

Re-imagining Aboriginality: An Indigenous Peoples' Response to Social Suffering

NAOMI ADELSON

York University, Ontario

Abstract In this ethnographic study of the Cree, a Canadian indigenous people, I explore the 'pain of being Aboriginal' as a particular form of social suffering. I then describe a particular event, a Native Gathering, which serves, in part, as a form of response to social suffering. For the people of Whapmagoostui, Quebec (Canada), the annual summer Gathering has become a time and a place to examine what it means to be Cree, a conscious and imaginative process that is constituted and enacted within the broader social and political reality.

Key words aboriginality • Cree • indigenous people • medical anthropology
• response • social suffering

The pain is about being Aboriginal. (Gilbert, 1995: 147)

*The issue of (Native) identity continues to be contentious.
It has its own very interesting and troubling history(ies),
changing by the decade to match the times.* (McMaster, 1995: 87)

INTRODUCTION

The aboriginal peoples of Canada are diverse and live in urban, rural and remote areas of the country.¹ Despite linguistic, cultural and administrative distinctions among the groups,² and despite differences between

generations or genders, aboriginal peoples share a history of oppressive Canadian governmental policies and racist practices. The effects of this are manifest in the high rates of interpersonal violence, alcohol abuse and related accidental deaths and suicides reported in many aboriginal communities today (Waldram, Herring, & Kue Young, 1995). Whether over-represented in the prisons and in disease and suicide statistics, or under-represented in 'mainstream' Canadian society, despite some encouraging exceptions to this norm, aboriginal peoples by and large are living out the effects of a chronology of neglect, indifference and systematic oppression. Statistics from across Canada match those from the province of Ontario, which were bluntly spelled out in a recent report:

As a group, Aboriginal people in Ontario have the highest rate of unemployment, suicide, death by non-natural causes, infant mortality, incarceration, child protection, inadequate housing, [and] student drop-out rates combined with the lowest life expectancy and educational levels. (Aboriginal Family Healing Joint Steering Committee, 1993: 1).

Shared cultural and community traumatization are the product of two centuries of internal colonization, neglectful government practices, suppression or banning of indigenous cultural practices, the dislocation of entire communities in some cases and childhood separation from families with virtual incarceration in residential schools or long-term hospital facilities (Kirmayer et al., 1993). Cultural 'decomposition' also occurred as part of the missionization process, which began over 200 years ago, and later more explicitly with the often brutally enforced educational programs of residential schooling. Those schools closed permanently only in the latter half of the twentieth century but have had a profound and lasting effect. Church-run residential schools for boys and girls have been written about both in scholarly and literary terms as places of resignation and submission, systems established to 'take the Indian' out of these children (cf. Johnston, 1989; Lomawaima, 1993). Residential schools alone, of course, do not account for the high rates of violence, abuse, poverty, disease, suicide or incarceration among Canadian aboriginal people today. That experience, however, remains a key factor singled out by indigenous peoples as contributing to their current status as among the most disenfranchised in Canada (O'Neil, 1993).

An extensive review of the national situation for aboriginal Canadians was undertaken through the first half of the 1990s by the federally instituted Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997). Despite the inherent problems of such a massive undertaking, reports coming out of that effort clearly demarcate the critical issues and potential sites of repair. The indigenous and nonindigenous experts

consulted all suggested that greater attention should be paid to community efforts and local level initiatives that directly and indirectly improve social and economic conditions. Through consultations with various indigenous community groups, RCAP researchers found, for example, that for aboriginal people community development is critical and must include local control of issues and practices that relate in both specific and the most general terms to health (Kirmayer et al., 1993). In a summary of their findings, Kirmayer and colleagues note in particular that

government responses to social pathologies of simply providing more health care avoid the more fundamental causes. Serious effort must be applied to developing full employment and to actively preserving and enhancing community and cultural esteem. The most obvious and direct way of doing this is by political and social empowerment. [Further,] it is crucial . . . to find and promote images and activities representative of the vitality, renewal and rebirth of Aboriginal communities and traditions. (p. 56)

Responses to social suffering in the context of aboriginal Canada, in other words, must be processes that originate within and evolve from local level efforts at social reconstruction. Increasingly, but by no means invariably, those efforts incorporate 'traditional' indigenous values and practices – values and practices that are being re-invigorated across North America (O'Neil, 1993). Both in reaction to the social ills and as efforts to encourage self-esteem, indigenous healing and cultural practices, including the use of medicine wheel teachings, sweatlodges and pow-wows, have flourished across eastern Canada in the last 5 years in particular.³ These practices, rooted in various indigenous histories across the Americas, are increasingly coming to symbolize transnational indigenous unity as well as local potential.

From the Northwest Territories to central and coastal towns, villages and communities, there are examples of community-based programs of 'healing' that are either in place or in the works (RCAP, 1995). In the province of Ontario, for example, the Aboriginal Family Healing Strategy has developed as a community-based response to family violence. This strategy, developed from extensive community consultations, attempts a 'culturally appropriate alternative to conventional problem-solving approaches in that it is grounded in concepts central to the Aboriginal worldview' (Aboriginal Family Healing Joint Steering Committee, 1993: 7). The programme embraces, as they describe it, 'holism and inclusivity' throughout the entire lifespan, taught as aspects of the 'Wheel of Life' or medicine wheel oral teachings. This integrative philosophy, diametrically opposed to the fragmented services-oriented assistance offered through government programs, is an example of community-based efforts to improve social conditions. Examples like this indicate the inroads that

aboriginal peoples are making into the complex and difficult arena of social well-being.

Health and well-being, in the broadest sense, are reflections of social and economic circumstances (Adelson, 1998). By putting into the foreground the social and political bases of health, I take as my foundational premise that social pathologies cannot be relegated to the level of the individual. To always view these problems simply as individuated 'health' issues constrains the analysis to the far too narrow domain of the medicalization of social distress. By contrast, in this article, I explore a 'social response' to social suffering and, in particular, describe the concept of aboriginality as part of the fundamental matrix of responses to social suffering.

