventually reshape the pattern of political control. "Generations of bureaucrats-controlling education, social welfare, housing and even reindeer management-have defined the limits and even the content of Saami culture. The hunger strike reversed the process [in a]...public performance which radically rearranged the conventional relation between centre and periphery" (Paine, 1985:201-202).

A better known example of negotiations for development leading to regional autonomy can be seen in the Cree of the eastern James Bay in northern Quebec. Rarely has Native autonomy in administering government services been more wide-ranging and rapidly implemented. In the early 1970s leaders of eight disparate Cree communities mobilized opposition to the Quebec government's plans to construct a massive

hydro-electric complex on the La Grande River. The combination of legal action, which led to an injunction that temporarily halted construction, and public sympathy for the issues of Aboriginal rights and environmental impact, brought about negotiations between the Quebec government and the legal and political representatives of the Cree and Inuit. These negotiations resulted in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975 which, in essence, involved the extinction of some Native rights to the land in exchange for a guaranteed measure of financial, administrative, and territorial autonomy. This Agreement, and the subsequent *Cree-Naskapi Act* of 1984 (Cree-Naskapi Commission, 1993), provided regional autonomy in the administration of education with the establishment of the Cree School Board, and health care and social services through the creation of the Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay. It also established local law enforcement agencies, and changed relatively powerless Band councils into "local governments" based upon a municipal model. At the same time that administrative services were updated and largely given over to Cree control, the Agreement dealt with the most important concern of Cree leaders-protection of the land and the hunting way of life-by providing large grants of land in each of the (then) eight communities with specific rights over the adjacent territories. It also established the Income Security Program for Cree hunters and trappers which provides a guaranteed income for participants in the program who spend most of their time each year in the forest.

There is an important relationship between large-scale development and agencies such as the Cree Social Services that deal with personal and family crises in the affected communities. Social service workers have been required to deal with an increased incidence of such problems as alcohol abuse, family violence and juvenile crime in the wake of the rapid changes taking place in the Cree communities. If these problems are not dealt with in effective, appropriate ways, cycles of self destructiveness and violence can become more entrenched.

The social service administration is also relevant because it is what I will call an "enforcement agency," an institution charged with the responsibility of enforcing laws that largely originate in a non-Native legislature. Although the Cree Social Services provides important voluntary counselling services, much of its activity is concerned with severe problems that require compulsory intervention, mainly through the *Young Offenders Act* and the *Youth Protection Act*, which will be discussed below. It is therefore an institution that has only partial autonomy because Native administrators and personnel are compelled to work within a system that has done little to accommodate the cultural distinctiveness of Native society (Association des Centres de Services Sociaux du Québec, 1986). The agency of enforcement presents special

problems for local administrators because it is required to operate under laws, rules and procedures that are sometimes seen as oppressive and running counter to local perceptions of tradition.

Since the implementation of the James Bay Agreement there has been considerable interest in determining the degree to which the new Cree institutions are autonomous, effective, and representative of local interests. Much of the discussion has centered upon two issues: 1) the extent to which regional bureaucracies are capable of acting outside of government control; and 2) the practical obstacles to administrative efficiency inherent in regional autonomy.

An early evaluation of the James Bay Agreement by LaRusic *et al.* (1979) argues that Cree opposition to hydro-electric development, the negotiation of a land-claim settlement and the establishment of regional Cree administrations did not reduce dependence on external agencies or individuals. Rather, dependence was transferred from government agencies to individual and corporate consultants. Harvey Feit takes issue with this perception of the early period of Cree political mobilization, arguing that the Cree did not move in the direction of increased dependency: "The new regional structure made use of the already existing organization of chiefs and band councils and thereby avoided being imposed by, or claiming authority from, outside authorities" (Feit, 1985:58). Elsewhere Feit (1982) takes this line of enquiry further, arguing that the successful and innovative response of the Cree to the threat of large-scale development has transformed them into a new and potentially viable form of hunting society. Salisbury (1986) complements this view of the Agreement by stressing the positive aspects of the provision of modern services in education, health care, transportation, communications and justice, without any suggestion that such profound change could also result in significant problems of adjustment at the local level.

Other appraisals of the James Bay Agreement suggest that Feit's and Salisbury's optimistic appraisals do not fully take into account the possibility that a style of bureaucracy may have been introduced to Cree society that is not always compatible with the hunting way of life. From the Quebec government's point of view, after all, the Agreement provided the opportunity to integrate the Cree more fully into the Provincial administration. John Ciaccia states this explicitly in his foreword to the James Bay Agreement: "What the Government of Québec is doing here is taking the opportunity to extend its administration, its laws, its services its governmental structures throughout the entirety of Quebec; in short, to affirm the integrity of our territory" (Ciaccia, 1975:XVI). Roistang, considering the effectiveness of regional autonomy under the James Bay Agreement among the Inuit, argues that despite the effectiveness of Native negotiations and the achievement of specific rights and benefits

under the Agreement, the creation of regional government has led to integration in the Provincial administration rather than local autonomy. "The creation of the Regional Government and the establishment of relatively complex administrative structures in Northern Québec have increased the Inuit's reliance on non-Native technical and professional assistance and subject them to its influence" (Roistang, 1985:35). The risk of integration and dependency following upon a negotiated effort toward administrative autonomy has also been observed among the Cree in Manitoba following the construction of the Grand Rapids hydro-electric project in the early 1960s. An evaluation of the settlement negotiated with the three Cree Bands effected by this development points to a legacy of confusion and the loss of self-sufficiency: "In the twenty-five years since [the compensation, relocation and construction] it is clear that the development and the negotiations changed an independent self-sufficient people into dependent societies unable to support themselves and suffering many social problems" (Loney, 1987:57).

