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Global and Transnational Flows and Local Cree Youth Culture

Martin Hayes

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts at

Concordia University

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Abstract

Global and Transnational Flows and Local Cree Youth Culture

Martin Hayes

This thesis is a result of an ethnographic study of identity and culture of young people within a context of dramatic social and economic change. A discussion is presented on ways in which young people in an eastern James Bay Cree community are interpreting and using extralocal flows of cultural symbols, ideas and meanings from a number of sources and creolizing them within their local context. Two sources of cultural flows are focussed on: the mass media and Pan-Indian ceremonies, which were both found to be important factors in shaping town-life experiences and to be providing mediums that are used by some young people to establish their own cultural space in the community.

Cree youths in Red Bank is their highly visible use of new cultural symbols, provides a good example of the diversity of a community's cultures and how these cultures are in continual processes of change. This conceptualisation that aboriginal cultures are fluid processes breaks from common understandings that they are unchanging. The static portrayal of certain cultures represents a common denial of cultural agency to youth and to Native people in general. Both forms of denial involve a treatment of a category of human beings as passive recipients of culture, cultural objects rather than subjects. What ultimately goes with this ascription of passivity is a denial of political rights, a refusal to accept the rights of the 'other' (whether defined in terms of age or ethnicity) to self-expression and self-determination.

Ethnographers have been in precarious positions with regard to their quest for understanding the nature of cultural processes. At times they have come to the aid of aboriginal groups in the struggle for political rights and at other times they have hampered these groups politically. A discussion is presented on the difficult but important nature of this general project of aboriginal cultural studies.

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Chapter One

Introduction to Thesis

Red Bank 1 is an eastern James Bay Cree community that has undergone incredibly rapid changes over the past 20 years. Hydroelectric development, that began in the mid-1970's, has had severe social and economic effects on the community. It was physically relocated from Elizabeth Island 1 because of potential flooding caused by the hydroelectric development. In the new town, houses with electricity and indoor plumbing were built and residents were provided with telephones facilitating communication with the rest of the world via satellite. A paved road, open year round for travel to the south was constructed. New commercial and community centres and a hockey arena were built and cable television was made available to the town. Despite all of these material improvements, the community was said to have suffered a number of severe social problems. The environmental impacts of the flooding by the hydroelectric project and the relocation of the community in 1980, was characterised by Robert Niezen (1993) as having "traumatic" effects on the community, reflected by soaring rates of family violence, substance abuse and suicides. Susan Williams (1993: 48-49) supports this evaluation of the effects of the relocation stating that it caused "considerable social and cultural stress", contributing to increased suicides, alcoholism and drug abuse.

In this thesis I explore what it means for young people to grow up in a community that has undergone such dramatic changes. The thesis is the result of an ethnographic study of identity construction and cultural process of young people within this context. I discuss how some young people are interpreting and using extralocal flows of cultural symbols, ideas and meanings from a number of sources and creolizing them with local cultural processes. I focus on two sources

of cultural flows in particular: the mass media and Pan-Indian ceremonies, which are both shaping town-life experiences and which are providing mediums that are being used by some young people to establish their own cultural space in the community. Red Bank, which once was a mission out-post is now a vibrant town, despite many of its problems, and young people are key actors in the creation of a town-life and in negotiating local youth culture.

The primary objective of this thesis is to use my ethnographic study of Cree youth culture to exemplify the processual nature of aboriginal culture generally. The highly visible character of youths' cultural creativity in Red Bank provides a useful example of aboriginal cultural agency. Through this comparison I am able to explore the political implications for interpreting aboriginal culture in this way. The reproduction of "aboriginality" by youths is inherently paradoxical with respect to conventional conceptualisations of aboriginal culture and is in fact negated by varying axes of interests. I discuss how the cultural agency of Cree youths and of aboriginals generally, is denied by those who define aboriginal culture in static terms. I also discuss my research in the context of the general project cultural studies to understand cultural change and the political precariousness of this project with respect to aboriginal self-expression and self-determination.

Aboriginal Cultural Interpretations and Ethnography

Forbes (in Simard, 1990: 358) describes the narrow character of the conventional understanding of aboriginal culture by comparing it to the "one drop of blood rule" for being black in America. That is that simply possessing minimal African ancestry allows or requires an individual to have a "Black" identity, regardless of whether they practice African traditions.

Native identity, on the other hand, is a cultural category which is defined by "traditional" cultural practices. That is, "they must remain unchanged in order to be considered Indian." "Authentic" aboriginal cultural practices, in other words, have to be unaltered from pre-European contact. Therefore, cultural change for aboriginals is often simply understood as cultural loss. Jean Jacques Simard (1990: 357) comments, "This same logic explains why native exhibits stand beside dinosaur skeletons and coelacanth fossils in museums of natural history". This static perception of "authentic" tradition renders aboriginal culture as lifeless museum pieces, rather than part of the everyday lives of aboriginal people.

Handler and Linnekin (1984: 287), on the other hand, explain that "the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of social life." Trahant (in Nagel, 1996: 157) asserts that "cultures evolve or they die out." Hanson (1989: 899) adds that "the process whereby cultural inventions acquire authenticity in the eyes of members of society [should be considered ordinary social reproduction] because the invention of culture is no extraordinary occurrence but an activity of the same sort as the normal, everyday process of social life."

However, there are political ramifications for the cultural studies project to understand and expose the fluid nature of culture and tradition. The ethnographer's roles as both an advocate for the marginalised aboriginal groups which s/he studies and as a social scientist in pursuit of understanding the changing nature of culture, are potentially in conflict with each other. Hanson (1989: 898) explains:

The very last thing a political movement needs is the word to go out that its core narrative is an "invention", just the current version in an indefinite and anchorless series of reformulations. To use narratives about culture and tradition for purposes of empowerment seems therefore irremediably at odds with the scholarly purpose of understanding what the narrative is

and how it works. In this case knowledge emasculates rather than expands power.

The legal systems in both Canada and the United States have had varying interpretations of cultural change of aboriginal communities and anthropologists have played important roles in these legal interpretations. I discuss the relationships between the ethnographer, aboriginal groups and the state and the implications of the denial of cultural agency to categories of human beings on the bases of age and ethnicity.

Outline of the Chapters

Chapter two contains a description of the methods used to collect the ethnographic data. This chapter begins with a discussion of how I went about gaining permission to do the research. It is then followed by a description of the methods that I used to collect the data. A description is presented on my sampling procedures and how I carried out the interviews and participant-observation.

Chapter three includes a series of profiles of the key informants in my study. These include profiles of twelve youths, three adults and two elders who are not the only people interviewed, but were important sources of information and are referred to throughout the thesis. The profiles are a display of the heterogeneity of youth culture in Red Bank. They represent its complexity by illustrating that Red Bank's youth culture has many producers with numerous perspectives. These profiles also display the active involvement of some young people in the innovative processes of cultural creolisation.

Chapter four provides the socio-historical context of the town, which is important for understanding contemporary life in Red Bank. The history of the

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Chapter Two

Research Methods

Gaining Permission to do Research

There is no clear or published protocol for gaining permission to do research in an eastern James Bay Cree community. My initial attempts to gain permission to do research in Red Bank were based on the advice of one of my thesis committee members, Dr. Colin Scott, who has done extensive research in a number of Cree communities in Québec and based on the few pages dedicated to this particular subject in Richard Salisbury's book "A Homeland for the Cree" (1984: 106-107). Both Colin's advice and the directions outlined in Salisbury's text confirmed that I would have to seek permission directly from the local Band Council rather than the Cree Regional Authority and that it might be difficult to gain permission from Montréal via fax and phone. Salisbury (1984: 107) described the sensitivity and ambiguity of gaining permission. "If the council has recently had a problem with a researcher, does not know the applicant personally, considers the topic a sensitive one, or is alienated by the behaviour of the applicant (too pushy or verbose an approach is not approved of by the Cree), the decision may be negative even though the chief and the band manager approve."

With this information, it was still unclear who I should have approached for this permission. Through connections in Montréal, I contacted the Director of the youth centre in Red Bank. We began corresponding in September. He requested a fax of my thesis proposal so I sent it to him. After three months of correspondence over the phone and without clearly stated approval by the

Director to conduct my research, I travelled to Red Bank. I made arrangements to stay at a friend of a friend's house in town. She and her family live in Montréal but still have a house on the reserve.

After arriving in the community and meeting the Director of the youth center with whom I was in correspondence, he assured me that it would be acceptable for me to proceed with my research and that he would clear it with the Band Council. Later in the week, after being noticed walking around town, I was called up to the Band Council office to meet with the Chief. The Chief, a senior member of the Band Council and the Director of the youth council met with me. The Chief and the senior band council member asked me what I was doing in the community and explained that some of the elders informed them to tell them that a strange young man was hanging around town. They were concerned because occasionally they would have people coming through town to sell drugs and alcohol or to pass counterfeit bills. After learning of my intentions to conduct research, they gave me permission to proceed. The Chief gave me instructions for the correct procedures for gaining permission to conduct research in the future. I should have had my academic supervisor send a letter directly to the Chief explaining my intentions. This seems quite obvious in hindsight.

As I have mentioned previously, despite the fact that I am following perhaps dozens of researchers coming into Red Bank, with varying agendas, I was still quite welcome in the community. Many adults that I spoke with seemed to be rather experienced when it came to being interviewed. These adults holding office positions were generally willing to be interviewed on request.

It could be argued that two months is a short period of time to collect sufficient data for a conclusive study. I would not disagree. That is why this thesis is as much a point of departure for possible future work as a finished project in its

own right. After two months of living in the community collecting ethnographic data and conducting 30 interviews, I feel that I collected sufficient data for a cogent exploratory report.

Collecting Data

A) Interviews

I spent a significant portion of my days calling people for interviews who work with young people in different capacities. I set up interviews with young people working at the youth centre and at the school. I arranged interviews with the minister of the Anglican church, the priest at the Catholic church, school officials, the Cree Health Board, the Youth Council and others involved in community administration.

I arranged a number of interviews with young people. I found this particularly difficult. Most of the younger people that I tried to interview (generally between the ages of 14 to 18) were very shy and were reluctant to speak with me. I found this to be particularly true with young women. I approached a number of young people under the age of 18 and only seven would agree to talk with me and of this group only four would speak with me for any great length of time. The majority of people that I interviewed were between the ages of 19 and 24. I interviewed a total of 30 people. There were 19 youths (between 14 and 28 years of age) in this sample; eight adults (35 and older who were not considered to be "elders" by the community); three elders (over 70 years of age and referred to by others as "elders"); 18 people in the sample were male and 12 were female.

Many of the adults that I interviewed held positions where they work with the public. I could therefore call their offices and simply ask for an interview. All of the adults whom I called seemed very willing to grant me an interview. Most of

the young people, on the other hand, did not work in positions where I could call their offices for appointments.

I used three different methods for selecting youth interview subjects. Some worked better than others. The first method was to simply walk up to young people in town and ask them for an interview. Subjects often agreed after I explained what I was doing. This usually resulted in a short interview with five or six questions about their favourite pastimes and likes and dislikes about living in Red Bank. However, I found that it was difficult to ask more than these few questions and the responses were often short and not very reflective. The respondents often seemed very self-conscious and uneasy about talking with me in public. They were also usually unwilling to meet with me privately for a more comprehensive interview.