ABORIGINALITY AS RESPONSE

Aboriginality for the Cree, as for indigenous populations everywhere, is a claim to distinctiveness based on the assertion of original occupancy, of land rights and the concomitant spurning of colonial influences. Aboriginality, by definition, occurs within the constraints of current political and social relations linking representations of the past with identity constructions in the present. Aboriginality, however it is defined locally, is the negotiation of the political, cultural and social space of aboriginal peoples within the nation-state (Archer, 1991). Interpretations of historical relations and present-day circumstances influence the ways in which aboriginality is constructed. Indigenous culture and identity in Canada, for example, are always linked to issues of self-determination and land rights (Bennett & Blundell, 1995). In particular, the metaphors and images used today by aboriginal peoples to describe and justify their cultural and political autonomy are made necessary by the continual need to validate claims of legitimacy. Aboriginality is thus a critical political tool: an essential 'space of otherness that is shifting, complex, and dynamic [yet] in which Aboriginal imagination can produce an identity' (Beckett, 1992: 167). Indeed, as Beckett notes, aboriginality is too often confounded with a fetishization of aboriginal values and practices rather than being understood as integral to discourses of indigenous political identities (see also Santiago-Irizarry, 1996). In its extreme, features of 'Native culture', such as closeness to the land, tolerance and cooperation, are valorized to the point where they are viewed as solutions to the problems of modern Canada rather than part of the process of indigenous political legitimation (Légaré, 1995).

The situation that I describe for the Whapmagoostui Cree of Great Whale, Québec, Canada is set within a long history of institutionalized neglect enmeshed more recently with an attempt to further erode the population's social and economic base. A massive hydroelectric project was slated for development on the Great Whale River. That project had a

profound effect on the people of Whapmagoostui and, I argue, has led to a rethinking of what it means to 'be Cree.' Articulations of aboriginality certainly did not begin with the battle against the hydroelectric project nor have they ended with its ultimate cancellation in 1994. Yet, as I describe below, the very real threat of the tremendous changes to their lives if the project had been completed and the seemingly interminable fight with its concomitant media attention were instrumental to that process. This, in combination with ordeals faced by other indigenous nations in Canada, the nationalist agenda in Québec, and the growing affirmation of aboriginal identity in the rest of North America, set in motion a conscious shift in the way the Whapmagoostui people think about and act upon a particular sense of themselves – what it means, in other words, to be Cree.

Aboriginality is the outcome of an imaginative and inventive process that is part of the ongoing efforts at cultural renewal. It is this vitally political process that I address in this discussion of the summer Gatherings of the Whapmagoostui Cree of Great Whale River in northeastern Québec. The Gathering is a relatively new annual event that can be described at one level as an interlude, a time and a place where people can come together as a group. The Gathering does not seek to directly address the fundamental problems of chronic unemployment, poverty or related social pathologies that people return home to once the Gathering is over. Nevertheless, the Gathering is an important local initiative; a deliberate attempt to improve, in the long term, the welfare of this small community. Elsewhere I have written about the Gathering in relation to meanings and interpretations of aboriginality (Adelson, 1997). In this article I shift the analysis to how these ideas of aboriginality are part of a larger response to social suffering. This study draws from ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the three Gatherings that have been held to date, along with discussions with members of the community at other times of the year. That work is informed by close to a decade of working and living with members of the Whapmagoostui community.

In the next sections, I introduce the case study central to my analysis and provide a brief historical review of the Eastern James Bay Cree, the Whapmagoostui people and their annual Gatherings. Finally, I discuss the relationship between social suffering, aboriginality and social response.

THE JAMES BAY CREE NATION

The Whapmagoostui *Iiyiyuu'chi*⁴ are members of the James Bay Cree Nation, a political alignment of the eight Eastern James Bay Cree communities of northern Québec, Canada. This alignment formalized in the early 1970s when the James Bay Cree suddenly found themselves having to fight for their ancestral lands against a formidable opponent. Political, legal and

media battles were waged in 1971 against the province of Québec, which had unilaterally announced plans to create a massive hydroelectric project in the James Bay (La Grande Rivière) region of northern Québec.

Because they had not initially been consulted or apprised of the project plans, the Eastern James Bay Cree were at first unprepared to contest the planned massive hydroelectric project. Initial encounters with the government of Québec were hindered by the limited experience and resources available to the Cree in dealing with an issue of this magnitude (Richardson, 1977; Salisbury, 1986). That soon changed, however, as a new young leadership began to hire lawyers and consultants to assist them in launching challenges to the proposed plan. The long and arduous legal battles that ensued resulted in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) between Québec Cree, Inuit, the provincial and the federal governments (Feit, 1985; Richardson, 1977; Salisbury, 1986). Ultimately, the James Bay Cree (and Inuit) of Québec relinquished Native title to approximately 647,000 km² of land in exchange for benefits, payments and specific land rights. The JBNQA,⁵ and the Northeastern Québec Agreement which followed, were hailed at the time as being dynamic treaties which, importantly, override the mandate of the Indian Act of Canada for the Cree of Québec. Further, the Cree-Naskapi (of Québec) Act, resulting from the Agreements, established the legal basis for a form of indigenous self-government. Surrendering the land in exchange for financial compensation and a (limited) self-government was not simple or easy. That decision can be viewed, however, as more than a modest victory for the Cree since, without the legal battle, the land would have been appropriated with no compensation whatsoever.

The individuals who spearheaded that fight against the government's plans emerged as the first organized leaders of the Eastern James Bay Cree people as a group distinct from other indigenous groups in Canada. The 'Cree Nation' is thus a recent political phenomenon that arose out of the necessity to represent the Cree position in the transactions and negotiations with government bodies over the James Bay hydroelectric projects. The Grand Council of the Cree of Québec (GCCQ), the unified political voice of the Eastern James Bay Cree nation, ultimately became their first regional government.

Despite involvement in negotiating the JBNQA, the people of Whapmagoostui were relatively isolated from the political disputes surrounding the construction of the La Grande Rivière hydroelectric dams. In fact, prior to the 1970s, the Whapmagoostui *Iiyiyuu'ch* had remained relatively isolated from the politics and economics of the rest of the province. This had all changed by the late 1980s. In 1989 the Québec provincial government renewed their interest in northern hydroelectric development, and specifically in the development of the Great Whale River waterway. This

project would have an indeterminable, yet enormous, direct impact on the Whapmagoostui people, who rely on this waterway and its tributaries for food and travel. The proposed Great Whale project plan was huge. The blueprints for this project included diverting three rivers north of the Great Whale River into it and connected them all to an immense system of dams, dikes, reservoirs and power stations built to generate a maximum of 2890 megawatts of power.⁶ A new airport, the first road into the region and development previously unseen in this remote coastal region were being discussed by Hydro-Québec.