A second obstacle to regional autonomy emphasized in appraisals of the James Bay Agreement is the more straightforward problem of administrative efficiency. This is closely tied to the issue of dependency because, as Roistang points out, "the sudden profusion of committees and organizations following the signing of the Agreement created an urgent need for non-Native advisers and professionals" (Roistang, 1985:28). Looking at this situation among the James Bay Cree, Wertman (1983) finds that the many new agencies and organizations that emerged from the Agreement were difficult to administer effectively at the local level. "The Cree have realized...that they have had imposed on them a network of new bureaucratic forms with overlapping functions and responsibilities...The important consideration from a strictly developmental perspective is that when organizations and agencies are not indigenous inventions, then familiarity with them and gaining mastery over them will be more difficult" (Wertman, 1983:287). The Cree have, over the past two decades, been coping with new administrative organizations at the same time that they were forced to deal with the confusion and trauma that followed large-scale dam construction. It should be little wonder, then, that the new regional administrations were not always models of efficiency and order and that their strategies for coping with self-destructiveness and violence were not always effective.

What much of the literature on Native regional autonomy seems to stress are the problems inherent in acquiring familiarity with administrative procedures and independence from non-Native professional assistance. But are well-managed local administrations the final goal of the Native struggle for self-determination? Considerations of independence and efficiency do not complete our list of important criteria for the success of Native regional autonomy. A neglected issue is the

likelihood that local institutions cannot adequately meet the needs of Native communities without culturally appropriate policies and procedures. The cultural adaptation of formal services should not merely aim toward integrating the proven methods of modern administration into Native society without destroying local values (Smith, 1986:42). Rather, Native leaders should be given the necessary powers to use local understandings of custom to reform formal systems themselves.

When administrative policies, especially those of enforcement agencies, are too remote from local perceptions of custom, conflict often arises. Clients will often oppose the rules and procedures associated with bureaucratic operations if they sense a violation of custom or propriety. In cases of fostering, for example, where official policy opposes selection of foster parents from within the client's household, families can simply refuse to follow official directives. Although the administration can usually enforce its decisions, a lack of cooperation from clients consumes time, energy, and resources.

There are three interrelated conditions for the success of regional Native administrations: autonomy, efficiency and cultural appropriateness. Without Native personnel working within a system of local leadership it is almost impossible to formulate and provide services that are consistent with local custom; without appropriate policies and procedures administrations will often become inefficient and ineffective; and without efficiency and effectiveness almost any administration will falter.

The Forest and the Village

There are two principal ways of life that characterize Cree society that need to be outlined before the issues surrounding the use of custom in autonomous Native administrations can be more directly dealt with: the hunting, trapping and fishing lifestyle that depends upon cooperation within and between family groups living in a close relationship with the natural environment and the village lifestyle in which there is greater reliance upon formal institutions for the satisfaction of social and material needs. Our understanding of the places of custom and administration in Cree society would be distorted if we did not consider the ways that these lifestyles overlap and are interdependent.

The most obvious way that the forest and village intersect occurs when people move between the two realms. Hunters who are committed to spending most of the year in the bush still move into the communities for part of the year, usually in the summer months. Some alternate between the forest lifestyle and seasonal labour. This means that almost all Crees have some familiarity with the institutions and activities of life in the communities.

At the same time, those raised in the village without the informal apprenticeship necessary to live comfortably for extended periods in the wilderness still have some experience with the hunting economy, even if it is a recreational pursuit rather than a complete way of life. In the coastal communities the semi-annual "goose-break" is a magnet that pulls almost everyone out of the villages to camps and goose blinds for a hunt that can last several weeks. In the interior, the fall mating season of moose is a similar, though less intense, opportunity for movement into the bush. For those living in the village, fishing and hunting reinforce the importance of game food as well as many of the practices and rules of behaviour that are seen to be an important realm of Cree tradition.

The hunting way of life ideally stresses the virtues of knowledge, endurance, and respect. A successful hunter will possess a large fund of knowledge about the behaviour of a wide variety of game animals, the techniques used in catching them, the best climate and conditions for pursuing particular species, and techniques for staying safe and comfortable in all weather. Those experienced in the forest lifestyle sometimes point out that this knowledge takes a great deal of experience to acquire thoroughly and is easily lost if close contact with the environment is not maintained.

[A] young man returned to his community after being away for several years at the residential school. That fall he went into the bush to trap with his father. The camp was in an area known to him. His father sent him to check the traps. He made it to the traps without any difficulty but on the way back, he got disoriented and he was completely lost. The old man, missing him, went to look for him. He called him but had no luck. He went to the traps, but the young man was not there. It was getting late so they called off the search that day. The following day, they found him. He had spent the night under a clump of trees which served him as a sort of shelter. He had not even built a fire; that is, he had been completely helpless. On a really cold day, he would not have survived. In the old days, a 16 year-old would have been considered an adult in terms of how he handled himself in the bush (Cree Trappers Association of Chisasibi, 1989:58).

Even with a great degree of skill and experience, however, a hunter will still sometimes run into trouble. Misfortunes such as sickness, injury and unexpected severe weather have put almost all long-time participants in the forest economy to the test. Stories of exceptional courage and fortitude are told to the young as examples of how one should behave in an emergency.

There is the story of the mother of a hunter who is still among us. His family trapped in Lake Wawa area north of the La Grande River. One winter, they ran short of supplies. In early spring, the father set for Kanaapuscow Post to get supplies. But he fell short of the Post. He collapsed and died on the way. The wife was left with three young children in the camp. She kept them fed. Starting out after break-up, she canoed and portaged with the children, all the way from Lake Wawa to the nearest camp which was on the Roggan River. She made it safely to the Roggan River in June (Cree Trappers Association of Chisasibi, 1989:73).