The second method would be to ask people for the names of young people who might be receptive to being interviewed. Many of the adults whom I asked felt that I would have considerable problems getting young people to speak to me in such a short period of time, because even they were unable to communicate with them. I received a few names of young men from adults who introduced them as being outspoken. Through these initial contacts, I asked for the names of other young people. These samples snowballed and overlapped. Through the different sources some of the same names of potential subjects would reappear.

The final method was to ask young people for interviews after getting to know them in social contexts. I gained friends and acquaintances from a number of sources. During week days I would tutor students at the high school and in the evenings I would play basketball, lift weights, hang out at the restaurant and play pool with young people. At these five locations I met a number of people whom I

asked for interviews. After gaining a degree of familiarity with me through these different activities, most were curious about what I was doing in Red Bank and were willing to be interviewed. Again through this method of selecting interview subjects there was some overlapping.

Through the interviews I was attempting to collect information on a number of issues important to young people. I used a list of about 35 questions that were open-ended asking about their daily activities, such as boyfriends and girlfriends, work, school, time in the bush and traditional practices. Questions included inquiries about travel experiences and their likes and dislikes about living in the community.

Many social inquiries about young people pertain to what they plan on doing in the future when they become adults, rather than what is important to them now. Questions such as, "What do you want to be when you grow up?", are frequently asked, disregarding the fact that young people are involved in activities and relationships that are important to them now and are not simply in transition. For this study I am interested in understanding the cultural processes that young people are involved in now.

I am operationalising the term youth as being between 14 to 28 years of age. This is obviously an arbitrarily chosen age group. However, the youth period, which is described in detail in the *Youth and Youth Culture* section below, occurs generally between these ages. Generally people in Red Bank between the ages of 14 and 28 experience increased amounts of independence from parents and school however they have not yet assumed adult roles. I was told by school officials that many young people drop out of school in secondary two to stay home to watch TV and hang out with friends. Many young women drop out of school early because of pregnancy. This youth period lasts for many

people into their late twenties because many men and women who have dropped out of school return later. A substantial proportion of them also go to colleges in the south, thus delaying labour force or Income Security Program (ISP) participation.

B) Participant-Observation

I have just described three methods for selecting interview subjects, however, interviewing was not the only method I used to collect data. The second method that I used was participant-observation. There are certain advantages to this method. It is sensitive to the qualities of contexts in a way that eludes survey research. Emerson et al (1995: 2) describe very well the importance of participant-observation:

The ethnographer seeks a deeper immersion in others' worlds in order to grasp what they experience as meaningful and important. With immersion, the field researcher sees from the inside how people lead their lives, how they carry out their daily rounds of activities, what they find meaningful and how they do so. In this way immersion gives the field-worker access to the fluidity of others' lives and enhances his sensitivity to interpretation and process.

In this thesis I am studying the cultural processes of young people. One of the arguments that I am making is that young people and particularly aboriginal young people have not been given a voice in many academic studies.

Ethnography is unlike survey research in that it allows methods of collecting the data to conform to the context of the subjects everyday lives. Prout and James (1990: 8-9) attest that:

Ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood. It allows children a more direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data than is usually possible through experimental or survey styles of research.

While I would not categorise the people in my sample as "children", I think that this consideration for the usefulness of ethnography could be made for other marginalised sections of the population, such as aboriginal youth.

However, it would be a great misrepresentation to claim that the ethnographer is providing a direct and undistorted channel for the voices of young people to be heard. James Clifford (1986: 6) discusses the enigmatic position of the ethnographer in the cultural processes that she/he is interpreting and writing about. He describes how ethnography should be interpreted:

Ethnography is actively situated between powerful stems of meaning. It poses its questions at the boundaries of civilisations, cultures, classes, races and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes.

I will be discussing the ethnographer's role in interpreting cultural change and some of the awkward relationships between ethnography and the culture it claims to embody, in the upcoming *Cultural Change , Ethnography and the State* section.

I spent several hours of each day collecting ethnographic data. I volunteered as a tutor at the high school and worked for two hours every day with remedial English students. During the day, when I was not tutoring, I would hang out in the commercial centre with a number of young people. I would also spend time at the restaurant, where a number of young people worked waiting tables. At night I would hang out and participate in a number of activities with young people. Most nights were spent at the pool hall frequented by great number of young people. I would also play basket ball at night at the high school with 10 to 15 young guys twice a week.

The objective of these forms of engagement was to understand day-to-day behaviours and routines of young people that would not be apparent from the interviews. As mentioned above, participant-observation is a social scientific method of gathering data that is more sensitive to the contexts and meanings in young peoples' lives than survey research.

Chapter Three

Profiles of Key Informants

There were a number of central people who provided a significant proportion of the data for the study both through the interviews and the participant-observation. In this section I will briefly profile a number of these people. Below, I provide profiles of twelve youths, three adults and two elders and I will refer to these people throughout the thesis. My data sample includes more people than those profiled in this section. However, profiling a number of the central subjects in my field notes is an attempt to delineate how the lives of individuals, their personalities and their relationships with others shape the space of youth culture in the community. Rather than wanting to leave an impression that youth culture in Red Bank is homogeneous, this is an attempt to depict it as it actually is: having many producers using numerous experiences and reference points. The profiles are not comprehensive biographies but rather they include a number of characteristics which are useful for depicting the contexts of the different lives of the informants. All of the names in this section are pseudonyms used to protect the privacy of the individuals.

Rodney is 27 years old. He was born on Elizabeth Island and remembers moving to Red Bank. When he was 13, a man came to the door and spoke to his grandmother in French. His brother was the only one in the house that understood French. He translated for the others in the house that they would have to move that week. Rodney has a great deal of concern about the changes that have occurred within a 30 year period, changes which he points out usually have happened over thousands of years elsewhere. As a result, he felt that people in Red Bank have been experiencing trauma from which they are just now

recovering. He repeated his impressions of amazement over the dramatic changes that have occurred over the last 30 years and added: "now we are expected to join the wage economy."

When Rodney finished high school he went to colleges d'enseignement général et professionnel (C.E.G.E.P.) in Hull. He said that while he was there he "partied" a lot, meaning he drank and smoked marijuana often. He said that he enjoyed living somewhere different but missed Red Bank. While he was in school he met his girlfriend who is also aboriginal but from another band. They moved back to Red Bank and had two children. Rodney worked as a police officer for a few years but quit because he said that it was too difficult having to police friends and relatives. Rodney, his girlfriend, and three and four year old children live together in a house in the new housing development referred to as Chinatown, because of the Chinese looking roof designs of the houses. He presently does not work but would like to return to work in policing, possibly in Lafleur. He said that he did not want to hunt full-time with the Income Security Program (or what most people refer to it as *ntuuhuu shuuiwaan* which means literally "hunting money" in Cree) because he does not think that he is a good enough hunter. He also explained how it is not easy to bring children into the bush. Rodney spends many of his days with his children, either at home or driving around town in his truck, which he has named "Decadence". He says sarcastically that he does not look very Indian in this truck. But he proudly explained how hard he worked to buy it. When he is not taking care of his children, he is either in the commercial centre socialising with friends or in the gym working out. His nights are often spent at home watching T.V.

He said that he would be moving to Montréal with his girlfriend next year

because she is going to school to become a dental hygienist. Like many people I spoke with, he is not particularly fond of the city. He spoke of the first time he went to Montréal when he was young. He said that he was very afraid because he thought that people in the city would try to hurt his mother. Rodney plans to return to Red Bank with his family when his girlfriend has completed school.

Rodney was very intense when he spoke with me. His ideas were dense and he expressed them tumultuously. With very little encouragement from me he spoke freely and in fact quite passionately about a number of subjects. He said, spontaneously, that he did not feel comfortable talking about death and that this was a private subject for most Cree. He went on to speak about his feelings on Native spirituality and the Anglican Church. He feels that they are not incompatible.

Rodney is an active innovator in processes of cultural creolisation. A more thorough discussion of Rodney's, and others', cultural innovations are included in chapters six and seven. Briefly said here, he uses popular cultural and pan-Indian symbols and relates them to both Anglican and local Cree values with his cultural production and in expressions of his identity. The coexistence of these different components of identification are not problematic for him. In terms of the use of popular culture, he explained how he enjoys comedy and identifies particularly with the humour of Black and Jewish comics that he sees on TV and in cinema. He believes that this is true because their perspectives, like aboriginals' perspectives, are from the margins of North American society. Rodney also uses the popular music to express local experiences. He has composed a few rock songs about life in Red Bank which includes pan-Indian symbols in his lyrics. Rodney also uses the pan-Indian symbols that he has acquired from the ceremonies that he occasionally goes to. He identifies with

these symbols by including himself in a larger aboriginal community that uses them. And as mentioned above, he sees these ceremonies as being compatible with Anglican beliefs and in fact questions why the catechists object to them being practiced.

Sam knows Rodney, as just about everyone from the community does, but they do not hang out together. Sam is 21 years old and lives with his grandmother. He does not have a girl friend but said that he would like to get married someday. He likes living with his grandmother because, he says, she teaches him about his culture. He works full-time for the Band as a general labourer. He likes his job when he is busy, but says that he often has nothing to do and spends some days just hanging around. However, he feels fortunate to have a job and enjoys working and contributing to his family's income. Sam's favourite sport is basketball and his favourite team is, without a doubt, the Chicago Bulls; he frequently wears a Bulls cap and jacket. His favourite music is hip-hop, rap and light rock. Despite the fact that he might sound like many urban youth, he feels very conscious about what it means to be Cree. He feels that hunting is a very important part of this. *Sometimes I think I don't know what it would be like if I wasn't Cree. I love being in the bush. It helps me think. Being in the bush is important to me.* However, he does not hunt full-time because he feels it is too late. He explains: *You see, I finished school late. I finished when I was 20. When I was finished there was not enough time. I could have taken off time to hunt when I was younger but I don't have the time now.* Sam spends most of his nights at the high school playing basket ball with his friends or at the pool hall. He says that despite the fact that he dislikes Montréal because he feels it is unsafe, he wants to eventually go to C.E.G.E.P. there. He stated clearly that he would

intend to return to Red Bank. Sam explains how he feels about Red Bank:

There's nine Cree communities. There's more things to do here. There's a lot more of us here. A lot of people know each other. I know everybody in town. I'm not afraid because I know everybody...[I plan on going] to school in Montréal. I'm sure that I'll never leave for good. I'll probably die here. Sometimes I go shopping in Montréal and Val D'Or and I want to go home. There's a lot of violence. Did you hear on the news when a guy from up here walked out of a bank teller machine and got shot? He was Cree. I don't like watching the news. There's always shooting and violence.

Sam expresses his fear of the city which seem to be quite common. Most of the young people that I spoke with expressed their love for Red Bank and their disdain for the city. Some said that they were afraid of the crowds when they came down to the city to shop and could not wait to get home.

Sam is also an active innovator in processes cultural creolisation. As mentioned above he uses urban-American styles in the youth cultural space in Red Bank. For him being Cree means going hunting and appreciating nature but it also tacitly means playing basketball and pool well. Being able to play basketball and pool better than white outsiders is a source of pride for many of the young guys that I played with. "Cree pool" is a term facetiously used by at least two guys that I spoke with to describe the type of game that most in the pool hall seem to play. That is where the shots are always very hard and where participants have nonchalant composites with respect to the outcomes of their shots. In other words, form and style of play is as important as the outcome. Sam is a good "Cree pool" -player and a pretty good basketball player and these skills are important to him as they are for many guys in Red Bank.