The Cree were not persuaded by these plans and opposition to the Great Whale hydroelectric project was swift and focused. The Grand Council of the Cree of Québec, now with an established team of legal and environmental experts, began to prepare their legal, environmental and media challenges to the Great Whale River project. Compared with the obstacles that the Cree faced in the legal battles that ensued with the government of Québec over the James Bay I project, this second campaign by the Cree leadership was much more successful in terms of the speed at which they were able to react to the provincial government. It should be noted that the environmental experts, legal advisors and provincial Cree leadership did not take on this battle without the directive of the community of Whapmagoostui. The primary consideration for the Whapmagoostui Cree, as for their leaders and experts, was the welfare of the land and the effect that this project would have had on the wildlife and the vegetation upon which the animals depend. Implicit in this consideration of the land and the animals was a fundamental concern for the people themselves.

Compounding the basic concerns about the project was a skepticism shared by the Cree leadership and people about the motives of the provincial government. It was clear to the Cree that the province of Québec had never lived up to the promises written into the original JBNQA, and therefore, it would be increasingly difficult to enter into any new form of negotiations with either the provincial government or Hydro-Québec (Grand Council of the Cree of Québec [GCCQ], 1990; Salée, 1995). For these reasons, in 1989, the Cree opted to halt further talks or negotiations with representatives of Hydro-Québec and initiated political and legal steps to cancel the project. One of the more successful aspects of these efforts was to tie the projects nationally and internationally into global concerns about pollution and the protection of natural environments.

Lobbying by the Cree and their supporters led to the cancellation of important energy contracts in several northeastern U.S. states. Those cancellations, compounded by the impediments of a very expensive, yet flawed, environmental review process and a change in the Québec provincial government in 1994 from Liberal to Parti-Québécois and hence, a

change in governmental priorities, led to the (quite sudden) shelving of the Great Whale hydroelectric project on 18 November 1994.

From 1989 until 1994 the people of Whapmagoostui found that they, their lifestyles and their small, remote community were the focus of national and international media attention. Reporters from Europe, the U.S. and Canada regularly came north to record the images and words of the underdog: images, more often than not, of people working on the land which they were fighting to protect from flooding. The fight, as well as the media attention, took a tremendous toll on the people of the Whapmagoostui community so that, despite the successful outcome, the years of this struggle culminated in what can only be described as communal exhaustion. People were worn thin by having to contemplate the immense changes that would have come with the hydroelectric dams while simultaneously continually justifying their very existence and worth at the provincial, national and international levels.

Just as the battle for their land abated, another issue began to escalate. The same government that halted the hydroelectric project was beginning to once again step up their sovereignist agenda. Included in that agenda is the claim of sovereign title to all of Québec irrespective of signed treaties or agreements. Land and ethnocultural distinctiveness are the two most important issues being debated on the various sides of this ongoing and fractious dispute (Salée, 1995). The postcolonial enterprise, immersed as it is in the (oftentimes cacophonous) debates on multiculturalism, nationalism and sovereignty in Canada, thus perennially circumscribes life in Whapmagoostui.

THE WHAPMAGOOSTUI *IYYIYU'CH*

The village of Whapmagoostui is located approximately 1400 kilometres north of Montreal, Québec and is situated on the northern edge of the mouth of the Great Whale River. Like many remote indigenous communities in Canada, Whapmagoostui is the by-product of a history of contact. Travel by non-Natives into the Great Whale River region began in the mid-1600s when prospectors and traders arrived in the region, but it was not until the mid-1700s, when the highly aggressive whaling industry was in full operation, that there was any sort of regular trading post activity at Great Whale River.⁷ With Little Whale River and Richmond Gulf to the north, the area at the mouth of the Great Whale River was certainly an acknowledged summer meeting place for the northern, caribou-hunting Cree. In fact, trading posts were built during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at Great Whale River, Little Whale River and Richmond Gulf *because* these were the known Cree summer gathering sites. But the Cree traveled along set hunting and trapping routes, arriving at the posts only

to trade in furs or perhaps work in the whaling industry, visit with families who would also congregate at these sites, and then move on before the fall freeze-up of the waterways.

Now numbering just over 600, the people of Whapmagoostui did not consider this site as a permanent 'home' until relatively recently. Less than 50 years ago most people were born *on the land* and lived by hunting, fishing and trapping. People would travel to the post site as part of a regular hunting route in order to trade for, and later purchase, dry goods such as flour, tea, tobacco and ammunition. Today fewer than 20% of Whapmagoostui adults remain full-time hunting and trapping families, living the majority of the year on the land.⁸ Trade in furs is no longer lucrative and hence forms a much smaller part of the local economy. Hunting for food remains an important resource, however, and thus, while most Whapmagoostui people are now either employed in or live in the village, many spend a portion of their time out on the land. Groups of men or entire families regularly go out for the day or weekend throughout the year to hunt caribou, to shoot birds, such as ptarmigan, or to fish. Twice a year, during the annual spring and fall migrations of the Canada goose, the village resembles a ghost town as entire families move to their respective camps for these key hunting periods.

A formal village, replacing the aging trading post site that had at best dismal living facilities or services, was only established in the last 30 years. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, some individuals always remained at the post site; sometimes because of cyclical declines in the animal populations, sometimes because of work opportunities or incapacitating illness. With a depressed fur market in the early part of the twentieth century, the number of permanent post residents grew as fewer families could sustain themselves with full-time trapping. Facilities and services arrived much later and some came, paradoxically, with the end of the Cold War. In the 1950s, Great Whale became a site for the Distance Early Warning radar station. The Cree speak even today of how the Canadian Armed Forces seemed to have just appeared one summer, barricading the station and its personnel behind high wire fences. As the need for the Distant Early Warning lines waned in the late 1950s, however, the armed forces corps left. Not too long after, some of their barracks were turned into a school for the children of Great Whale. That first school was rudimentary at best, with classes held only in the summer months. Great Whale got its first day school in the 1960s as more families came to live at the village site. Living in the village took a devastating toll on this new population of village dwellers, however. Infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and influenza, were rampant at that time, attesting to the extreme poverty and squalid conditions in which the Cree were living.

With the changes brought about since the early 1980s as a result of the

JBNQA, the village now resembles a far more permanent site with modern houses, a new band government office, community hall, school and indoor hockey arena. As well, there are three stores, a post office, church, a small hotel and restaurant, sports fields, machine shop, construction warehouse and other services and facilities dotting the otherwise rather barren landscape that comprises the immediate Whapmagoostui area. There is, however, a growing shortage of housing. With the exorbitant cost of housing materials in the north, diminishing funds available through the transfer payments to each of the Cree communities, and with a young and thriving population, an increasing number of multiple generation families are living in less and less space.