Respect for the environment and its animals is not seen as a mere appendage to one's skill as a hunter. Success in the forest economy is seen to depend entirely upon a hunter's consistency in establishing a mutual respect with the game he is pursuing. Boasting of one's ability and wasting meat are serious breaches of etiquette that will disturb one's relationship with game and discourage animals from being caught. Respect is shown through a modest and patient attitude toward the kill, and through proper handling of game that has been taken. A hunter in Mistassini told me about a moose hunt that reflects such a respect for game.

A moose attacked me one time. There were four of them. It was the male moose that wanted to charge me. The three females were the ones I killed and the male I didn't kill. Then he charged me. There was a tree in front of me so I climbed up. I hung onto it for a long time...[Even though I had my rifle, I didn't want to shoot the moose that attacked]. It would have been too much work for me because I had already killed three...Eventually...I climbed down. I tried to position myself so that my scent would go with the wind in the direction where the moose could smell me, so he could smell the scent of man. That's when the moose ran away.

This narrative tells us several things about Cree approaches to hunting. Although the hunter had the skill and good fortune to bring in a supply of meat that would meet the needs of his entire camp over much of the winter, the story was told to emphasize the dangers of hunting moose. As an aside, it also shows a concern for not taking more than is needed. It is difficult to imagine a recreational hunter with the frame of mind to avoid killing an attacking moose simply because it would have been "too much."

In addition to the care that is taken in handling animals before, during

and after the kill, there is often a spiritual dimension to the hunter's overall relationship with nature.

This is where I get my education from. By listening to this rapid I get my feeling of relief. By listening to the geese that fly over going south...that tells another message. Everything connects with our everyday life. Not using a book, but just to look at nature and you'll understand. The more you understand about nature, the more you understand yourself.

A careful, spiritual approach to the natural world ideally extends in some ways to relations with fellow humans. Respect for elders is particularly stressed because they are often a source of guidance and knowledge that comes from a long, personal involvement in the forest way of life.

Always listen first to your elders and then you follow behind...That was our teaching...But today, right now, our youth are in front. They have all the worst problems, especially in Chisasibi, because they don't want to walk behind the elders.

The estrangement this Elder sees between the generations is most easily understood as a product of social changes that have given young people, their parents and their grandparents different experiences and goals in life. The older generation² of Cree people in particular has lived through rapid and profound change, remembering their youth as a time when most families lived for ten months of the year in isolated bush camps, coming into the small settlements only in the summer months. They have seen the arrival of modern medicine, the rapid centralization and growth of villages, the arrival of large-scale development projects, an increased participation in formal education and greater local political complexity and sophistication. When asked about the social problems faced by the Cree in earlier generations, some Elders remembered times of sickness and hunger:

You should have seen the people, especially the old people. They looked so bad. So lonely. You would see somebody, an old lady, lying there coughing and coughing...[The flies] crawled around on their faces, on their mouth because they were so helpless.

Mostly the problem a long time ago [was that] people got hungry. Not because they [were] lazy. Just the animals that they hunted or the birds that they hunted were scarce. That's

the problem. It [was] not the same as the problems we have in the community [today] because we have a drinking problem, drugs...[These are] very different from the problems we had in the bush.

The issues being dealt with in today's social services-attempted suicide, neglect of children, juvenile crime, and drug and alcohol abuse-are remote from the experience Elders had in their youth. The Cree people, in only a few decades, have largely replaced the episodic, painful experiences of sickness and starvation with new epidemics of social crisis in the communities. A study conducted by Niezen and St-Jean (1988), the findings of which are summarized by Niezen (1993a), gives some indication of the nature and frequency of social problems in the Cree communities:

During the administrative period from 1 April, 1986 to 31 March, 1987 there were between 687 and 759 active social service files for a population of 8605 individuals. It is safe to say that such a high incidence of individual and family crises handled by social service professionals supports more informal observations that the communities have been experiencing profound social problems since the implementation of James Bay I.

More alarming than the mere frequency of individual and family disturbances is the fact that formal social service intervention is overwhelmingly concerned with youth. While non-autonomous elders appear proportionally with some frequency in the files, they are not a large overall population. Young people aged 18 and younger experience the widest range of problems and take up most of the energy of social service workers. Those between the ages of 10 and 19 made up 25.8 per cent of the total population (8605) of the Cree communities in 1986, yet for the same period this age group was represented in 44.5 per cent of social service files. A generation has emerged that seems to have lost a close connection with the traditional lifestyle and is deeply affected by the lack of self esteem and identity that this can bring about (Niezen, 1993a: 519).

This data from social service records points to a combination of conditions in the Cree villages that has led to a gulf between generations, an inability of elders to communicate the knowledge and respect for self and others that is part of the forest way of life. The Cree themselves offer diverse explanations for this situation. For some, young people became

isolated because of a lack of parenting skills among the middle generation that experienced residential education. For others it is an outgrowth of an educational system which they perceive as alienating the young from the bush lifestyle without preparing them adequately for formal employment. One of the most widespread explanations for the estrangement of elders and young people, however, is that it stems from their different approach to Christianity. This view is especially common in Chisasibi because the prelocation community of Fort George became a centre of missionary activity through the efforts of Reinder Walton, a charismatic envoy of the Church Missionary Society. His thirty-year tenure on Fort George through the turn of the century left an indelible mark on the community, making the Anglican Church the focus of village life and religious inspiration. His opinions concerning the acceptability of particular customs seems to have been readily enforced. As Bishop Lawrence explained to me, for example, the use of the drum was seen by Walton to be anti-Christian: "[The drum] was not just a musical instrument. It was used quite deliberately to work people into frenzies. I think in [Walton's] view it was an instrument of the devil."