Sam is also very forthright with his feelings about the use of pan-Indian symbols. Like Rodney, he feels as through these symbols are not foreign to his community because he defines his community as including Cree communities in

the prairies and western plains, that use them. He differs from Rodney, however, with his feelings that Anglican practices and rules are not part of his tradition. A more detailed discussion of Sam's cultural reinterpretations are included in chapter seven.

Joan is very good friends with Rodney, although they do not hang out at night together. Rodney occasionally visits Joan at the restaurant where she works. Joan is 22 years old. Her father is white and her mother is Cree. Despite this fact and the fact that she speaks very little Cree, she feels that she is Cree and that Red Bank is her home.

I was born in Ottawa. I lived in Val D'Or for a while. We moved to Red Bank when I was 9. I didn't like going to school here because I thought it was too easy. So we moved back to Ottawa. I fucked around a lot. I dropped out of school and got into drugs. That's when I got pregnant... I've travelled all over the place. My father's from New Brunswick. I'd travel all over the place with him. He'd just say 'Let's go' and we'd take off in his car. We went all over Canada. We went to the States. We'd go camping. We'd drive all over the place... This stopped when I got pregnant. My father said 'if you want to grow up fast, go ahead.'

Joan lives with her three and six year old boys in an apartment, that she claims she had to fight hard with to get. She spends most of her nights hanging out with her friends, most of whom are also Cree/Euro-Canadian and/or were not born in Red Bank. She prides herself on being a very good pool player and does very well in the monthly pool tournaments at the pool hall. She has also written a number of songs about her life in Red Bank and she occasionally sings with a local rock band. Joan's days are often spent either working at the restaurant or in her apartment lying down in front of the T.V.

Miles is 23 years old and is Joan's good friends. He often hangs out in the restaurant with her and their friends during the day. At night they sometimes hang out together at her apartment watching videos, driving around in another friend's mother's car or at the pool hall. Miles also often plays basketball at the high school with his male friends. Like Joan, Miles did not live in Red Bank his whole life and speaks what he and Joan call "Cringlish", which you may have guessed is Cree mixed with English. When asked "are you from Red Bank?" he responded "yes". When asked "have you always lived here?" He explained:

No, I grew up in Peterborough. My father was going to Trent (university) at the time. My mother's not Cree, she's white. My father's Cree. They're both teachers. They travelled around Canada a bit teaching in different places. We lived in Bay Ridge (another Cree reserve south of Red Bank) for a while. We moved here about 13 years ago.

Later I asked him if he always wanted to live here and he answered:

I hope to. I want to go back to school. Ideally, I'd like to go to college to study communications. I'd like to work at the radio station here in Red Bank. I don't know if there'll be a job for me... I studied commerce. I'm not sure why I went into it.

Valerie is 20 years old and is also good friends with both Joan and Miles. She also works part-time at the restaurant and spends many of her days and nights hanging out with Joan, Miles and a few other people. She says that most of the people that she hangs out with speak English as their first language, usually meaning that they have not lived here their entire lives and often have one parent who is not Cree. When asked if she is from Red Bank she responded "yes".

When asked if she has always lived here she explained:

No, I lived in Val D'Or for 10 years. My father is White. When my parents were divorced we moved back here. We moved here when I was 11. I went to Montréal to go to high school. I went to school there until I got pregnant, I was 16. Then I came back.

Valerie now has a 6 year old daughter and lives with her mother and older brother. She likes living at home because, she explained, *my mother pays the bills, she also baby-sits when I want to go out.* She goes out almost every night, which usually means going over to Joan's house or to the pool hall. She goes into the bush once a year during the spring goose hunt. When I asked if she liked doing this, she responded unenthusiastically *yeah, but I miss my friends. It's also a lot of work.*

John is 23 years old and has lived most of his life in Red Bank. He also hangs out with Joan, Miles and Valerie. He says that he likes these people because they are more out-going. They are not shy as most young people in Red Bank are. He says that he likes meeting new people and is not afraid of what other people think about him. John explained enthusiastically that he has many interests and has considered studying a number of different subjects ranging from philosophy to bar-tending. He explained how he has always had many different interests but, like many young people in Red Bank, has never completed high school. He explained why:

I was a hell raiser. I guess I got bored with school. It wasn't challenging enough. I went to school in the south for a while in Timmins. It was really different down there. They talk in the classes down there. They're not shy to talk in front of the class. The first time I had to talk in front of the class I felt really out of place. I guess I was kind of a nerd. But after a while I would talk. Then I got into the party scene. Eventually, I wanted to come back. I guess I was home sick. I had a girlfriend here. I was young and arrogant. I came back here and I got right in. I found the level of education very basic. I partied a lot. I was stoned in class. I blame myself. I was a little shit...A lot of the teachers were second rate. In one of our classes, it was natural sciences, all we did was memorising. I told her that. What would you do if you didn't like the way the class was being taught. A petition got started to kick her out and I got in trouble for it. I didn't even write the petition. I got another guy to write it up. I always have to disturb shit. The teachers called a meeting and I was the only one that they spoke

to. They put me on probation. That year I got bored. I never took authority well.

John loves music. While I was in Red Bank he went with a caravan of others to the Metallica concert in Montréal. Like many young people in Red Bank, Metallica is one of his favourite bands. When he returned, he said that he had a great time. They went to some of the particular bars and restaurants that young Cree go to when they are in Montréal. John is not afraid of the city and says that he goes down to Val D'Or or Montréal almost every chance he can get a ride. I asked what he likes to do in the city and he replied: *go shopping for clothes, go to bars.*

Like Rodney and Sam, I recognise John as being a particularly active innovator in processes of cultural creolisation. I am not making a distinction here between innovators and non-innovators. Rather, I am highlighting those who appear to be more active in these processes of innovation. John has been involved in organising popular music events in the community and has written a number of rock song about local experiences. He has also frequently had a direct role in many of pan-Indian ceremonies occurring in Red Bank. I discuss these innovations in more detail in chapters six and seven.

David is a very soft spoken 22 years old. When asked if he was from Red Bank, he is the only young person asked who did not immediately say "yes". His answer was *I'm living here now*. I asked him where he was living before and he answered that he was living with his mother in a Cree reserve on the other side of the Bay. He said that he likes it better in Red Bank because life is much easier. He described the rustic conditions of the other reserve by saying *we used*

to use wood stoves . David spends many of his days hanging out with John, Valerie, Joan and Miles. I caught them a number of times sitting together at the restaurant drinking coffee and making plans for the night. He often hangs out with them at night as well. However, he tends to drink much more than the others in the group and is sometimes excluded from their company because of this. On one particular occasion that I witnessed, David was very inebriated and was not let into Joan's apartment where a number of young people watched videos. Miles and Joan explained that this has occurred a number of times in the past. When asked what he disliked most about living in the community he said, *the barricade* ⁴. Many people that I spoke with also see the barricade as being as a problem because they believe that it is not secure enough. I asked David if this lack of security was what he disliked about it and he replied very seriously, *No I wish they'd get rid of it.*

Lisa is 24 years old and has always lived in Red Bank. She has a four year old daughter who was conceived with a white man from Montréal who was working in the community. They are no longer involved but are still in contact. Lisa and her daughter live with her parents in their three bedroom house with her three sisters, their boy friends and children, her brother, his girlfriend and child. All together there are 13 people living in the house. Lisa likes living there because she says that it is always easy to find somebody to baby-sit and her daughter has her cousins to play with. She helps her mother in the kitchen cooking for the family. She also enjoys working occasionally at the Cree School Board as a receptionist and at the gym to replace the permanent staff. She plans on returning to school at one of the Native colleges in Ottawa or Timmins to study drug and alcohol

counselling. She said that she had a substance abuse problem at one time when she was in high school but has since officially quit drinking and smoking pot. At night she usually watches videos at home with her sisters. Sometimes she will play basket ball or volley ball at the high school. Lisa listens to a wide variety of music including U2, Fleetwood Mac and Bob Marley. However, she says that her favourite music is the round dance chants which are on a number of cassettes that she has collected from some of the powwows that she has attended. She is also a big fan of Buffy Saint-Marie who is a Native singer from western Canada who includes round-dance chanting in many of her songs.

Lisa seems to be very conscious of being Cree. She loves going out into the bush. She explained with a glowing smile how the men will spend most of the day hunting and will sometimes come home very late when it is dark. The women will stay in the camp preparing the food. She said that she once tried to hunt but she said that she could not hold the gun straight because she was too nervous.

Lisa is another young person that I recognise as being particularly involved in innovative processes of cultural creolisation with indigenous Cree culture. She proudly exhibits her identification with pan-Indianism by wearing dream-catcher earrings and pins and bracelets with the four sacred colours. She was very willing to talk about the meanings of the various pan-Indian ceremonies that she has participated in and the importance that they have for her, particularly with respect to how they have helped her resist the temptations of alcohol. The imported symbols and ceremonies that she uses as well as the importance of being in the bush and living off the land are both what it means for her to be Cree.

Sarah and Quincey share a house together and have a one-year-old daughter. Quincey, 23 years old, is from a Cree reserve about 400 miles south-east of Red Bank. He moved to Red Bank only a few years ago. He is unemployed and spends most of his days at home with Sarah and the baby. Sarah, 24 years old, is from Red Bank and has always lived there but her mother is white. She says that she identifies with being both white and Cree. Sarah said that she used to party a lot (ie. drink alcohol and do drugs) before she had her child. She said that some of her friends thought she was partying too much. She is friends with John, Valerie, Miles and Joan but no longer hangs out with them much. She feels as though she has settled down and spends much more time at home since her child was born. She spoke about some of her family and how she feels as though she is much different from them. She talked about how her cousins have alcohol problems:

My aunt's sons drink. They are 30, 19 and 18 years old. The baby, who's 18, is handicapped. They drink too much. They have drinking parties in the summer time. My aunt has high blood pressure. She was too scared to kick them out. All they do all day is sit around, get drunk and fight. My aunt would call me and tell me and I'd tell her to kick them out but she'd say she's too scared. Once she had to go to the hospital for her blood pressure and they admitted her because it was so high. She called me and asked me to watch the house. I got a call from my cousin and she said that her brother punched her. My cousin punched her because he found her in bed with a guy. I told them, 'do you realise that your mom is in the hospital!' I say if they're old enough to drink they're old enough to take care of themselves. My aunt called me to ask if everything was alright at the house and I told her, 'well they're just fighting.' I'm glad I'm not brought up that way. I was raised to have respect. I was not allowed to talk back...

She says that these sorts of problems are common with young people in Red Bank. She, like many in the community (New Economy Group, 1997), feels that these problems are caused by the fact that many adults are not doing an

adequate job of parenting.

During our interview , while Sarah and I talked, Quincey walked around the room listening and adding comments occasionally. His particular interests were with our discussion of the powwows in Red Bank, the conflict over the elders' Anglican orthodoxy and Native spirituality. He has a particularly interesting part in local processes cultural creolisation. Despite his apprehension about practising Native spirituality, he is appropriating the secular meanings of the ceremonies of the powwows and creolising them to have magical shamanic significance. His comments on the powwow will be discussed in detail in the upcoming *Reinterpreting Tradition* section.