Great Whale consists of two official municipalities: Whapmagoostui (Cree) and Kuujjuaraapik (Inuit), and three unofficial communities: Cree, Inuit and non-Native.⁹ Cree and Inuktitut are the first languages of the Cree and Inuit communities, respectively. In contrast to most Native communities across Canada where English has become the only language spoken, Cree is widely spoken by all generations in Whapmagoostui. Communication between the three (unofficial) communities occurs most often in a fourth language, English. Since Cree and Inuit speak different mother tongues, and hunt in different areas, and since people tend to socialize largely within their own extended kin groups, there is only limited socializing between the two communities. The children, for example, have for a long time attended different schools and the Cree and Inuit take part in separate church services. Whapmagoostui's village borders are circumscribed by the limits of Cree and Inuit designated lands, as set out by the JBNQA. With the JBNQA, the separation between the two communities only increased with the implementation of separate governments, municipal services and medical clinics.¹⁰

Whapmagoostui is not just a small community, it is also relatively isolated and can only be accessed by either plane or watercraft. With no roads into this region of Québec, people rely on a single daily flight for transportation, as well as for all groceries and mail. The physical isolation is increasingly diminished, however, not just by air transport, but by the variety of ways that information, material goods and cultural knowledge are exchanged with the rest of the world. Telephones and facsimile machines are readily available, indeed they are an indispensable part of life in the Canadian north. Satellite dishes operated by the single 'social club' (bar) in Great Whale receive a range of television stations that are then made available to the many homes with television sets. There are, as well, at least four radio stations available, although many adults listen primarily to the local Cree language station. Information also flows out of Whapmagoostui in new ways: a class of high-school students and their computer teacher have just created an Internet home page linking them to the world of digital communication.

As much as television, radio and the Internet bring a heightened awareness of aboriginal issues across North America into the community, these technologies are also viewed as partially responsible for the continued insinuation of a non-Native ideology into the lives of the people of the north. While there has certainly been an accommodation and incorporation of a range of goods and services into indigenous lifestyles, there remains a sense that non-Native or 'whiteman'¹¹ beliefs present a greater threat to indigenous culture than any material item per se (Adelson, 1997).

Compared with many other indigenous communities in Canada, Whapmagoostui is doing well. Services, schooling and warm homes are all available, and there is a local municipal government in control of community services. Many of the adults have over the last decade given up alcohol. There has not been a completed suicide in Whapmagoostui. Yet there are women and men who are physically and emotionally traumatized or abused, sexually abused, who drink to excess, who hurt their children or who were themselves hurt as children; people whose lives are scarred by the 'pain of being aboriginal.' The homes and services provided are more than adequate but, in a sense, only camouflage the continuing hardships and traumas that define life for many of the people of Whapmagoostui. This kind of despair, insidious as it is in the lives of the people, was only exasperated by the struggle that took place over the last few years as the community fought to save their river and themselves from the massive hydroelectric project.

Is it possible to contemplate a 'social' remedy, or response, to these social ills? Can a larger, community-based social response work in conjunction with individualized mental health care programmes? Below I describe Whapmagoostui's Gatherings, the first of which coincided with the final year of the battle against the hydroelectric project slated for the region. The Gathering has since changed its primary focus somewhat, yet remains a compelling example of a collective process of cultural assertion and, I argue, a local social response that may prove to be a viable adjunct to individualized social and mental health care initiatives.

THE WHAPMAGOOSTUI GATHERINGS, 1993–1995

This Gathering is a result of a resolution of the Whapmagoostui First Nation who called for a gathering of this kind to be able to assess the influence of modern impacts on our culture There are many reasons for this Gathering but the most important is to revisit our culture (Matthew Mukash, Whapmagoostui Chief, Opening Ceremonies, Gathering 1993).

The annual summer Gathering began, in part, as a local response to the hydroelectric project. The premise of the first Gathering was to promote

Cree cultural values in light of the protracted political struggles against Hydro-Québec. The Great Whale hydroelectric project and the Cree opposition to that project stand today as the most notable recent processes which have directly and indirectly affected this community's sense of what it means 'to be Cree.' As members of the community recall:¹²

The first summer, 1993, was a very exciting time because it was something new to do and was for a special and specific reason which was to show the outside world that we are still alive and well and practising our way of life.

[The first Gathering] was quite the learning experience, everybody was there. Because you understood how confused you were and that it was the political fight for the river, but in turn you were going across on the river . . . it made it more real; that if this river is gone you won't be able to go across it.

The first Gathering was a relatively large event, organized in every detail to accommodate the hundreds of Whapmagoostui Cree, as well as the more than 100 primarily indigenous guests. People came from up and down the Hudson Bay coast to participate at this Gathering. Along with members of the local Inuit community of Kuujjuaraapik, a group of Povugnituk Inuit arrived by trawler from their northern coastal village to actively support the people of Great Whale. As well, a caravan of seven canoes carrying no fewer than 40 guests arrived from Chisasibi, a Cree community located approximately 100 km to the south of Whapmagoostui. Spiritual leaders, or elders, from the provinces of Manitoba, Ontario and New Brunswick were brought in specifically to introduce various ceremonies.¹³ There were a number of professional photographers, film, television and radio crews, and anthropologists recording the entire event. At the site itself, canvas tents were set up as family and guest accommodation and tipis were erected to be used as either cooking 'huts' or meeting places. A stage was built and a generator installed for the speeches and late night dancing. There were also a number of small canteens set up at various sites where women sold everything from soft drinks and hot-dogs to fish roe bannock and a full range of official memorabilia.

The Gathering was held across from the village on the south shore of the Great Whale River near the mouth of the Hudson Bay. The move away from the village is viewed as particularly important. The village is recognized as a useful, but ultimately imposed, structure and a reminder of a colonial history. Home has far less to do with village houses than it does with family and the expanse of land to the north, south and east of the village of Whapmagoostui. Home is defined as, quite simply, the land: the mountains, wooded regions and rivers upon which the history of the Cree and their ancestors is written. Thus, one might argue that the short-lived

week-long Gathering instills more of a sense of permanence than the concrete-based houses back in the village.

The temporal and social space of the Gathering are thus significant and evocative. The planning, preparing, the readying of the site itself with stage, tents, wood, fir boughs and even adequate waste facilities all signify the importance of the place. Having the Gathering both near the end of the summer and at this site establishes a temporal link to the congregations of family ancestors who traveled to this very spot for their summer respite from the harsh winter work and travel. As one of the coordinators of the Gathering put it: '[the Gathering] has to continue because it supports the revival of the culture here. Like . . . the site is appropriate, it is where our people used to gather. And even just by gathering there we preserve that site.'