Since the Anglican Church has more recently been faced with competition from other religious denominations, such as Pentacostalism, and especially from the secular orientation of popular culture, its influence among the younger generation is not as profound as it is among the elders for whom the Anglican Church has always been a focus of social activity and moral conviction. "When the elders talk about something they always refer to the Bible. Us, as young people, [we] can't talk back to them. Its because I know the Bible is very strong to them." While young people usually continue to uphold the value placed upon listening to elders with humility and respect, the elders' advice often exhorts them to increase their religious conviction in a style of discourse remote from the perceptions and experiences of youth.

The differences between generations have been widened by large-scale development and rapid social change which has created wide variation in the formative experiences of elders and youth. The communities in which research for this study took place, Chisasibi and Mistassini (with populations of 2555 and 2352 respectively) have both moved toward a greater concentration of the population and greater reliance upon formal institutions, particularly since the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975. Recent change in some communities has been more radical than in others. Chisasibi, for example, was established when it was determined that the old settlement of Fort George would be unfavorably situated in relation to a nearby dam site. Mistassini was not as radically affected by hydro-electric development since it is an inland community, remote from dam construction, although the flooding and infrastructure are still visible to

hunters from this village who venture north. In Mistassini the major large-scale development has been in the areas of logging and mining and the greatest social change followed the 1970s construction of a road which connected Mistassini with the industrial town of Chibougamou.

For some, the formal services available in the villages takes away the independence of those raised in the self-sufficiency and cooperation of the forest. The formal institutions of the villages are often seen as failing to achieve a useful integration of the beliefs and practices inherited from the forest lifestyle with the policies and procedures of administrations inherited from non-Native society.

The forest lifestyle is a realm in which social relationships and practical duties are clearly defined. The natural world is described as the source of both emotional well-being and daunting physical challenges. In the village way of life there is a wider range of opportunities and services but with greater social ambiguity making intergenerational differences more potentially divisive. Formal Cree administrations usually aim to integrate the lifestyles of the forest and village but such efforts are often blocked by laws, rules and procedures at odds with local culture. We can now consider in more detail some of the ways that this kind of administrative failure is seen to occur.

Perceptions of Formal Systems

A large number of Native groups, including the Cree, have already recognized the dangers inherent in accepting non-Native assumptions, goals, and methods in various realms of local administration. The systems of tribal government and tribal courts in the United States, for example, are widely seen as the most successful efforts by Native people to overcome the ethnocentric biases and domination of government administrations. Yet it is still observed that "the deep-seated belief held by federal employees that they must be involved in every activity undertaken by the tribes inevitably leads to a continuing irritation that cannot be easily resolved" (Deloria and Lytle, 1983:105). Deloria and Lytle point to another of the central obstacles to the administrative use of custom in the tribal court system when they observe that, "the old methods of handling disputes could not really be brought back into the lives of the people because most of them depended upon religious ceremonies that were no longer practised. And Indians who were now converted and church-going Christians were generally suspicious of the effort ... to guarantee religious freedom to traditional people" (Deloria and Lytle, 1983:116).

Similar tensions can be found in some of the Cree administrations established with the James Bay Agreement. One of the most common sources of frustration with the formal system of handling behaviour

problems, for example, has been the tendency in the justice system to use "punishment," usually incarceration. This is seen to resolve none of the problems, failing to achieve the goal of healing the emotional problems and addictions that are the ultimate cause of violence. A Native police officer provided this observation:

We get a lot of family disputes, domestic calls...Usually it involves alcohol...and assaults...related to the alcohol. Usually people go to court for wife battery...I don't think that its the solution...They keep coming back and they're doing it again, over and over...I think it would work if instead of taking them to the court, maybe in these kinds of events if there were some kind of healing. I don't think I would consider it healing taking a guy, putting him in prison for so long.

In the handling of juvenile crime, there has long been an awareness among Cree leaders that the implementation of Quebec's *Youth Protection Act* and *Young Offenders Act* generates problems due to the cultural particularity and geographical isolation of the Cree. In 1983 the Director of Youth Protection carried out a wide consultation, looking into reasons for dissatisfaction with the handling of youth problems in the (then) eight Cree Communities. One important result of this effort to reform the handling of youth protection and young offenders were the reports *Equality in the Difference* (Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay, 1984) and *The Alternative* (Bedard, 1987), which recommended the creation of Youth Councils as alternatives to the provincial justice system in the implementation of the *Young Offenders Act*.³

The handling of youth problems in the Cree communities, however, remains controversial because they are still regulated by formal laws that approach behaviour problems differently than the informal "Cree way." A common view is that the legal mechanisms involved in youth protection and young offenders are too harsh, inclining toward punishment rather than compromise and reconciliation.

One form of perceived punishment is derived from the power of the *Youth Protection Act* to remove children from their parents. People commonly express dismay at the power social workers have to remove children from their parents to be placed in foster homes. According to article 38 of the *Youth Protection Act*, social service intervention can take place when the security and development of a child are seen to be endangered, and the more precise conditions into which endangerment of security and development falls are extremely wide-ranging, including "mental and affective development...threatened by lack of appropriate care," and parental behaviour that "creates a risk of physical and moral

danger to the child" (Government of Quebec, 1984:article 38).

Cases of child neglect and child abuse are therefore extremely difficult to handle. The apprehension of children is emotionally traumatic for many people. The social worker is often well acquainted with the family involved, a situation that can lead to feelings of guilt, alienation and sorrow. Members of the community usually have pity for the parents of the children taken away. The tendency is to forgive the parents and blame social workers (or the *Youth Protection Act*) for the removal of children. "The attitude is 'so what if they went out drinking...'" Even in cases of sexual abuse of minors, Cree social workers report that people in the community expect the problem to be resolved by relying on the social service administration to provide counselling and defuse the situation rather than resorting to formal punishment in the legal system. There is a great willingness to forgive and an even greater mistrust of the formal mechanisms of judgement and incarceration. Rather than resorting to punishment, many Cree people seem to be looking for healing and reconciliation, qualities they hope will be found in the ways elders once handled social and individual crises before the recent era of administrative formalization.