Malcolm is 15 years old and was born in the Red Bank but no longer lives in the community. Malcolm visited Red Bank from a detoxification centre in the south while I was there. He has a strong reputation among young people in the community for his cocaine use, which he seems to be quite proud of. Last summer he and his older sister had a number of wild parties in their parents' house while the parents were away. Malcolm went to high school in Montréal for a while before he was suspended for using drugs. He loves visiting Red Bank and feels that it is home for him. He still has many friends in the community but is unlike most others his age in Red Bank who are much less out-going than he is. Last summer he worked at the restaurant and said that he spent a lot of time with Joan and Valerie. Joan and Valerie, who are a few years older than he is, expressed some concern about him when I mentioned seeing him. Joan said that *he was a messed up kid. He was doing a lot of coke last summer.* Malcolm has since realised that drugs and alcohol were not good for him but believes that almost all of the young people in town use them. While in town he avoided a

number of places, including the pool hall and the high school gym because he said that "negative people" hung out there; negative meaning that they were substance abusers. This is a term he picked up from the detoxification centre.

Nelson is 22 year old and has always lived in Red Bank. He knows most of the young people profiled above but does not hang out with them. Nelson is very active in the community volunteering frequently at dances and hockey tournaments. He says that he is often asked to volunteer and he has a hard time declining. He has a number of friends that he hangs out with at the commercial centre and at night at the pool hall. He says, however, he likes playing pool at his uncle's house better because it is free. When I asked what he liked most about his community he responded *the nature*. He explained that he often goes "camping" with his parents. He said that his parents and his brothers participate in the Income Security Program. They go to Elizabeth Island *to fill their days*, as he put it, meaning they go to the Island to fill their quota of days needed to be eligible for the program. This full-time hunting is not what Nelson wants to pursue. He has completed his high school and plans to go to college in Ottawa to study office technology. Eventually, he would like to work for the Band Council.

Concluding Remarks on the Youth Profiles

These profiles reflect the diversity of the interests, experiences and actions of young people in Red Bank. While most young people know each other to varying degrees, their relationships with each other are quite different. These profiles reflect the heterogeneity of youth cultural production in Red Bank.

However, the profiles suggest that certain demographic profiles are overrepresented in my sample. Six of the twelve young people profiled were not

somewhat marginal in the community. Miles, Joan and Valerie all have one white parent and have lived in multiple locations. Sarah has one white parent but has always lived in Red Bank. David and Quincey both have two Cree parents but were born in other Cree communities. I believe the fact that these people are marginal may have made them more accessible to me. Their fluency in English and generally being more out-going has provided me with more opportunities to interview them. This also means that this group is overrepresented in my sample.

This overrepresentation could have had significant affects on my findings. People of multiple-location and transcultural experiences are often the most active innovators in cultural creolisation. However, this has not necessarily been the case with my findings. While it is difficult to gauge who is more or less active in cultural innovations, some seem to be more visibly active than others. Valerie, Joan and Miles for instance, have similar backgrounds. All three have one white parent, have spent a significant proportions of their lives in multiple locations and speak English as a first language. Joan is quite active in using a popular cultural medium to express local experiences. However, Valerie and Miles are not overtly active in this respect. Furthermore, none of the three participate in Red Bank's pan-Indian ceremonies. On the other hand, Rodney, Sam, John and Lisa were all born with two Cree parents in the community and have spent all or almost all of their lives there and they are actively involved in multiple processes of cultural creolisation.

Adults on Young People

The following two subsections include a sample of people from my interviews with adults and their explanations of what they think is wrong with young people. With little or no prompting most people I interviewed immediately discussed the

With little or no prompting most people I interviewed immediately discussed the problems with youth in Red Bank. Questions, such as, "how would you describe the changes faced by young people?", would almost always elicit explanations of the problems experienced by young people in the community. Drug and alcohol use would almost always come up immediately. Lack of discipline, violent behaviour, disrespect of elders and sexual promiscuity were other characteristics frequently associated with young people by the adults that I spoke with.

Claire is in her mid-40's and is not Cree. She is Aboriginal but is from another reserve. She moved to Elizabeth Island to work as a teacher at the high school and continues to teach at Red Bank's high school at an administrative level. She married a Cree man and had three daughters with him. Despite the length of her stay in the community and her involvement in it, she feels that she is still not completely accepted by the community or that acceptance has changed in the past twenty years with all of the other radical changes that have occurred.

When I first came to Elizabeth Island I felt welcome and part of the community. I don't feel that way any more. My Children don't either. They were born here. They never let you forget that you're not from here. Even the children feel that way. Sometimes I watch the play ground and you can see which children have parents who are not from here. They are alone.

Claire feels that since the move from Elizabeth Island the community has become more alienating for many people in the community. Perhaps the practices of exclusion are defence strategies against the increased flow of new people in the community. Perhaps Joan, Miles, Valerie and David's clique of young people with both Cree and white parents and Cree from other reserves is reflective of the insider-outsider demarcation that Claire referred to. Like many adults that I spoke with, she feels that it is extremely difficult to communicate with

young people in general. She has great difficulty communicating with her own daughters and was skeptical that I would be able to establish any substantial communication in the length of time I would be in the community.

Martha is in her mid-40's and also works at the high school. She is Cree and has always lived in the Community. Martha spoke about the changes that have occurred with her community:

A lot of changes, very fast. There are more people employed and so there are more material things. So they get to have trucks and skidoos. Some of this is good and some of this is bad socially. The changes have been coming too fast. They haven't been keeping their traditional skills. Today young people have far more complicated problems. They have far more choice. We didn't have all these activities organised when we were growing up. We had to organise our own dances. We didn't have the exposure to the alcohol these young people do.

I asked how well she thought young people were adapting to change.

I think that they're adapting well. With T.V., media, radio, when they go down south they're not as scared. When I used to go down south, I was so scared.

I asked if she thought Cree cultural instruction in school is important.

Yes, it gives you stability. It gives you a sense of who you are. When we were in school we didn't learn about this. We weren't even allowed to speak Cree. (This was residential school in Red Bank.)

Matthew is in his mid-30's. He is Cree and has always lived in Red Bank. He works for the police station and therefore many of his comments were based on observations from work. He also feels that there are many new problems faced by young people in Red Bank.

There were big changes over the past 20 years. It's only 45 minutes to [Lafleur] where you can buy booze. This change has been negative. This doesn't mean that there was no problems [on Elizabeth Island], but it wasn't as bad.

He feels that crime is on the increase with the typical crimes being the possession and sales of alcohol and drugs; sexual assault and sexual abuse; pointing of fire arms; assaults. He explained that typical crimes committed by young people were alcohol possession; disturbing the peace; common assaults; mischief; and impaired driving. According to him these are not new occurrences, however there has been an increase of crime. *There is also more of the hard stuff like cocaine being used by young people.*

Elders on Young People

Martha's interpretation of the urban shrewdness developed by young people today is exceptional. Isaac and Jeremiah are two elders who gave me very common interpretations of the differences between this new generation of young people and previous generations. However, Jeremiah's discussion of how young people are using pan-Indian symbols and ceremonies is quite different. This discussion will be presented in the *Reinterpreting Tradition* section.

Isaac is in his early 70's. He speaks English with a thick Cree accent, choosing his words carefully. He is a catechist, a leader in the Anglican church and a respected elder in the community. He is known for taking young delinquent men into the bush to "rediscover who they are." He in fact used to work with young men at the group home in the community. Rodney complimented Isaac, on another occasion, saying *Isaac will tell you that he's a good hunter, and he is. He's a very good hunter.* Isaac says that when he takes young people out into the bush, they often do not want to come back.

Isaac expressed his worries about the young people of the community. He

believes that many young people are being influenced by television and music. He feels that they are trying to copy the ways of white people in the south. *They want to follow white people instead of their parents. They see a lot of things that they shouldn't see, some abuses. Even the young young kids look at sexual movies and they imitate it.*

Jeremiah is in his mid-70's and speaks English with a Cree accent but is much more fluent than Isaac. He was referred to me by many young people for his great ability to communicate with young people and his generosity in sharing his wisdom. Jeremiah also takes young men out into the bush to hunt. He is also known to travel to conferences to speak about youth issues. While I was in Red Bank he went to a youth conference with a young person working at the Youth Centre. He gave me his interpretation of the cause of the problems faced by young people.

The elders in our traditional teachings were never paid attention to. They told us what would become of us but we didn't listen. We didn't understand the prophecies. They were telling us to be ready. The teachings were supposed to be kept in our hearts. We were raised to respect everything. When you were here and spoke to the young people, they don't know because of school. We don't appreciate the teachings of our elders. This is the way we were almost destroyed; trying to follow the ways of others ways of life. They used to talk about the island, how nicely people would talk to each other. We had nothing to fear there. The elders see young people behave in a certain way, as if they are in a different society. I was educated on the land. These are the teaching that we want to preserve for our children that were once preserved. This is what I understand of a traditional way of life; that there is somebody above all supreme. That's why people were so respectful of the land to understand that there's life in all things.

According to Jeremiah tradition is based on both a respect for the land and the

belief in one God which are inseparably linked. Jeremiah is expressing a sentiment that many elders have about young people having lost their tradition. In other words, this is a belief shared by many elders that young people have lost their attachment to the land and belief in God.

Chapter Four

Socio-Historical Context of Red Bank

In this chapter I describe the historical and contemporary contexts of Red Bank. The historical context includes accounts of the early contact with the south through its commercial ventures and missionaries. This is followed by a qualitative description of contemporary town-life in Red Bank. Finally, the population distribution of Red Bank is outlined.

The extralocal cultural contact with Red Bank did not begin with mass media reception. The Hudson Bay Company and Anglican missionaries were two earlier sources that had profound influences on the community. From the early 1600's, when an overland route from the St. Lawrence to James Bay was discovered to the signing of the Utrecht treaty in 1713, the French had dominant influence over the southern James Bay region. After 1713 the British assumed the commercial operations of the region. Although the repercussions of the cultural flows, from both commerce and proselytisers, were substantial and arguably oppressive, these forces did not completely engulf or destroy existing cultural processes. Rather, in regard to the early presence of the European traders, the Cree used the trade with Europeans to their benefit, without significantly altering existing cultural processes (Morantz, 1983). The missionaries' presence in the community is to this day very prominent. However, Anglicanism has been indigenised as well. Community members exercised the imported religious practices with distinctly local meanings. It is not my intention to make a thorough evaluation of the effects of the fur trade on the eastern James Bay Cree, nor is it my goal to conduct a complete assessment of the impact of the missionaries. However, through a review of the literature on the subjects I

would like to make a few rudimentary inferences from these historical events with respect to the thesis, specifically that the cultural flows reaching Elizabeth Island in the past, just as they are today in Red Bank, were appropriated, creolised and indigenised within local cultural processes.

The community's original location was on Elizabeth Island. Although the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) was trading with Cree from Elizabeth Island as early as the beginning of the 18th century, the first trading-post was established on the Island in 1804 by the Northwest Company. The Northwest company, which was made up of Montréal based merchants, purchased the rights of "The King's Post" in 1788. "The King's Post", which was formally part of the French Crown's territory was taken over by the English in 1763. The Northwest company was forced to close its trading post on Elizabeth Island in 1806 shortly after opening it because the HBC, who wanted to hold a monopoly of trading posts on the coast, blocked their access to shipping. The HBC bought the Northwest Company in 1821. In 1838 a HBC trading post was set up on Elizabeth Island.