The particular site was selected because it was the summer meeting site of the ancestors of Cree and Inuit of the northeastern region of Quebec. A recent archeological survey, as well as old debris found around the campsites, attest to the numerous past dwellings in and around this area, as people discovered when they, in the process of preparing the ground for their tents, came across items such as an old pipe, a copper nail and desiccated whale bone. Family camps were dispersed about the entire Gathering site, with tents accommodating in excess of 300 people. Many people spent the entire week at the Gathering, perhaps returning by canoe to the village to briefly shop or shower.

The scheduled events of the 1993 Gathering began early for those few who attended the sunrise ceremonies. A few hours later, the day's events got underway with an opening drumming honor song, a Christian prayer recited by a church elder, and then a full morning of speeches. The speeches revolved around the general themes of the event: to teach and learn about the ways of the Cree people; that cultural traditions need to be rekindled, not lost, brought out, not suppressed. The controversy surrounding the Hydro-Québec issue was explicitly raised by some of the speakers. Politics were a central, but not an exclusive, focus of this first Gathering, nor was this simply a media event. The Gatherings, from the outset, constituted a time and place for the young people to learn from their elders and a time for people to relax and enjoy themselves away from the village, a time to 'revisit their culture.' This was, as one woman described, 'rejuvenating to the spirit and to the history of the Whapmagoostui [people] and other indigenous peoples who join our Gatherings. It is a peaceful and an exciting time.'

Workshops were designated as either men's or women's activities and were conducted by both local and visiting elders. These teaching sessions included such things as traditional trap building, tool making, traditional lodge building, wood carving, the proper handling of caribou hides and knotting fishnets. Other workshops included sessions on the proper use of

language, legends from the past, medicines made from plants or animals, or teaching about the importance of respectful behavior and practices. A number of sessions were geared specifically toward youth, touching on subjects such as married life, 'traditional' versus 'modern' ways, information on alcohol and drugs, spiritual and physical healing and the problems of peer pressure. Workshops were held either out in the open or in one of the several *iyiyuukimikw* (Cree dwelling, tipi) built for that purpose. A typical craft workshop consisted of an elder member of the community talking about and demonstrating to those present how to go about making a particular item, be it a wooden snow shovel, a diaper of absorbent moss or spruce gum glue.

Evening and night activities included some pow-wow dancing, a concert, Cree versions of softball or soccer, and square dancing. An elders' feast was held for all present at the Gathering on the last evening of the 1993 event. Finally, there were lengthy closing speeches. The first Gathering ended with a sense of success at having served its dual purpose of bringing the community together and reflecting a unity to the outside world via the various media recordings of the event.

The two Gatherings that have taken place since 1993 differed somewhat from that original event. Even before the shelving of the hydroelectric project in 1994, the consensus was that the Gathering no longer had to be a production for anyone but the Whapmagoostui people themselves. The band council and community at large felt that the Gatherings should continue, however. As one organizer put it, they have become integral to 'the revival of culture here.' This attention to things Cree is viewed as unequivocally beneficial to the long-term social well-being of the community. The Gatherings have thus quickly evolved into events that provide a forum for a conscious affirmation of particular notions of indigenous identity, as well as a specific time and place for rethinking and renegotiating cultural practices.

The second and third Gatherings were quieter than the first in that there were virtually no outside media (and only one anthropologist) present. Within Whapmagoostui, however, the Gatherings now involve year-round planning and activity that begins months prior to the actual event, including discussions by elders, in particular, about what should and should not take place. As one woman noted:

I have noticed when I am at the [local] store, I hear people talking of buying something that they will need for the Gathering, things like pots, foam mattresses, sleeping bags, new canvas for a tipi or a new tent. The people seem to prepare for the gathering all year round The people start getting firewood and poles for the tents and tipis when the weather starts to warm up, in March. As soon as the river is navigable, in early June, some people will already be putting up their tents and tipis and spend weekends there.

People will start packing their stuff as soon as they can to be ready to go at a moment's notice for the actual Gathering, which takes place sometime in the middle or near the end of July The families will urge the young people to participate in the preparation of the camps. The youth are employed to make ready the guest tents and tipis. They help to erect the dwelling, gather firewood and the [fir] boughs [for the floors]. They get and chop firewood for the elders long before the Gathering. When the time comes, everything is ready. All the tents and tipis have already been made.

The second and third summer Gatherings were held at a site on the southern shore of the river as well, but somewhat closer to the village – just across from the sandy point and Inuit docks of Kuujjuaraapik. This new site, still a place where previous generations camped and lived, was selected primarily because it was more accessible.

Both the 1994 and 1995 Gatherings were well attended by the Whapmagoostui Cree and Chisasibi Caravan visitors. More than 60 tents and tipis were set up in and around the new location, with again about 300 people living at the Gathering site. In accord with the request of the Whapmagoostui elders' council, scheduled events were planned somewhat differently from the first year. Specifically, there were fewer speeches and no honor drumming in the mornings. Workshops were scheduled throughout the latter half of the day, and speeches relegated to the evenings. This format accommodated those who felt that the first Gathering had far too many scheduled activities, speeches and 'traditional drumming' sessions. The evenings were filled with social activities, square dancing and games. Church services, held at the Gathering site, were incorporated into the 1994 and 1995 schedules. Also included in the second and third Gatherings as 'other daily activities' were morning and evening sweat-lodges which were conducted by the visiting elders and attended in particular by those who share a growing interest in Native spirituality.

People regularly commented on the enjoyment they derived from being together and socializing in this communal camp setting and how this is so much a part of (pre-colonial) Cree history. There is also a strong focus on the hunting past, on the times when people lived and traveled all year on the land. The stories from these times are recounted by the elder members of the community and many speak about how much history will be lost with the passing on of those elders. Reflecting on the meaning of the Gatherings, one woman who is particularly interested in what is at stake with the loss of the older generation noted that:

When people are at these Gatherings they visit each other more often and they see each other at the outdoor events. They help each other out. Some will get water and chop firewood and cook food to share with all the family members. It is a time of getting closer to your own family members because you are living in the same tent with them. Some family groups will even join

their tents together. In this way, there are more open discussions about things in general and personal family member things When I was there with my mother, she would start telling us a story that she had heard her mother tell her about her parents – an event that happened right there on those [Gathering] grounds. It made my ancestors more real and I felt closer to them and wanted to know about them when they were alive.

Another remarked that,

. . . it is at these events where our language comes out strong. Living here in [the village] without associating with the nature part of our language means that [so much] is not used. Whereas if we live in the bush or at camp, words and expressions in Cree come out, which we don't normally use here in the community. Best of all, the teachings from our elders come out so strong, they have so much to teach us and we have so much that we need to learn.