Cree Ways of Helping

One of the starting points of this research was that present-day *perceptions* of an earlier way of life are more revealing than an attempt at historical reconstruction through oral evidence. The Cree people cited here are trying to understand their youth, or what they were told about earlier generations by their Elders, in the light of profound changes that have taken place in their communities. More often than not, their narratives can be seen as attempts to explain or deal with the social tensions of today by looking at how things were different in their youth rather than as efforts to arrive at a complete and reliable reconstruction of an earlier way of life.

The material on which this study is based provides local opinions on the effectiveness of new administrations and the ways that they can accommodate the Cree way of life and thus contribute towards filling a gap in work that has been done on the formalization of Cree society. We can improve our understanding of recent changes to Cree society by considering the views of, as one French-speaking observer described it, "monsieur et madame tout-le-monde Cri (Trudel, 1982:230).

In the course of 27 interviews, I asked Elders about their youth, and directed them to think about how behaviour problems in the community were handled before the establishment of formal social services.⁴ Many Elders at first had difficulty putting their fingers on earlier social problems since such contemporary concerns as alcohol abuse and suicide were

said to be virtually unknown. Usually they were able to talk about mental conflict, depression and various manifestations of psychosis that they remembered occurring in the villages.

We are in the position of describing what can be called "customary helping strategies," or more correctly "informal helping strategies," that operated primarily in a village setting from the 1930s to the 1960s—a setting which has since become the locus of the most rapid erosion of knowledge of the environment, where the reciprocal sharing of hunting resources is being replaced by competition for limited job opportunities, where informal leadership has been replaced by formal administrations, and where a respect for Elders has to some extent been replaced by the social isolation of different generations with their own unique goals and experiences.

Just as Salisbury (1977) reports a prism of perceptions concerning the first phase of hydroelectric development in the James Bay, the interviews for this study brought out a wide range of perceptions of the ways personal and social crises were resolved in earlier generations. Although a relatively small sample is used there are some striking results from interviews about the Cree ways of helping. Among the most immediately apparent are the variety of responses and the differences between the solutions offered in Chisasibi and Mistassini (see Table 1).⁵ With some variation in frequency, the Cree solutions to family and behaviour problems included shamanism, customary medicine, isolation in the forest way of life, and counselling from Elders, including occasional specific emphasis on Chiefs or catechists. The nature of these responses is worth looking at in more detail.

1) *Shamanism*: The responses which looked to the pre-Christian past for the Cree way of helping actually side-stepped the focus I wished to place on problems encountered during the period of government involvement in village affairs from the 1930s to the 1960s. Quite possibly, therefore, this is a view that is more widely held than this set of interviews would indicate. According to this point of view, the Christian censoring of local custom eliminated anything that could genuinely be called a Cree helping system.

The Native people here in Chisasibi lost their own power so many...years ago because they were not allowed to perform any rituals or traditional ceremonies. They lost it because the Church itself, the minister [was] telling them "this is evil, this is wrong, what you're doing." So they believed that. So today we don't have that kind of power. We lost it completely.

Table 1: Perceptions of the Cree way of helping in Chisasibi and Mistassini

	Chisasibi (12 respondents)		Mistassini (15 respondents)		Total (27 respondents)	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Shaman (mitau)	1	8.3	1	6.7	2	7.4
Cree medicine	0	0.	7	46.7	7	25.9
Forest lifestyle	7	58.3	6	40	13	48.1
Counselling	8	66.7	7	46.7	15	55.6
No response	0	0	3	20	3	11.1

This interviewee suggested that if the traditional system of non-Christian curing had not been lost through the missionary effort, we would still be able to witness the remarkable power used by shamans to cure the body and spirit.

Probably you could help anything, help anybody...They could cure any disease. Even they could raise anybody from the dead.

It is unfortunate that those who harkened back to the pre-Christian system of helping did not have a clear idea what the curing methods were, other than to stress that Elders were its most important functionaries. The details of the system were seen to have been lost.

2) *Cree medicine*: When asking about ways to resolve problems that are today handled by social services, a common response was to talk at length about Cree medicine. It eventually became clear to me that the distinction commonly made in western thinking between affliction of the body and the spirit was absent, that these were seen to be included in the same healing process. Emotional and physical ailments are perceived as being intimately connected.

Seven of those interviewed in Mistassini reported using or witnessing a healing technique using a sweat lodge, followed by bleeding and sometimes, as mentioned in one interview, the use of natural cathartics to empty the bowels. None of the interviews in Chisasibi made mention of such a system of healing. We can therefore look at Cree medicine as the clearest point of divergence in the pattern of responses between the

two communities. Some possible explanations for this divergence are different patterns of cultural diffusion in the pre-contact era and the possibility that missionary effort in Chisasibi may have eliminated a medical system that was seen to be a source of evil because it altered the patients' state of consciousness.