The HBC records in the 18th and 19th centuries make clear distinctions between coastal Indians and inlanders. The records portray the inlanders as being less loyal to the HBC posts and less willing to trap as frequently and to produce as many furs as the posts wanted. The coasters on the other hand were portrayed as being more willing to hunt for food and trap furs for the posts in exchange for HBC products. They would also work, cutting hay, building canoes and providing guided transportation, for example, for the Europeans at the posts. Another role that coastal Indians assumed for the posts was to be middlemen for the inlanders bringing furs to the HBC posts. These middlemen were called "Homeguard Captains". They would receive the furs that would arrive at the end of the season and would distribute the HBC products to the inland hunters. This

Homeguard Captain system was established to maintain the loyalty of inlanders who might otherwise trade with rival trading posts. Fierce competition between French and English trading posts ensured that the trading value of pelts would remain relatively high and that the HBC would have to extend credit to hunters. The homegaurd captain would recruit hunters, who were usually kin relations. This system eventually ended in 1800 and was replaced by individual trading.

Despite the HBC's clear distinction between coasters and inlanders, Morantz (1983) claims that the distinction is not so clear cut. She cites examples where men and women would go inland to hunt and return or where inlanders would come to the coast and stay for a season. Morantz also believes that while coastal Indians were somewhat mutually dependent on the posts, the overall dependency of the coastal Indians on the HBC posts should not be overemphasised. Subsistence production continued to be the most important activity of both inlanders and coasters. And for the most part, hunters trapped and exchanged only when something was needed from the post rather than to accumulate goods. Morantz claims that in the 18th to the mid-19th century the Europeans HBC workers had much more cultural adaptation to undergo than Cree had to adapt to European ways. She describes the encounter more as an adoption of certain European technologies by the Cree and the development of a certain degree of mutual dependence.

A 1838 census reported that there were 270 coasters and 723 inlanders among the eastern James Bay Cree. The census also reported that there were approximately 50 goose hunters on Elizabeth Island (Morantz, 1983: 39). Elizabeth Island had the only HBC trading post at this time, after a southern coastal post was closed.

The Anglican missionaries first came to Elizabeth Island in 1853 on the HBC's boat but they did not stay at this time. They returned to establish a mission only in 1880. The Catholic missionaries did not arrive until 1921 because the HBC refused to provide transportation for them. The year following their arrival the Catholics established their own mission. Their influence in the community was and still is relatively weak.

The Anglican missionaries, on the other hand, had a very strong influence on the community. One missionary in particular was referred to by five people whom I spoke with. Minister Walton arrived on the island in 1890 and led the mission for 32 years. According to a number of elder men's historical accounts, Walton had a very strong influence on the community. One man described him this way:

He was a short man and probably had an inferiority complex because the men here are so big. To make up for it he threatened them with fire and brimstone. He didn't care much for education either. He would say that uneducated Indians are easier to control. He was a pretty fierce man. Just go down to the commercial centre and tell them that Walton is coming to town and you'll see how scared they'll get.

When Walton arrived on Elizabeth Island he gathered all the drums that he could find and burned them. Rodney explained the importance of the drum burning by Walton.

If you want to understand Native spirituality you have to go back. About 100 years ago a missionary by the name of Walton came here. At first people accepted his religion openly because it wasn't much different than ours. We've always believed that there was one God. But then he saw the drums and he didn't like them. He thought that they were evil. He feared them so he burned them. Once he walked up to an elder playing a drum in a tent and took it away from him and burned it. He instilled fear into us. We've never believed in hell. We believe that you hang around the earth for a while after you die; both good and bad people.

Lisa recounted this story that she heard about Walton, *I think most of the elders are brainwashed. There was a white minister that came here about 60 years ago and he brainwashed them to believe that our ways were wrong.* This drum burning event was perhaps a way of establishing the religious superiority of Anglican symbols but is now a story used by some young people to reaffirm their commitment to Native spirituality. Sam commented after retelling the story; *What if I went to the church and gathered up all the bibles and burned them? How would they feel about that?* This single act, recounted by several in the community, is perhaps a symbol of the chronic undermining of Native tradition by white society over the past few centuries. This dramatic act, of a leader of the Anglican Church in Red Bank collecting sacred Native symbols and burning them, conjures great imagery that many young people invoke to resist the rules of the Anglican church. This resistance will be discussed in the upcoming *Reinterpreting Tradition* section.

In 1930 the Catholic missionaries established a French residential school with 100 boarders. The Anglican school was built, soon after, in 1934. In 1963 the Anglican school was sold to the Federal Government, and in 1975 the Cree School Board assumed control over both schools and the residential sections were closed. In 1975, there were 335 students in the Catholic school and 555 students in the English government run school. The priests continued operating the French sector until the move to Red Bank. In 1980, a single school was built in Red Bank with an English and a French sector and the Cree School Board assumed full control over the school's administration. Currently there are both French and English sectors in the school. However, while English is the second language and is widely used, French is rarely used within the community. From prekindergarten to grade 3, instruction is in Cree only. After grade three parents

are given a choice over which language they want their children to study.

When in existence, the residential schools had a mixed reputation. Many of those who had attended them blame the schools for causing a generation to lose the teachings of their elders. The lack of bush skills and parenting skills is often attributed to the residential school which kept students away from their families for a great part of the year. On the other hand, some individuals also look back at this type of strict education with admiration saying that it was far superior to the education their children or grandchildren are receiving now ³.

In 1971 a hydroelectric project was proposed by the Québec government and the Cree were forced to make a quick land and monetary settlement. Out of the nine Cree communities in the province, Red Bank suffered the greatest environmental consequences: six out of forty trap lines were completely inundated with water from the flooding; and the community's water resources had the highest levels of methyl mercury contamination after the flooding (Niezen, 1993). In 1980, the community was forced to move off the island to a new location because of potential flooding.

The transformation of the settlement on Elizabeth Island from mission outpost, where a significant part of its administration was operated by Anglican and Catholic Churches, to a town, fully administered by the Cree themselves, occurred in a relatively short period. In the mid-1970's, after being faced with the prospect of the loss of an essential part of their way of life (subsistence activities), community leaders were forced to negotiate with the Provincial and Federal Government over the use of their land for hydroelectric development. Since the hydroelectric project was proposed, the community leadership's political sophistication and skills for non-Native politics have developed at an

exceptionally fast pace (Salisbury, 1985).

Since their relocation by the Québec Government to Red Bank, the town has grown both in size and in the number of permanent jobs held by residents. When the community moved, a commercial centre was built in the town and currently there is a Northern Store, a Coop grocery store, a Post office, a bank, a diner and a hair salon which all employ Cree men and women. Outside of the commercial centre, there is a grocery store, a restaurant and a pool hall that also provide at least 20 part-time jobs for young people. There is a grocery store, a video store, another pool hall and two garages operating out of people's homes. Seven years ago, a new arena and a community centre were built, with office space, an auditorium, a banquet hall, a pool hall, a fitness centre and a bowling alley.

Beginning in the mid 1970's, the Cree have begun assuming more control over their administrative affairs. As a result, the administrative bureaucracy in Red Bank has grown considerably. The Cree Health Board, the Cree School Board, the Cree Regional Authority and the Cree Hunters and Trappers Association all have offices in the community and employ local residents. The Band Council, the Youth Council, the Development Corporation and the Red Bank Tourism Centre also provide jobs within the community (see Graph 9 in Appendix 1).

The great increase in facilities and permanent jobs in Red Bank since the town's birth, 17 years ago, has made town-life primary. Over the past 6 years the town centre has grown substantially. The recent construction of the community centre has made town-life more attractive on some levels to younger people.

Lisa, a 24 year old woman, described what young people used to do before the community center was built:

It was much different before the Center was here. We used to walk up and down the road. Everybody would be out on the road. Sometimes people would have tape recorders playing music. It was fun but it was not the same as it is now. There is so much more to do now.

Miles, 23 years old, described some of the more recent changes that have occurred to Red Bank. Like many young people that I spoke with in Red Bank who are critical of the Band Council, Miles readily expressed his criticism of the Band Council's role in the changes:

The town has changed. Housing has gotten better: paved roads and a sewage system. The Band has tried to improve things. In my opinion, they haven't spent the money wisely. Like building the Mitchuap (the literal translation is teepee but the word is used to refer to the community centre), they started it 5 years ago but they would put in a sewage system until two years ago because they didn't have enough money. They could have planned this better. I think that it's good that we have it. I'm sure we created some jobs. But I think we could have started a real pool hall. There was too much money spent for too little permanent jobs created... I remember when there were more trees around. They were chopped down when they put in the roads and the sewage system. I would plant some trees around and plant some grass. In the summer there's a lot of blowing sand. The kids should have some trees and grass to play on.

Contemporary Town-life

Town-life is often described negatively by young people. Unlike bush-life, which is considered to be sacred, town-life is decadent and is often characterised by idleness and substance abuse. Nonetheless, despite the ambivalent nature of this emerging existence, town-life is also very attractive to most young people. In this section I will explain these attractions and contradictions and look at some of the predominant characteristics of town-life and how young people, in particular, are creating cultural space within a difficult context. Alcohol consumption and resistance to it and television reception are all factors involved in the channelling

and negotiation of these global and transnational cultural flows.

Thirteen people live in the Farrell's three bedroom house. Jimmy Farrell's three daughters and one son live under his roof with their boyfriends and girlfriend and children. The three boyfriends and one girlfriend are all from other reserves. The choices to live in Red Bank, despite the crowded quarters, have been based on the town's excitement. One of the boyfriend's parents live in Bay Ridge, a reserve 3 hours to the south. They visit them occasionally but dislike staying for longer than a few days because, they complain, *there's nothing to do in [Bay Ridge]. It's more exciting here*. Many young people express how exciting Red Bank is, while other smaller Cree reserves are often laughed at because they do not compare to the ebullience of Red Bank.

The community has a vibrant intellectual and recreational life. During my two month stay in Red Bank, there were at least six conferences and work-shops on a number of different topics, which included a number of speakers from other reserves; two hockey and broom-ball tournaments; two pool tournaments; two skidoo races; four dances; first run movies were screened every weekend; and there were nightly hockey, basketball, karate and volley ball practices. This does not include all of the informal street hockey games, gatherings and parties that occurred nightly.

It was pretty clear that young people "occupy" the town centre. Over 50% of the town's population is under 24 years of age, as illustrated in Graphs 1 and 2 in the *Population Distribution* section below, and through their visibility this proportion is apparent. The visibility of the town's youth is even greater at night. An official at the Cree School Board remarked that *the night belongs to young people*. While most adults are home, young people move freely around the town centre throughout most of the night and there are few restrictions on their

movements. Some hang out in the corridors of the arena, in the hallways of the community centre, in the pool hall and in the corridors of the school gym. When these places close, some hang out in the lit areas of the parking lot, while others drive around the town in their parents' cars. As well, numerous street hockey games take place between different clusters of houses, until the late hours of the night.

As a newcomer, at first I felt that there was a chaotic aspect to the town at night. There are few adults about town after midnight; and young people have freedom to move around relatively unchecked by adults until the early hours of the morning. Skidoos speed along the narrow paths that wind through the clusters of houses. Also for a newcomer, alcohol use is a less obvious part of this night time activity of young people. Nevertheless, it is a large hidden part of it.

A) Alcohol

Despite the fact that Red Bank is officially a dry town, alcohol use is profuse. There is a barricade on the road to Red Bank where cars are checked for alcohol. However, there is no shortage of alcohol in the community. Empty beer and vodka bottles litter the sides of the road and around the clusters of houses. The sight of staggering drunk men is not uncommon either. Everyone in the community is aware of the accessibility of alcohol and most agree that it is a problem (New Economy Development Group, 1996).