A notion of what it means 'to be Cree' draws extensively from the oral historical record and interpretations of the past as it is constituted through the retelling of stories of hunting and survival in the bush (Masty, 1995). It is through those stories that present day 'traditional' activities are enlivened so that hunting and bush-related activities, reproduced at the Gatherings, become more than what the *Iiyiyuu'ch* (Cree people) do.

The proximity of one family dwelling to the next and the soft, permeable walls of a canvas tent are, as people note, far more conducive to communication than the permanent houses back in town.

. . . then there is the community togetherness that is not here [in the village]. Because it's very hard. Even with my next door neighbour – we have walls . . . [on] both sides, we would live this close if we were in a tent side by side. All those barriers that were put around us, barriers that isolate us from one another, are taken away when we live in our traditional way, on the traditional site . . . just the setting is different because if you are in a school or in a – even a community home, you're being taught – there is a constant reminder of what was taken away.

The permeable walls mean something else as well for members of the community: 'You look around and people are happy . . . you don't hear – one of the things that I am very glad about because there are no physical outbursts of family violence in the tents,' said one young woman. Linked to this is the fact that the Gathering is a 'dry' event: alcohol is not allowed at the site. As is typical for all public events in Whapmagoostui, those who choose to drink know that, if intoxicated, they would not be welcome and so remain in the village.

The theme of the 1995 Gathering was 'Protecting our Lands and Traditional Way of Life.' 'Tradition,' however, was renegotiated at this Gathering, since it was here that the community organized its first formal 'traditional pow-wow.' 'Traditional' pow-wows are large, noncompetitive

dancing and drumming events with particular, universal features such as the dancers' regalia, honor songs, healing dances and a tributary gifting practice known as a give-away. Typically, as well, drumming groups, lead (or head) dancers, an elder and an emcee are invited in from various other indigenous communities in order to enhance the local event. Pow-wow dancing activities have, in the last decade in particular, become part of the surge of trans-indigenous (spiritual) identity in North America. Elder Whapmagoostui men whom I have interviewed recently commented that dancing and drumming are reminiscent of drum dances of their past, but that this formalized version is quite new to the region. The first 'traditional pow-wow' thus hailed the incorporation of transnational 'traditional culture' into the lives of the Whapmagoostui Cree. It also marks a time of contradiction and some degree of turmoil. The pow-wow, postponed until Sunday evening because of inclement weather, conflicted with regularly scheduled church services. Some of those who attended the pow-wow commented to me that there might have been a better turn out without this scheduling conflict. Sunday remains a sabbath day whether one attends church or not,¹⁴ and the weak attendance at the pow-wow attests to the mixed reactions within the community about this particular form of 'traditional' cultural practice.

The late summer wind and rain storms also curtailed many outdoor events at both the 1994 and 1995 Gatherings. Indoor workshops that were planned were not that well attended either, because people were content to just spend a great deal of time at the Gathering site visiting with one another. Indeed, a general comment that I often heard was that the best thing about the 1994 Gathering was the time it afforded people to enjoy each other's company in familiar camp surroundings in a way that is structurally impossible in the village. People were spending their time at the Gathering cooking or eating bush foods, talking, playing checkers, drinking tea and listening to or telling a good story. They also spent part of their days as they might typically at any hunting camp – cutting and splitting wood for the fire, hauling water or collecting fir boughs.

Men and women may have been conscious of doing 'things Cree' at scheduled events but those planned 'cultural' activities, such as the wooden fishhook-making workshop or the canoe-building workshop, were ultimately not all that successful. These events mattered, but were not central, to the success of the Gathering. Indeed, despite the Gatherings being organized to highlight specific material cultural artifacts and practices, those programs were ultimately not as popular as games of checkers, storytelling, cooking, relaxation, square dancing, and for some, sweatlodges and healing sessions. The opportunity to be at a camp site and among family for an extended period was viewed as being more significant than any of the planned activities.

Living at the Gathering site, some of the Whapmagoostui men and women recount stories of the past, eat goose, caribou, bannock, hot-dogs and layer cake, others purchase commemorative mugs and sweatshirts, and yet others among them participate in the newly invigorated 'traditional' practices such as sweatlodges or pow-wows. In all of these ways, either separately or in combination, the people of Whapmagoostui are creating a new composite of what it means 'to be Cree.'

For the Whapmagoostui *Iiyiyuu'ch*, the issue of hydroelectric development was the impetus for the first Gathering. It was, to a large degree, the constant eye of the camera on the community during their lengthy opposition to the hydroelectric project that instigated this search for Cree identity. The first Gathering was, perhaps ironically, planned as a media event but also as an opportunity for people to 'revisit their culture.' The second and third Gatherings were no longer public displays for the outside world, but rather time set aside for the people of Whapmagoostui to reflect upon their contemporary situations while living in a communal setting away from the village. As such the Gatherings continue to provide a time and a place for the people of Whapmagoostui to reflect upon their sense of 'being Cree.'

DISCUSSION: RE-IMAGINING ABORIGINALITY, RETHINKING RESPONSE

Aboriginality, as I stated at the outset, encompasses contemporary political and social relations as indigenous peoples negotiate their identities within the nation-state and is manifested in part through the telling of and acting upon a particular historical identity (Friedman, 1992). Yet aboriginality is not simply a rejection of all things non-Native. It is a melding of concepts and practices, so that pow-wow dancing, playing checkers, living in tents, hearing stories from the past, videotaping the present, scraping hides, eating bush foods, purchasing Gathering memorabilia, such as T-shirts or mugs, all serve to authenticate identity. There is a conscious fusion of old and new as people are not so much 'revisiting the past' as they are negotiating and constructing a contemporary sense of themselves as aboriginal people. It is for this reason that we must not, in the analysis, 'strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic, but . . . understand the process by which they acquire authenticity' (Hanson, 1989: 198; cf. Scott, 1993). All traditions are invented – and the Gathering exemplifies that process by which traditions 'present and reflect contemporary concerns and purposes rather than a passively inherited legacy' (Linnekin, 1991: 446). Aboriginality is constructed as an exchange, layering and intermingling of old, new, adopted and created Cree practices. People are making

their own history, hybrid as it may be; melding influences, commodities, practices and products (Clifford, 1995). Furthermore, it is in this assertion of a political stance that we find the basis of local strength and empowerment. Culture is used to authenticate identity in ways that are creative and transformative. People use various resources, manipulate their realities, formulate their projects to 'both become and transform who they are, [. . .to] sustain or [to] transform their social and cultural universe' (Ortner, 1995: 187). As Salée notes,

The ancestral customs and practices, however thin they may wear in some cases, serve as ideological mooring where the collective imagination can anchor and elaborate a concrete identity. This identity, even if invented, even if tainted by borrowings from the very culture it claims to oppose politically, constitutes the impregnable rock on which Aboriginal [peoples] lay their territorial claims, mobilize themselves, and express their desire to gain autonomous control of their collective destiny. (1995: 293)

And, I would add, even if borrowed from near and distant indigenous neighbors, the question of authenticity is moot. There is no one particular configuration of what being Cree, or indigenous, 'means.' It is the 'historical reality and agency of human diversity' (Clifford, 1995: 100) that ultimately defines aboriginality. Questions should not revolve around whether pow-wow dancing is authentically Cree or how much people choose to integrate indigenous and nonindigenous materials or practices. Rather, one must ask to what end and for what purpose people see fit to set aside time for 'being Cree' (however that is defined).