The sweat lodge consisted of a small, enclosed tent with a central pit lined with moss in which heated stones were placed. Water sprinkled on the stones made the atmosphere in the tent hot and humid. Those being treated in the sweat lodge were closely watched, either by someone in the tent with them or outside the tent looking occasionally through a door flap. Several hours in this humid heat could lead to temporary loss of consciousness or, preferably, an altered mental state through hypoxia resulting from a depletion of oxygen. This could release inhibitions and prepare people for hallucinatory experiences.⁶

The practice of throwing water on heated stones for medicinal purposes has a very wide distribution throughout the northern hemisphere (Lopatin, 1960).⁷ Among the Cree it was used for curing a wide variety of ailments, including tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza. It was also used to help people with emotional problems or behavioural disturbances. While a number of successful cures using the sweat lodge were reported to me, one case in which it was unsuccessful is interesting because it clearly describes the combination of the sweat lodge and bleeding, and provides an explanation for a failed attempt at healing:

I saw a lady one time whose illness was very strong. She never hit us but we often saw her hit her kids...She had blackouts. There were times when she would recover...She would start doing her work just like any other normal person...[Then her illness would come back.] The most frightening thing we saw was when she took a gun and started shooting all over the place...How it started was when she was giving birth to one of her children, some of the blood stayed inside her stomach. That's when [the elders] realized she was having mental problems...They put her in the sweat lodge. There was always someone in the sweat lodge with her. While she was lying on the ground there was someone blowing on her at times. And when she was all in a sweat they took a dry cloth and wiped her with it. Then they dressed her after. They cut the vein, either on the wrist or on the foot just below the ankle. That's what they used to do when the person was still hot, before the person had cooled off...Her blood looked like water. It wasn't thick. It was very watery.⁸ That's how they found out [for sure that] she was

sick, when her blood was in that state...What happened here...it was too late. It was too advanced already. That's what the older people said. They were not able to help her.

Bleeding was a very common remedy in Mistassini, not necessarily used in conjunction with the sweat lodge. It combined both diagnosis and healing because the colour and consistency of blood was an indication of the problem, and the draining of about a pint of blood from the veins at the side of the wrist or below the ankle was also considered to have a therapeutic effect. The beliefs associated with therapeutic bleeding remain strong among the oldest generation. Workers at the Mistassini clinic reported to me that older patients who are having blood taken for tests sometimes request extra blood to be removed to cure minor ailments such as headaches. (Such requests are politely declined.)

3) *The forest lifestyle*: People in the Cree communities will often readily point to differences between people's behaviour in the settlement and the bush but in their search for explanations will attribute a variety of factors. Some will emphasize the availability of drugs and alcohol, indolence stemming from unemployment, the harshness of committed Christians whose faith is expressed less tolerantly in the villages, and the dependency upon formal institutions for solving an immense variety of problems. In the bush, it is often stressed, people keep busy. Aside from the hard work involved in hunting and trapping, cabins and lodges need constant maintenance, water needs to be carried, the routines of daily living require almost constant attention.

A discussion of the restorative spiritual power of nature was among the most common responses to questions about Cree ways of helping. This was expressed in a number of ways, from describing the general emotional benefits of closeness with the natural environment to pointing out its ability to change the direction of those whose lives in the community were confused and sometimes violent. Hunters who compared their lives in the town with the way they felt in the bush pointed to the spiritual power of nature in contrast to the emotional ambiguity of the community. Knowledge of the natural word was seen to bring about knowledge of self.

I've tried to live a different life [in the South]. It didn't work. But once I started to go back to the spiritual ways, to the land, things started to fall into place.

In their discussions, the emotional benefits of such an approach to nature were not limited to full-time hunters but included its potential to help many youth, even those with limited hunting experience. There is said to be a greater closeness between family members and between Elders and youth through teaching and cooperation.

For a father, when he's out in the bush and he has a teenager that he knows can start hunting, the father is always with that kid, wherever he goes. He's trying to show him everything about traditional life, about how to respect animals and even to respect Mother Earth. The father wants to show everything that he knows...and the way he can teach him is to spend a lot of time with him and show him how its done. That's one way a parent can teach their children, spending a lot of time with their son or daughter.

The hunting way of life is seen by many to be of great value in resolving emotional confusion because of the intrinsic spiritual quality of nature, the natural limitations it imposes on inappropriate behaviour, and the close cooperation it demands both within families and between family groups sharing the same camp.

An example of the use of Cree custom in social services comes from an impromptu "bush referral" that came as a last resort in the case of a young man who rejected the formal system. An Elder describes how he was able to help:

There was a time when the Cree School Board [and] the Cree Health Board had a problem...with [a young man]. They had gone through everything that was the white man's way of doing things...They had to send him out to Montreal...Nothing worked. Then finally I got a call...out there in the bush...from Chisasibi. "Do you mind, we want to send this guy to your camp...We tried everything, the white man's way, judging." "Okay," I said"...if he wants to come up, let him come." And there, I started to communicate with him, the way I was taught, the way I was instructed to understand myself. I gave a little bit of knowledge to him. I was with him for almost a year...The first thing he learned out there in...the bush [was that] you have to...work in order to get something on the table...You have to work to earn a living. And that gives a good exercise for you. Anyway, that's how I started to instruct him...So, the years went by. I let go of my...pupil, my student. I missed him so much...He [went] back and I never heard anything from him. And then I found out he was turning around now. And he got married after that. And today he's...a leader in our community [on the] Youth Committee. I must have done something right.

There are a number of things that went into helping this young person in what some might call a "customary" way: his willingness to go into the

bush as an alternative to formal youth services, a long period of isolation from the social situations that were once the sources of his troubles, and a meaningful relationship with a respected and experienced hunter and his family—all of which seems to have given him the opportunity to re-evaluate his life, reject destructive patterns of behaviour, and set new personal goals.

4) *Counselling*: The interview material from this study makes it clear that counselling from Elders has been, and continues to be, the method most relied upon for dealing with family and individual behavioural crises. In three interviews in Mistassini, the specific kind of Elder mentioned as being most appropriate as an advisor or counsellor was the Chief, and in three instances Anglican catechists in Chisasibi were mentioned as the main providers of this service. Chiefs and catechists seem to have become, for some community members, specific kinds of Elders whose affiliation with important institutions gives them a special legitimacy.

Counselling is the one form of Cree social intervention that can be usefully compared to the way the formal method is understood. Since the social service administration does not use Cree medicine or the forest way of life in its dealings with clients, counselling becomes the one area where the formal and informal approaches intersect.