The source of the alcohol is Lafleur, a white French speaking town an hour's drive down the road. Lafleur was established 20 years ago when the hydroelectric project began. Most of its inhabitants are Hydro Québec employees from the south. The population of Lafleur is just slightly smaller than Red Bank but is very different in appearance. It is quite sterile looking compared

to its neighbouring Cree community. It is made up of a small strip with a restaurant, two hotels, a Catholic church, a bar and a gas station. The residents live in rows of prefabricated white houses. At night, with the exception of the bar, the town seems lifeless. The bar is frequented by White French speaking Hydro employees and Cree travelling from Red Bank and from the Bay Ridge, a reserve two hours south-west of Lafleur. Valerie and Miles once joked about what they would do if the bar in Lafleur closed. Valerie joked, *We'll have to build our own bar. Yeah, just across from the barricade.* We also joked about building a Mississippi boat casino/night club that would float in the river along the town. This would be another comical remedy if the bar in Lafleur closed. Lafleur is the source of alcohol for Red Bank. Alcohol is bought at the grocery store and the gas station and smuggled across the barricade into Red Bank. This is not a difficult feat since cars are often waved through the barricade without inspection 4.

People refer to the smugglers who bring alcohol into Red Bank for sale as "bootleggers" and this is clearly used in a derogatory fashion. Miles, a young man, spoke to me about the bootleggers, saying *They're making millions. They sell a bottle for one hundred dollars... I have no respect for these guys. They'll sell to anybody, no matter how old you are.* Bootlegger is a term used for those who bring alcohol into the community for sale; however, smuggling in alcohol for private consumption was referred to as being more acceptable.

It should be made clear that not everyone drinks and it also should be made clear that not all practices of alcohol consumption are necessarily pathological; rather, they are culturally defined as acceptable or unacceptable by the community (O'Neill & Mitchell, 1996). Despite the official prohibition of

alcohol in the community, alcohol occupies an important place in town-life and practices of alcohol consumption in Red Bank are differentiated; there are both acceptable and unacceptable practices of consumption: Acceptable places to drink are in private; at home, in cars or outdoors, out of public view. Young people often borrow their parents' cars, drive around town to be with friends and to drink, and they can spend the entire night drinking as they cruise around town. On the weekends parties are held at different houses. These parties often involve parents and extended family members. The parties will sometimes begin on Thursday or Friday and continue until Sunday. Younger teens, who are too young to be allowed to join the house parties and too young to have access to a car, will sometimes drink with friends outside. It is less acceptable to drink or to be noticeably drunk in public. There are two places in particular that drunkenness is officially prohibited: the pool hall and dances at the community centre. On the weekends there is greater attention placed on watching for drunk people entering the pool hall.

All of the young people that I spoke with had a fairly strong familiarity with alcohol consumption. Generally young people have three types of relationship with alcohol. Many claimed to have had problems at one time with alcohol but have since quit drinking completely. Some say that they enjoy drinking and would "party heavily" on the week ends with their friends. A third group of young people, who I came to know quite well, were less interested in drinking and two of the members of the group disliked it completely. Four of the six members of this group had one non-Native parent and one other young man in the group was from a Cree reserve in Ontario. They preferred to smoke up and did so as an alternative to drinking. Miles, 21 years old, is a member of this third group:

I'm not a big drinker. I'll have a few beers occasionally. I like smoking up

better. I think drinking can be destructive. I don't think that smoking is though. I know a guy who used to be a big drinker. When he started smoking up he stopped drinking. He turned into a total family man. He goes into the bush regularly to hunt...

Miles speaks of smoking up as a positive alternative to drinking. Three of the friends that he hangs out with dislike drinking and party by smoking pot. Miles still drinks but explains how he does not like to party with some of his friends because he feels they get too wild when they drink. He describes some of the friendships that he has that are based on hash and pot use.

I have friends that that's the only time that we'll talk to each other. It's totally in Cree and my Cree is perfect when it is on this subject. They'll ask 'hey, so who's selling? Is it good?'. Sometimes when I'm in the bush, somebody might pass me a piece. I sit in my blind all day and smoke. I'll sit there all day completely mellow and think.

Malcolm, who is 15 years old, has a different relationship to alcohol. He bragged about the drinking parties that he had last summer. He said *do you see what shape this place (his house) is in? It's from all the partying I did last summer.* I asked him why he thought young people drink and do drugs. He said, *because it's so boring here. There's nothing else to do.* He asked me a few times whether I saw any beer left in the beer fridges in Lafleur. He bragged that he and his sister cleared them out last time he was there.

Malcolm believes that everybody in town parties heavily. *This (the partying) started at 11 or 12 years old.* I asked him where they did this. He responded, *at people's houses or outside or in the cars.* He asked rhetorically, *Have you ever gone into town at 3:00am or even 6?* I replied that some young people in the city party at your age too. He responded, *but kids here don't just have a few beers and that's it. They drink a whole case until they pass out.*

The first group of young people mentioned in my typology above were

recovering abusers. This includes young people who partied heavily at one time but have since officially stopped. Alcohol abuse healing is also an important part of town-life. There seems to be a hyper-awareness of the problematic nature of alcohol. There are quite a few mechanisms created by the community to deal with this problem: conferences, workshops and Native healing ceremonies are held regularly. These events attract recovering abusers from Native communities across Canada, who come to listen and share their experiences with alcohol. Alcohol abuse healing often involves the use of Pan-Indian symbols and ceremonies imported to Red Bank from western Native communities. I will discuss the use of Pan-Indian symbols in more detail below in the *Powwows and Local Cree Youth Culture* chapter.

B) Television

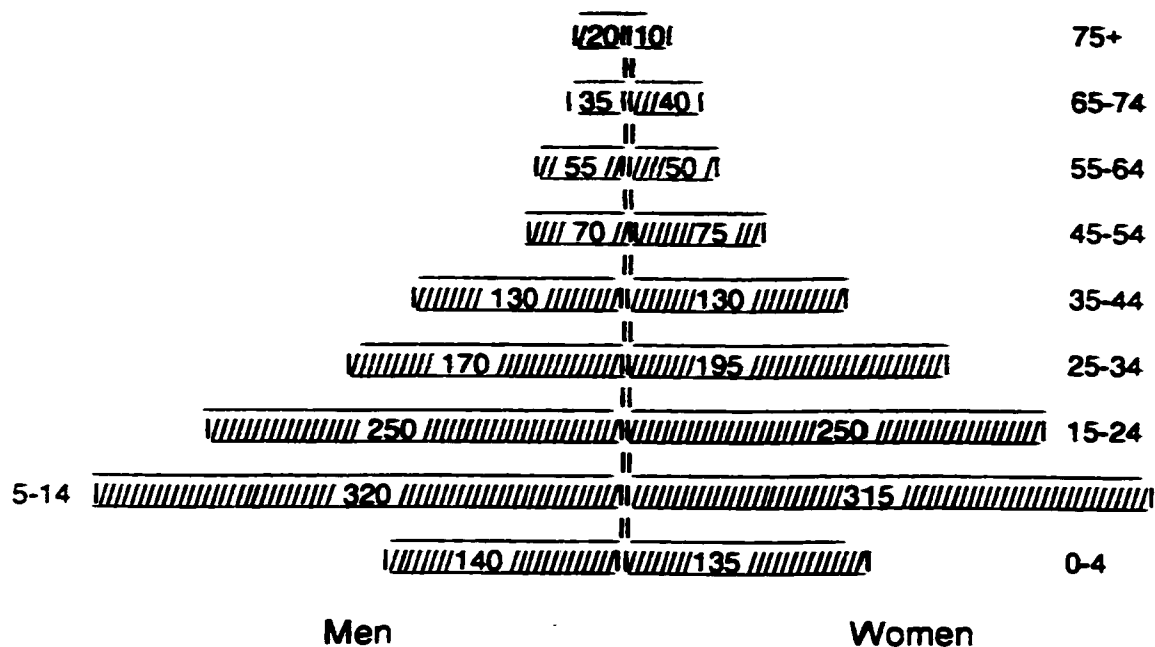
Town-life involves large quantities of "leisure" time. High unemployment, loss of hunting skills and high rates of school drop-out contribute to the extensive of idleness. This time usually consists of several hours of each day spent watching TV. Television is a major part of young people's lives in Red Bank. Almost every house has cable television and there are several satellite dishes around town. When walking through the community at night, one can see the blue flicker of the light from T.V. screens in the windows of almost every home. With a regular antenna one is able to pick up the CBC and SRC broadcasts. However, most houses have cable, giving them access to the American networks, the sports channel and Much Music. One young man was teased by his friends for not having cable. They made fun of him for only being able to watch the CBC. However, despite his inability to view multitudes of channels, he did have a VCR and watched movies regularly.

VCRs are also widely owned and used. There are two video stores in the community. One video store operates out of someone's home and is open until 11:00pm. Young people also have collections of taped movies that circulate among friends. Valerie has a large collection of videos that she allows some of her friends to borrow. *Even though she complains they never give them back.* She is a young mother who works part-time and who says she watches T.V. to pass the time. When I asked Valerie what she liked about working at the restaurant, she replied, *It gives me a break from my daughter. And it gets me out of the house. I usually spend the day in front of the T.V.*

Population Distributions of Red Bank

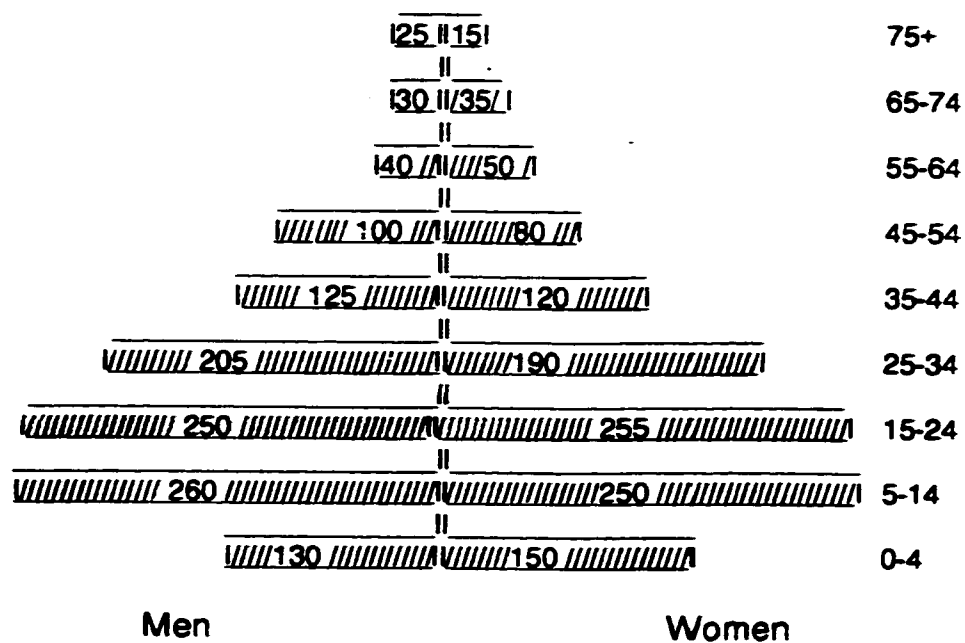
In this section I review data on the population of Red Bank taken from the 1986 and 1991 Canadian Censuses. The purpose of this examination is to provide a more complete understanding of the context of my ethnography. Below are two graphs representing the demographics of Red Bank. Graph 1 represents Red Bank's population distribution for 1986 and Graph 2 represents its distribution for 1991. On the right, are the age groups, beginning at the bottom with children from zero to four years of age, and above age groups of ten years begin. The columns on the right represent the number of women in the community and the columns on the left represent the number of men.