It is, I think, sadly ironic that the *Iiyiyuu'ch* must strive to build, let alone assert, cultural identity. Yet it is that sense of aboriginality, what was not that long ago either forbidden or trounced right out of people, that now serves as one of the incremental steps toward social and political awareness, strength and thus, social healing. Culture does not 'cure' (cf. Santiago-Irizarry, 1996) but in the negotiation of what it means 'to be Cree' there is an attempt to control the creation of identity and its significance which is fundamentally part of the larger recuperative process. People in Whapmagostui are renegotiating the terms and conditions of identity in the face of direct and indirect threats to their land, lives and livelihoods. The annual summer Gatherings thus link this community not just to a pre-colonial past but to a present and future that include a growing range of what will constitute indigenous beliefs and practices. We see through the example of the Gatherings that aboriginality is constructive in two senses of that word: both produced and beneficial.

In their discussion of the invisibility of everyday social suffering, Kleinman, Das, and Lock (1996) speak about the fragmenting effect of the bureaucracy of social aid:

Because of the manner in which knowledge and institutions are organized in the contemporary world as pragmatically-oriented programs of welfare, health, social development, social justice, security and so on, the phenomenon of suffering as an experiential domain of everyday social life has been splintered into measurable attributes. These attributes are then managed by bureaucratic institutions and expert cultures that reify the fragmentation while casting a veil of misrecognition over the domain as a whole. (p. xix)

This is, to be sure, a bleak view. Its futility lies, in particular, in the presumed limits of human agency. As O'Neil (1993) reminds us, though, the recourse is not limited to shaking a collective fist in the air. Rather, we see in examples such as the one that I have described an attempt to weld together the fragmented, and fragmenting, effects of social suffering in a particular process of response. If social suffering for the Cree of Whapmagoostui derives from a colonial and neo-colonial history of disenfranchisement and attempts to eradicate a cultural history, then the proper *response* to that suffering must include the reconstitution and reaffirmation of identity. This is exactly what is happening through the annual summer Gatherings. These events form the basis of response and constitute a conscious and imaginative process that begins each summer at the Gathering site as people reflect upon and negotiate their cultural and political identities.

NOTES

1. Terms that are used synonymously today to indicate autochthonous status include: aboriginal peoples, indigenous Canadians or Native Canadians. First Nations People is preferred in political fora. 'Indian' is deemed incorrect in any public usage but remains a neutral colloquial term in many aboriginal communities.
2. The approximately one million people of aboriginal ancestry living in Canada are divided by government legislation into treaty, status, nonstatus, on-reserve, off-reserve, Métis and Inuit. Reserves are parcels of Crown land designated for Native use.
3. The people of Whapmagoostui have only in the last few years begun to regularly invite elders/healers into the community. Their work specifically includes performing ceremonies (blessing homes, feasts for the departed), running sweatlodges, individualized healing sessions as well as group medicine wheel teachings. My current research in this community includes assessing the responses to these practices and, in particular, the negotiation of indigenous 'traditional' ways and the teachings of the Anglican mission present in this community for the last 150 years.
4. *Iiyiyuu'ch* translates into English as 'person' and more specifically 'indigenous person'. It is used in this article interchangeably with the more familiar English term, Cree. Both imply eastern sub-Arctic (Algonkian) indigenous peoples.

5. Incorporated into the Agreement is control of wildlife resource management, as well as input into environmental impact assessments, a program of guaranteed income for hunting families, and guaranteed native economic and social development. Other fundamental benefits include administrative control over local and regional governments, education, health, housing and the administration of justice (Cree-Naskapi Commission, 1986).
6. The original intention of the government of Québec had been to build these dams and power stations over a decade ago. Those plans were halted in the early 1980s, however, because of a temporary surplus of hydroelectric power and a shift of government priorities. In 1989, with rising energy concerns, lowered water levels in the James Bay I reservoirs, greater public opposition to nuclear and coal energy, as well as the increasing cost of fossil fuel power, the dormant Great Whale project plans were revived by the provincial Liberal government.
7. A full-time post and Anglican mission station were established at Great Whale only in 1857. Prior to that traders and missionaries passed through the region en route to points north or south of this site (Francis & Morantz, 1983).
8. An income-security program set up through the JBNQA financially assists those families who opt to spend the majority of the year hunting and trapping as their primary livelihood (see Salisbury, 1986; Scott, 1979).
9. There are approximately 300 Inuit living in Kuujuaapik and 150 non-Native Francophones living primarily on Inuit lands. It is only in the last few years, since many Inuit moved to the newly created village of Umiujaq, that the Cree outnumber the Inuit. Umiujaq, located about 100 km north of Great Whale, is a village that was petitioned for by Kuujuaapik Inuit as part of the compensation package in the JBNQA. The construction and eventual move to this new coastal village took place in the early 1980s.

The non-Native teachers, government employees, Hydro-Québec workers, police, employment officer, postal employees, aviation workers and engineers all live near their respective offices. This entire section is considered 'up the hill' from the two Native communities. For the most part there is very little social interaction between those 'up the hill' and the indigenous communities. There are of course other layers of political import here as those who live 'up the hill' are primarily French Quebecers and well-employed. Given the current nationalist debate in Québec there are issues related to the relationship between these disparate groups that are interesting but tangential to those raised in this essay (see e.g. Salée, 1995).

10. The village of Kuujuaapik is run by the mayor and his council, while Whapmagoostui elects a chief and council to these municipal government seats. One new recent change is worth noting, given that it was the focus of a great deal of attention and concern over the last few years. As of December 1995, there is a newly built nursing clinic located halfway between the two villages which services Cree and Inuit patients.
11. 'Whiteman' is the common translation of the term *waamistikushiiu*, which refers to 'white man/person,' to people from far away or to English-speaking people. While there is another term for Francophones as well as people of other nationalities, *waamistikushiiu* is used to refer generally to any non-Native, and

while not necessarily derogatory, conveys a sense of a prevailing uneven balance of power, favoring the non-Natives.