The counselling technique most commonly used in the formal social service system can best be described as passive. Even the recruitment of clients—unless they commit criminal offenses—depends upon self-understanding and client initiative in taking the first steps toward change.

In the other society's system...as we understand it, the person has to come to a realization...The person is supposed to take the initiative and go to an anonymous social service center to discuss his problems. And as we know, in a lot of cases, people just will not admit to a problem.

Counselling sessions themselves often involve a monologue in which the client talks and the social worker listens.

The modern way of doing things [is] just allowing the person to talk as much as possible, because that seems the only way that they would be able to solve their problem.

The formal method of counselling is both client-centered and passive. The social worker acts like a mirror, reflecting back the client's self-image or self-perception of the causes and consequences of their problems. It is individualistic, relying upon the client to recognize the need for help and to come by themselves to the realization that changes in their lives are necessary for their own and their family's well-being.

Descriptions of the Cree Elders' methods of counselling indicates that when they were given free rein to deal with an interpersonal or behaviour problem in any way they chose, they had a variety of techniques that they could use. In one style of counselling, they met with a person in a confidential setting and allowed them to talk from their point of view before any advice was offered—a style that seems close to the social service model.

A second form of counselling reverses the focus of conversation, with "clients" listening as Elders talk: telling stories, explaining the origins and meaning of social rules and the consequences of breaking them. The monologue from an Elder, usually listened to respectfully by a younger audience, can be both curative—used in resolving a conflict or behaviour problem—and preventive, used to teach social norms and instill community values in younger generations.

A third form of counselling was more direct. Elders were able to research the background of an issue from others and bring their information into a discussion with the "client," using the information to "confront" the individual and explain the ways that his or her behaviour was inappropriate. The Elder who became responsible for resolving a problem often began by investigating its background from a wide range of sources. Only when the Elder felt that he or she had a full knowledge of the events and people involved would the offending individual be approached.

[The Elders] took the matter in hand with the person that was offensive...In the customary approach, the origin of the problem was identified by the elder because of his [or her] knowledge, wisdom and experience...[T]hat was very important, just the identification of that problem, where it came from and who owned that problem...[Y]ou delve into that person's own life or, even if it was not there, maybe it stemmed from his parents. Maybe it stemmed from his grandparents, forefathers. That was the customary way of looking at things. You went back in time until you could grasp the particular thing that was bothering the person ... And once that was established, then the elder would probably talk in more philosophical terms in relation to that problem and [the] person...in essence became his own judge by his understanding of that problem rather than [by] getting sanctions that he might not understand.

Thus, when an Elder sat with those involved in the problem, his or her approach was sometimes direct, described in one interview as "confrontational." But within this direct approach they assiduously avoided open expressions of anger, hostility, or aggression.

The "philosophical" approach attributed to Elders seems to have depended upon their own personality, experience and spiritual orientation. One example that helps to clarify this aspect of Cree counselling was given to me by an Elder reporting how he gave a message to overcome the problem of wife-battery.

Try to respect your woman because...without a woman, you would not be here. That's what I was taught by my grandmother. I respect the words of her wisdom...And my grandmother said to me that when you think you love a woman and then you get one flesh, you get married, don't ever raise your hand to hurt that lady, your wife...If you do that, then something is bound to happen to you...Maybe you[r wife] won't bear any more children...Remember, you wife is like our Mother Earth. That's the way you should respect your wife. You know the earth is like a mother to us. It gives us all the nourishment, the food, and everything we need. Its just like a mother. Your wife will give your children all the nourishment [they need]. The milk from the breast...And furthermore there is another lady outside. That's Mother Nature. When you go out for a hunt you must dress respectfully. You must dress to respect what you're after. You must dress yourself so that Mother Nature will look toward you as a man. And then Mother Nature will send all the animals to you.

Metaphors and symbols are used to make the point that respect is an essential part of both hunting and marriage and that a lack of respect in either could lead to disaster. The natural world is the center of this discussion, around which counselling on the topic of marriage is built. The authority of this wisdom is derived is not the speaker himself but his grandmother, a departed Elder whose own experience reaches back to the time of distant ancestors.

Social workers who do not have many years of experience in the hunting way of life cannot easily draw upon the authority of ancestors in providing advice. The culturally-entrenched attitude of respect toward Elders often leaves young or middle-aged social workers in a position where their administrative positions are not sufficient to establish them as trusted care-givers.

The forest way of life and counselling from Elders are the most universal strategies in the informal Cree way of helping. In different ways each "tells a message" to those who are willing to listen. The bush is a source of informal spirituality that brings messages from the natural world that often relate to the human interaction with animals. The messages from Elders often integrate experience from the natural world with

commentary on social behaviour. In each case a positive value is placed on self-control, respect, and cooperation.

The interview material is enlightening not only because of the variety of responses to the question concerning Cree ways of helping but also because of what is missing from the answers. Community workers in both Chisasibi and Mistassini pointed to the power of gossip and public censure in altering behaviour that is not approved of. Gossip continues to be a very powerful inducement to conformity, one that sometimes hinders the work of social service workers.

If I make a mistake, everybody knows about it. The news travels really fast. So, for example, if somebody sees me giving a female client a ride home, the next day everybody would be talking about it.

One of the symptoms (and causes) of friction between Elders and youth in Chisasibi is the tendency of some Elders in the community to discuss the actions of specifically mentioned young people over the local radio, with an emphasis on chastising them for their alleged wayward behaviour.

Knowing that a particular action will possibly lead to widespread discussion-and distortion-is often enough to bring about second thoughts and change a course of action. Collective action has provided, and continues to provide, a major incentive to conform to informal norms or change behaviour that was considered inappropriate.