Graph 1

1986 Population Pyramid for Red Bank

(Source: Census Profile 1986, Statistics Canada)

Graph 2

1991 Population Pyramid for Red Bank

(Source: Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

The two graphs illustrate that Red Bank has a fairly young population. They indicate that in 1986 the largest age group was from five to fourteen years of age. There were 320 boys and 315 girls aged five to fourteen. The second largest age group was from fifteen to twenty-four years. There were 250 young men and 250 young women in the community. The age group zero to four, which is a five year cohort, was the second largest age group on a per year basis. The age group 45 to 54 years was relatively small, with only 70 men and 75 women in this age group in 1986.

Graph 2 indicates that in 1991 the zero to four age group had grown to become the largest age group on a per year basis, because the age group of five to fourteen had become relatively smaller. The age groups of 25 to 34 and 45 to 54 years had also grown slightly. Through a comparison of the two graphs, we are able to see the changes in the distribution of the population. The changes illustrate the population had aged slightly. This means that there were more young people ready to enter into full-time hunting or wage employment. In other words, there should have been a greater demand for employment and for wild-life resources in 1991. The large amount of children ages zero to four in 1991 also means that demands on school resources, for instance, should have continued to be fairly high. For a more extensive socioeconomic profile of Red Bank see the appendix.

Chapter Five

Theoretical Perspectives on Youth & Youth Culture

The term “youth” is used throughout the paper, so it should be made clear what I mean by it. The term is not an unambiguous one. There are a number of definitions of “youth” that refer to distinct age categories. Some might refer to youth as teenagers: 13 to 19 years of age. The Canadian Census operationalises this age group as being between the years 15 and 24. UNICEF has suggested that childhood ends for some in developing countries at 11 or 12 years of age (Unesco, 1981: 26), where adulthood immediately ensues. The Unesco youth conference has agreed that ‘youth’ can extend until 30 or 35 years of age in certain national contexts (Unesco, 1981: 27). Virginia Caputo (1995) questions some of the arbitrary definition of youth and childhood. Age, power and access to money are three such indicators often used to make distinctions between youth and childhood and between youth and adulthood.

In addition to age, there are various other defining features of this stage. Kenneth Keniston (1971: 34) asserts that youth is “a psychological stage” meaning that it involves an acceleration of moral and cognitive development. However, he claims that youth do not “necessarily join in identifiable groups, nor do they share a common social position.” In other words, it is a cognitive stage of development, rather than simply a social or political role. He does, nonetheless, recognise that these transitional conditions of moral and cognitive development do not occur to everyone and do not necessarily occur in all aspect of a person’s life. While he claims that the youth stage is a psychological stage, he fails to recognise the possibility that this stage is social role. He in fact categorises those who revert to this stage or enter it prematurely as “pseudo

youth". Keniston's perspective conforms to the behaviourist model development that describes the youth stage as being a socialisation process that involves the internalisation of adult norms and values.

The structural functionalists (Parsons, 1942; Eisenstadt, 1956) also define youth as being a stage where socialisation occurs. In fact, no matter how subversive the activity may appear, according to this paradigm, youth culture can usually be interpreted as having the affirmative function of easing young peoples transition into adult roles. Youth is interpreted as being a transitional stage which involves the passive reception of adult culture.

A challenge to this perspective comes from culturalism which emphasises the construction of culture. Its focus is on ways in which people produce and reproduce cultural forms in processes of mutual negotiation. Caputo (1995) claims that newer paradigms for understanding culture have allowed us to appreciate cultural agency. When culture is understood as being relational and involving the negotiation between its producers rather than being a preestablished mechanism for stability within a social system, an emphasis must be placed on the cultural producers themselves. Thus with this interpretation of culture, the aboriginal youth can also be reconceptualised as being an active producer of culture.

It has been argued that the youth stage does not exist in traditional societies, rather there is a direct movement from childhood to adulthood and that this stage is thus a product of post-industrial society. "Perhaps our overindustrialised world led us to equate the ages of formal secondary and higher education with a transition from childhood to adulthood" (Unesco, 1982: 7). This stage of life has often been considered a western middle-class phenomenon. Talcott Parsons (1942) made this association when he wrote about

the leisure/consumption activities of middle class teenagers in the United States.

In the 1970's, there was a considerable amount of work done on the subcultures of working-class youth, primarily coming from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. However these studies primarily focussed on white males (Cohen, 1972; Clarke, 1973; Willis, 1977; Hebdige 1979). However, there has recently been growing literature on youth cultural agency in multinational and cross-class contexts including both males and females in their own right (Pilkington, 1994; Palmer, 1994; Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995).

The age of what is being considered to fall into the youth category has been said to have been extended in recent years (Unesco, 1982; Wulff 1995). Factors such as unemployment that causes young adults to fall back on their parents effectively lengthens the age parameter used to define "youth". The stigmatising potential of unemployment can also be avoided through the disguise of youth props and activities (Wulff, 1995). Livio Sansone (1995) describes how young black men of Surinamese origin living in Amsterdam disguise their inability to find employment as being a preference for leisure. In this case, youth is a position of both vulnerability and of power. Being youthful can, for example, be a cause of as well as a strategic response to unemployment. Beyak (1997: 8) however, claims that this category is a creation of government policy-makers who use the term "youth" with its ever expanding age parameters, to legitimise unemployment. He explains:

By referring to a segment of the most educated generation of adults to date as "youth", older generations, corporations and government have succeeded in leaving the impression that these people are not getting ahead in life because 'well, it's just not quite time'.

Beyak also suggests that this institutional strategy has been so successful partially because people who fall into these expanding parameters readily accept the categorisation of being 'youthful'.

It has been recognised in some of the academic literature that this stage of "youth" (as well as childhood and adulthood for that matter) is socially constructed (James, 1990), and historically has not always existed (Aries, 1962). Schlegel and Barry (1991: 35) make a distinction between adolescence, which they claim is a universally recognised age group, and youth which is not. They in fact assert that the youth stage only exists in a minority of societies.

Schlegel and Barry (1991: 35) characterise "youth" as being a "trial" period where a number of adult roles are tested. Helena Wulff (1995: 7) adds how "the state of youth tends to last over an increasing number of years, due partly to prolonged schooling and to unemployment. This can be understood in terms of a cultural moratorium, a period when young people are extending their youth by way of experimenting with different roles and thereby delaying adult responsibilities."

The term for the youth stage in Cree is "Kaa uschipimaatisiito" which literally means "the ones who are living new" (James, 1993: 44). According to James (1993: 15) in Cree communities in the past this stage was associated with certain rites of passage, however it was not well recognised as a distinct age category. Traditionally distinctions were made on the basis of competence in hunting. A youth "trial" period was virtually nonexistent in the eastern James Bay Cree kinship hunting units (Salisbury, 1985; Preston, 1979). Preston (Ibid.) claims that the emergence of the youth period in Cree communities occurred in the 1960's when young young people went to residential schools. In the residential schools they were no longer integral parts of the family hunting unit but formed

peer-groups. In more recent years, the youth period has been lengthened. Compulsory education in communities and increasing structural shifts from subsistence production to government subsidy dependence has created an extended period for youth in the community. High unemployment among young people in Red Bank and the loss of bush skills has extended the "youth" period. Unemployment and the inability to hunt is related to what Wulff (1995) refers to as disguised leisure. Young people's days are filled with leisure activities and they are continuing with this life-style longer but, due to the lack of economic opportunities and not necessarily out of choice.

Despite very early pregnancies among young women in Red Bank (illustrated by Graph 3 in Appendix 1), the period of youth has not necessary been curtailed for young mothers. However, it has meant that there are distinctive characteristics of Red Bank youth, which is related to an extension of an existing kin social structure of extended family habitation . Living at home with parents and child is very common. Many young women and men have had children but continue with youth life-styles. Hanging out with friends, for example, while parents or grandparents baby-sit, is common.

In Red Bank, not only does the youth period last longer, it begins earlier. Very early drop-outs and early pregnancies in Red Bank seem to propel young people into a common youth stage with people older than themselves. I am therefore operationalising the term youth as a period between the years 14 and 28 years of age. Certainly, I am aware that people in this very wide age group generally have different experiences, however their similar quality of leisure time, activities and occupation of space in the community is what interests me, and what relates them as a group in the thesis.

Cree Youth Culture

The term "youth", particularly when it is followed by the term "Native", is often used by journalists to describe a section of the population which is dysfunctional, in need of remedial help (Goyette, 1996; Bell, 1994) and greatly feared (Eisler, 1997; Edmonds, 1996; Bell, 1996; Canadian Press, 1995; Oosterman, 1995; Bolan, 1995; Canadian Press, 1994). A recent article in Maclean's magazine, entitled "Young and Dangerous", hysterically describes how Native youths are out of control and "terrorising Winnipeg" (Eisler, 1997: 24-25).

In the academic literature, Native youth culture in North America⁵ is rarely considered on its own terms. Youth, and particularly the perception of Native youth, is usually conceived of in terms of a stage of becoming, of being halfway there and undeveloped. It is also assumed that Native young people will eventually grow into the culture of their elders. Since all human beings are cultural young people should be thought of as being cultural as well. Like all human beings, young aboriginals are cultural innovators; creatively involved in producing their own culture which are mediated by their common experiences and perspectives. Young people's highly visible use of new cultural symbols provides a good example of the diversity of a community's cultures and how these cultures change.

The more specific subject of Cree youth culture is also virtually nonexistent in the academic literature. Common approaches to the topic of Cree youth have been in terms of cultural loss and problems with socialisation. In other words, the literature focusses on the problems faced by young people who have been disrupted in the process of entering adult life and adult culture. A number

of authors have written about young people in eastern James Bay Cree communities with respect to cultural loss. Ronald Wintrob (1968), Peter Sindell (1968) and Richard Preston (1979) all produced articles on the problems of acculturation among young people in eastern James Bay Cree communities.

Wintrob conducted a study interviewing several young people in the community of Mistassini. The study was an attempt to provide a preliminary report on the levels of psychological stress among young people caused by rapid socioeconomic changes. He found that there were conflicting models of identification, to which young people in the community are exposed, which he believed had caused psychopathological problems with their identity formation. The limitation of this perspective is that it fails to consider the complexity of identity constructions. Identity pertains to an individual's feeling of inclusion or exclusion in a wide variety of social roles. Identity constructions are multiple, strategic and situational; they involve lived realities and imagination (Liechty, 1995:167). Being a hunter, for example, does not preclude one from being a rock star. Identity constructions necessarily involve contradictions, which reveal their complexity.

Rodney described the way youths construct situationally contingent identities: *These guys might act all cool in town, you know; 'Yo yo, what's up?..' and they wear all the styles, but I've seen them in the bush and they're serious. Some of them are very good hunters too.*

Sindell (1968) wrote about the impact of the individualist value systems taught in residential schools which contradicted the traditional value systems taught by the family hunting unit. Students who returned to their families after having lost their earlier orientation to subsistence production were alienated from traditional life-styles.

Preston's (1979) article also concerns the issue of young Cree acculturation. He described how economic modernisation has caused a deviation in the traditional processes of becoming an adult and involvement in the adult hunting life-style. He described the mechanisms that existed in the "traditional" society that socialised young people to behave in a way that was necessary for communal bush life. Like Sindell, Preston saw residential schools as being responsible for causing young people to become alienated from their parents' way of life.