12. Ongoing research in Whapmagoostui includes interviews with community members about the Gatherings. While that research involves a substantially larger cohort of participants, I have selected comments from three adult women, each of whom spoke to me specifically about that first Gathering.
13. Native spirituality was part of the 1993 Gathering and an even greater part of the 1994 and 1995 events. The elders were active participants in the Gatherings, leading various teaching sessions as well as performing the sunrise ceremonies, conducting sweatlodges and delivering healing services as requested.
14. The literal translation of the Cree word for Sunday is 'prayer day.'

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank the people of Whapmagoostui for their continued support of my research. As well, I would like in particular to thank Margaret Lock, Mamphele Ramphele, Arthur Kleinman, J. Teresa Holmes, Daphne Winland, Lisa M. Mitchell and Arthur Cheechoo for their thoughtful and stimulating commentary on previous drafts of this work. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful suggestions. I graciously acknowledge research funding provided by the Social Science Research Council (USA), York University Faculty of Arts, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

REFERENCES

- Aboriginal Family Healing Joint Steering Committee. (1993). *For generations to come: The time is now – A strategy for Aboriginal family healing*. Final Report.
- Adelson, N. (1997). *Gathering knowledge: Reflections on the anthropology of identity, aboriginality, and the annual Gatherings in Whapmagoostui, Québec*. Aboriginal Government, Resources, Economy and Environment Discussion Paper Series (Series Editor: Regina Harrison), McGill University AGREE Discussion Paper No. 1.
- Adelson, N. (1998). Health beliefs and the politics of Cree well-being. *Health*, 2(1), 5–22.
- Archer, J. (1991). Ambiguity in political ideology: Aboriginality as nationalism. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 2(2), 161–169.
- Beckett, J. (1992). Comment on Hollinsworth. *Oceania*, 63, 165–167.
- Bennett, T., & Blundell, V. (1995). First peoples. *Cultural Studies*, 9(1), 1–10.
- Clifford, J. (1995). Paradise. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 11(1), 93–117.
- Cree-Naskapi Commission (1986). *1986 Report of the Cree-Naskapi Commission (Commissioner's 1st Biennial Report)*. Ottawa, Canada: Cree-Naskapi Commission.
- Feit, H. (1985). Legitimation and autonomy in James Bay Cree responses to hydroelectric development. In N. Dyck (Ed.), *Indigenous peoples and the nation state: Fourth world politics in Canada, Australia and Norway* (pp. 27–66). St. John's, Canada: Institute of Social and Economic Research of Memorial University.

- Francis, D., & Morantz, T. (1983). *Partners in fur: A history of the fur trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600–1870*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Friedman, J. (1992). Myth, history, and political identity. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(2), 194–210.
- Gilbert, S. (1995). Postcolonial aboriginal identity. *Cultural Studies*, 9(1), 145–149.
- Grand Council of the Cree of Québec (GCCQ) (1990). *1989/1990 Annual report of the Grand Council of the Cree of Québec and the Cree Regional Authority*. Nemaska, Canada: GCCQ.
- Hanson, A. (1989). The making of the Maori: Culture invention and its logic. *American Anthropologist*, 91(4), 890–902.
- Johnston, B. (1989). *Indian school days*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kirmayer, L. J., Hayton, B. C., Malus, M., Jimenez, V., Dufour, R., Quesney, C., Ternar, Y., Yu, T., & Ferrara, N. (1993). *Emerging trends in research on mental health among Canadian aboriginal peoples: A report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Culture and Mental Health Research Unit (Report #2). Montreal, Canada: Sir Mortimer B. Davis – Jewish General Hospital.
- Kleinman, A., Das, V., & Lock, M. (1996). Introduction to the issue 'Social suffering.' *Dædalus*, 125(1), xi–xx.
- Légaré, E. I. (1995). Canadian multiculturalism and aboriginal people: Negotiating a place in the Nation. *Identities*, 1(4), 347–366.
- Linnekin, J. (1991). Cultural invention and the dilemma of authenticity. *American Anthropologist*, 93(2), 446–449.
- Lomawaima, K. T. (1993). Domesticity in the federal Indian schools: The power of authority over mind and body. *American Ethnologist*, 20(2), 227–240.
- Masty, E. (1995). *Women's three generation life history project in Whapmagoostui, Québec*. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
- McMaster, G. R. (1995). Border zones: The 'injun-uity' of aesthetic tricks. *Cultural Studies*, 9(1), 74–90.
- O'Neil, J. (1993). *The path to healing: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Health and Social Issues*. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.) Ottawa, Canada: Ministry of Supplies and Services Canada.
- Ortner, S. B. (1995). Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 37(1), 173–193.
- Richardson, B. (1977). *Strangers devour the land: The Cree hunters of the James Bay area versus Premier Bourassa and the James Bay Development Corporation*. Toronto, Canada: MacMillan.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1993). *The path to healing*. Ottawa, Canada: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1995). *Choosing life: Special report on suicide among aboriginal people*. Ottawa, Canada: Canada Communication Group.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). (1996). *Looking forward, looking back* (Volume 1). Ottawa, Canada: Canada Communication Group.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). (1997). *For seven generations: An information legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa, Canada: Libraxus Inc. [CD-ROM].

- Salée, D. (1995). Identities in conflict: The aboriginal question and the politics of recognition in Quebec. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18(2), 277–314.
- Salisbury, R. (1986). *A homeland for the Cree: Regional development in James Bay: 1971–1981*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Santiago-Irizarry, V. (1996). Culture as cure. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(1), 3–24.
- Scott, C. (1979). *Modes of production and guaranteed annual income in James Bay society (PAD Monograph no. 13)*. Montreal, Canada: McGill University.
- Scott, C. (1993). Custom, tradition and the politics of culture: Aboriginal self-government in Canada. In N. Dyck & J. B. Waldram (Eds.), *Anthropology, public policy and Native peoples in Canada*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Waldram, J. B., Herring, D. A., & Kue Young, T. (1995). *Aboriginal health in Canada: Historical, cultural, and epidemiological perspectives*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

NAOMI ADELSON, PHD, is a medical anthropologist and Associate Professor of Anthropology at York University, Toronto, Canada. Working in the inter-related fields of health and healing, Dr Adelson has maintained an active research program with the people of Whapmagoostui since 1988. Her current work focuses on the resurgence of indigenous healing movements in Canada in relation to mental health programs and services. *Address*: Department of Anthropology, 2054 Vari Hall, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3, Canada.