Interestingly, public discussion or censure was not mentioned by any of those interviewed as part of the "Cree way of helping." Other, less controversial, ways of correcting behavior and resolving chronic disputes were emphasized instead. Intentionally or not, there is a selective process in the interviews which favored the reporting of customs that are easy to see in a positive light, as contributing to the welfare of individuals while not being wholly inconsistent with the perceived values of the formal social service administration.

Conclusions

We are now faced with several daunting obstacles to the integration of custom in Cree administrations. The general difficulty facing leaders of Native institutions of enforcement is that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the non-Native models on which they are based, while the movement toward the use of custom in formal procedures is fraught with predicaments, including the ultimate danger of replacing one form of hegemony with another.

Consistent with some of the material presented by Hobsbawm and

Ranger (1983) there is a process of selection and adaptation that occurs in the reporting of Cree strategies for handling social and personal problems. Cree Elders stressed the strategies that they felt most comfortable with, overlooking areas where they lacked expertise or that they did not see as a legitimate process of helping. We could more accurately call this process the "selection of custom" rather than the "invention of tradition" since it is a selective description of social strategies rather than the invention of "traditional" ceremonies or events.

An institution attempting the incorporation of custom into its policies and procedures is also faced with regional variation in the strategies that are reported. Different histories of fur trade activity, Christianization, community settlement, and industrial resource exploitation can explain variations in customs between coastal and inland Cree communities. An administration that handles as large an area as the Cree villages of northern Quebec is likely to be faced with significant variations in local custom between communities. There is therefore a risk of incorporating a customary procedure reported from one community that may be inappropriate elsewhere within the administration's jurisdiction.

A similar problem can arise from social heterogeneity. While there was not a great deal of difference between the pattern of responses of men and women, gender can still be a source of varying perceptions in other areas of culture. Wider variations were found in the values and social expectations of Elders and youth as well as active Christians and those with a less rigorous approach to the faith. Those whose childhood was spent largely in residential school make up another group with unique experiences and goals in life. The differences among genders, generations and those with different spiritual orientations makes it difficult to institutionalize particular customs without alienating or raising resistance from those with a contrary perception of the past.

Besides pointing to potential risks inherent in the incorporation of custom in formal administration, the material presented here also makes it easier to retrospectively understand the difficulties faced in the handling of youth-related problems that followed the "opening up" of Cree communities through large-scale development. The formal system of social services, based largely on a non-Native model, was seen as punitive, not providing culturally meaningful "healing." At the same time, the informal strategy of counselling was closely tied to the village context, mainly because of the inexperience of many young people in the forest lifestyle: but it was in this setting that the gulf between Elders and youth was at its widest. In both situations, the offered solutions were commonly rejected. It was therefore almost impossible for social workers to change the destructive patterns of clients' lives without helping strategies that were culturally appropriate and broadly accepted.

The predicament of Native administrations dealing with social crisis

should not be grounds for a general indictment of self-determination. In similar circumstances, non-Native institutions would probably have fared much worse, being locally perceived as illegitimate, insensitive, and oppressive. Where dissatisfaction with Cree social services seems to come out most strongly is precisely in the areas where it is seen to follow a non-Native model of enforcement, where there is "too much white thinking" in its rules and procedures.

It is almost impossible for Native leaders to ignore the demand for culturally appropriate administrative services. Because of rapid changes taking place in their villages, however, they are faced with having to accommodate a clientele that is extremely diverse in its experiences, values, and ways of understanding custom. In the Cree social services, regional cultural variation and differences in spiritual values between the generations are especially important variables in defining Cree ways of helping.

The "politics of embarrassment" aimed at Native self-determination and more specific negotiations for regional autonomy are likely to increase the general momentum of efforts to integrate Native ways of life with formal institutions. More opportunities to replace (or at least supplement) administrative procedures seen as repressive with informal strategies that are more meaningful and effective are likely to arise. The challenge Native leaders will more commonly face will be to find realms of local culture that are widely valued and can be usefully included as strategies in the effort to improve the quality of life in Native communities. The risks to be avoided are the exclusion of social minorities and the perpetuation of bureaucratic hegemony in new forms.

Notes

1. This stay in Mistassini, from June - August, 1993 was the most recent of four research experiences in the Cree communities on which this study is based. In November - December, 1987, I visited the (then) eight Cree communities as part of a research project looking into the activities and needs of the Cree social services (Niezen and St-Jean, 1988). In April, 1992 I returned to Chisasibi after being invited to participate in the Spring caribou hunt; and in June - September, 1992 I completed a set of interviews in Chisasibi that was the first part of the comparison with perceptions of Cree helping strategies in Mistassini. I wish to thank the Cree Health Board, in particular Richard St-Jean, Arnold Devlin, Abraham Bearskin, and James Bobbish, for making this research possible.
2. The Euro-American notion of generational time does not work with any consistency in Cree society because of a social pattern of young

parenthood, which makes it common for people in their thirties to be grandparents. When referring to the "older generation" I mean those who might be considered elders, usually over the age of fifty.

3. Youth Councils have recently been established in Chisasibi and Nemaska and are being planned in the other seven Cree communities. It would be premature, therefore, to offer an evaluation of their impact on the implementation of the *Young Offenders Act*.
4. I did not attempt to establish strict uniformity in the questions I asked since an unstructured style was more appropriate for interviews with Cree elders.
5. In Table 1, more than one response was possible from any particular respondent. An elder, for example, could tell a story about the way the forest lifestyle resolved a problem between a married couple and then go on to mention the ways this couple was counselled by elders who stayed with them in the bush camp.
6. I am grateful to Dr. Deborah Black, M.D. for her observations on the psycho-physiological effects of the sweat lodge (personal communication, 1993).
7. Unfortunately, Lopatin (1960) comes to the ethnocentric conclusion that this wide distribution is explained by diffusion from Europe.
8. Other types of blood associated with illness were those described as too dark, light or thick, like congealed paint.

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