These articles provide some insight into the social context of community members' lives. They consider the consequences of the previous generation's early and disempowering encounters with white society. The residential school system has since been replaced by a local school administered by the Cree School Board, which has created a curriculum that is sensitive to the desires of the community. Nevertheless, the loss of bush skills and values (ie. understanding and caring for the land and desiring to hunt) by young people is still a very common concern of the community elders (New Economy Development Group, 1996). However, these articles suggest that young people should grow into the culture and cultural practices of their parents, and when this does not occur, abnormal socialisation is to blame. This common approach to the study of the behaviour of Native young people does not leave much room for their cultural agency or for cultural change in general, which the community has experienced. It simplifies the processes of identity construction and disregards the fact that young people are involved in cultural processes of change and the importance of these processes for these young actors.

Assertions that the newest generations of aboriginals have assimilated into white society has serious political implications with respect to land claims

and aboriginal title. Cultural loss has been used as an argument in the courts against Native land claims (Asch, 1992; Trask, 1991). The claim that Native people have lost their "traditional" relationships to the land, rather than having new but still important "traditional" relationships with the land, has been the core point of this political argument. The subject of the political ramifications of cultural interpretations is taken up in the *Cultural Change, Ethnography and the State* section below.

Indigenous Cree Cultural Patterns

While it is essential to dismiss the notion that aboriginal youths are cultural heirs waiting to inherit "real" aboriginal culture, it would be a mistake to idealise aboriginal youths' cultural agency, portraying them as having a sort of "superagency" (Palmer and Collard, 1994: 30). My assertion is that life in Red Bank is mercurial and that young people in the community are cultural agents should not be understood as an argument that young people are having to constantly reinvent every aspect of their lives 'from scratch'. As Allison James (1994: 7) puts it, individuals "create structure and act in and upon it." It is in fact some of the existing indigenous cultural practices and values, which young people creolise with extralocal cultural flows, and this is what makes their youth culture distinctly local.

Richard Salisbury (1986:121) writes only a few lines on the subject of youth cultural processes in the eastern James Bay Cree Communities. In his subchapter on *Nonformal Education* he explains:

There is a continuing family based education system oriented towards traditional skills, and there is clearly a peer-group educational system that has parallels among the youth culture in southern Canada but retains a distinctive Cree emphasis in the villages.

This "distinctive" Cree youth culture that Salisbury refers to is an important subject of inquiry of the thesis. Social life in Red Bank is not simply a void being filled by extralocal cultural flows. Rather these flows are being creolised with existing indigenous cultural patterns. Pervasive Cree values such as commitment to kin, sharing resources (Scott, 1982), self-control, self-reliance, competence (Preston, 1979), reverence for nature and the desire to hunt (Tanner, 1979) are being used by young people for the interpretation of extralocal cultural flows.

There is some difference in opinion over the degree of Cree youth culture's departure from indigenous Cree cultural patterns. Salisbury (1986:121) mentions the emergence of peer-groups "which retain a distinctive Cree emphasis". Preston (1979), on the other hand, sees the peer-group as replacing the family as central agent of socialisation for young people in Cree communities. He claims that this has contributed to more assertive behaviour by young people. Many in Red Bank also recognise the fact that young people are becoming more assertive and this is in fact being interpreted by the community as a positive change (New Economy Development Group, 1997: 3). However, James (1993) claims that peer-groups are both challenging and reinforcing enduring Cree values with respect to teenage pregnancy. Teenagers are challenging adult authority and traditional values through premarital sex and pregnancy. However, they are also effectively reinforcing some enduring Cree values in regard to the importance placed on fertility and reproduction.

There are many other examples of the hybridisation of youth cultural practices with indigenous Cree cultural practices. Preston (1979) explains how teasing was used in the family hunting unit as a means of disciplining children and as mechanism of socialising them for self-control and self-reliance, which are

seen as necessary qualities for successful hunting. Teasing is another enduring cultural practice which young people use in their processes of cultural creolisation. This type of derision is present with respect to their skepticism towards popular cultural flows from the south and how these flows are interpreted. Young people use some of the cultural symbols from television and cinema, but with some reservation. For example, a young man can play the part of Vince (the cocky pool-shark played by Tom Cruise in "The Color of Money") in the pool hall. However, he is not to take himself too seriously or to carry this on for too long or he will be quickly humbled by others through teasing.

This type of derision is also apparent with respect to the way young people interpret what they see on television. For example, Lisa laughs at people in Montréal that she sees on TV who always seem to be complaining about the weather. Rodney provides another example with how he finds the accent of the generic TV Italian gangster particularly amusing. He imitates their voices and laughs at how these characters often take themselves so seriously.

Many white visitors in the community are also fair game for this type of teasing. They are often teased through an association made with popular cultural symbols from the south. For example, the street where the visiting white teachers are housed is facetiously nick-named "Sesame Street" by some young people who see them as being a bit 'nerdy' and out of touch with the local reality. One of the teachers was nicknamed "Weird Al Yankowitch" because of similar frizzy hair-styles. These examples represent the local sarcasm towards the cultural flows from the south which emanates from endemic cultural practices.

Shamanism is another component of endemic Cree culture that is continuing to be used in Red Bank. Tanner (1979: 108) recognises the syncretism that has taken place in the Cree communities between enduring

principles of shamanism and Christianity. Some of the elders and one of the young people that I interviewed spoke of the imported nominal symbols of the Anglican church as having magical significance. The enduring spiritual principles of shamanism in Red Bank have also been creolised with pan-Indian symbols and ceremonies. Many of the young people referred to the imported secular ceremonies of the powwows as being intrinsically tied to the supernatural forces of nature. I discuss this syncretism between shamanism and the imported ceremonies of both the Church and the powwow in more detail in the *Powwows and Local Cree Youth Culture* chapter below.

In this section I have provided a few examples of how young people are not simply inventing youth culture in a cultural vacuum. Rather they are using indigenous cultural practices and values to interpret and creolise cultural flows. In the next section I will define and discuss the extralocal cultural flows being channelled to Red Bank.

Extralocal Cultural Flows

The term "flow" is used to represent a dimension of cultural processes, which is processual and transient rather than static and stationary. This dimension is what Hannerz (1992: 7) refers to as the "social distribution" of meaning, which includes "ways in which the collective cultural inventory of meanings and meaningful external forms...is spread over a population and its social relationships." It should be added here that while political boundaries may be finite cultural flows continue to transcend these boundaries and move with increasing velocity. The mass media exemplify flows transmitted across constructed boundaries at increasing speed.

My use of the term extralocal incorporates two, more precise, terms: global and transnational. Global cultural flows include the mass media which disseminate symbols and meanings globally. Reruns of the television show *Dallas*, for example, can just as easily be seen in Red Bank as they can be in Lagos, Tel Aviv, Manila or Geneva (Hannerz, 1992: 243). Kearney (1995: 549) describes globalisation as a phenomenon in which new technologies contribute to an international environment where territorial boundaries are tenuous and the directional flows of cultural products are complex. He defines globalisation as entailing:

a shift from two-dimensional Euclidian space with its centers and peripheries and sharp boundaries to a multidimensional global space with unbounded, often discontinuous and interpenetrating space.

Kearney makes a distinction between globalisation and transnationalism.

According to him the two phenomena overlap, involving differing degrees of deterritorialisation. However transnationalism usually has a more limited scope.

"Whereas global processes are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in global space, transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states" (548).

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1993: 7) define transnationalism "as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement." My use of the term is quite different from this conventional usage. It still involves the deterritorialisation or rather reterritorialisation of identities and social relations. However, my use of the term transnational cultural flows, represents cultural flows that move across the boundaries of specifically First Nations, regardless of state boundaries. Transnationalism, in this context, involves the

detritorialisation of the Cree reserve of Red Bank allowing it to enter into a Pan-Indian community which includes Natives in other parts of Canada and the United States.

Youths in Red Bank are experiencing multiple extralocal cultural flows. Youths' relationships to these flows are often conceived of in terms of the consumption of popular cultural products and styles which are disseminated through the mass media and mass production, and which are then replicated by groups of teenagers. However, youth's relationship to popular cultural symbols should be conceived of in terms of appropriation, creolization and use, rather than simply replication. Mass produced symbols are transformed by young people to gain relevance to their local context (Hannerz, 1991). Nevertheless, cultural production/reproduction does not occur in isolated or closed environments and exchanges of symbols and meanings are seen by some researchers ⁶ as being particularly evident among young people. Helena Wulff (1995: 10) put it this way:

When it comes to globalisation or transnational connections youth cultures are in the forefront of theoretical interest; youth, their ideas and commodities move easily across national borders, shaping and being shaped by all kinds of structures and meaning.

Youth culture does not simply involve high profile subcultures. Rather, all young people are culturally active and involved in a wide variety of contexts and cultural processes. Vered Amit-Talai (1995: 231) describes the complexity of local and extralocal relationships involved in the cultural processes of young people.

Youth cultural production occurs at home, at school, at work, at play, on the street, with friends, teachers, parents, siblings and bosses, draws influences from home-grown as well as transnational influences, and intertwines with class, gender, ethnicity and locality with all the cultural diversity that such a multiplicity of circumstances compels.

These complex sets of local and extralocal cultural flows are used by young people to negotiate local youth culture. The transnational and global cultural flows come from a number of sources. Ulf Hannerz (1992) makes a distinction between symmetric and asymmetric flows of meaning: Symmetry involves horizontal flows which are reciprocal negotiations of meaning and occur on a small scale with face-to-face encounters; and asymmetry involves vertical flows which are disseminated meanings, which are still mediated by local experiences but which usually occur on a larger scale with no reciprocity.

One of the ways asymmetrical cultural flows are channelled is via the mass media. Television is part of what Appadurai (1990) calls a "mediascape": characters, scripts and scenarios known to people around the world because they are brought to them daily. The "scape" suffix is meant to represent the interpretive nature of the meaning of these global flows. The asymmetrical flows may be identical but one flow of meanings may create a multiplicity of other meanings which are contingent on distinctly situated local perspectives.

The notion of global cultural homogenisation has become a concern for some. Hannerz (1997: 108-9) refers to this notion as the "homogenisation scenario" where "the murderous threat of cultural imperialism is ...rhetorically depicted as involving the high-tech culture of the metropolis, with powerful organizational backing, facing a defenceless, small-scale folk culture."

However, others contend that when global culture from the center enters the day-to-day life of local world in the periphery, it is modified and creolized (Hall, 1997; Hannerz, 1991; Appadurai, 1990, 1997). "What [the homogenisation] argument fails to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one form or another way" (Appadurai, 1990: 5). Hannerz (1997: 109) adds that

the homogenisation scenario may be comforting for some whose ethnocentric assumptions are that their culture is more relevant than others and thus are superseding the more fragile ones. He remarks "Grieving for the vanishing Other, is after all in some ways easier than confronting it live and kicking."

Chapter Six

Cable TV and Local Cree Youth Culture

Television has become a part of the town-life of Red Bank. It has become a part of its mediascape. Young people in Red Bank are appropriating and modifying the symbols, ideas, meanings and beliefs of local symbols and merging them with global youth aesthetics and attitudes that they are exposed to through the asymmetrical flows of meaning from TV. Through the sets of symbols with modified meanings they are creating their own cultural space in town which requires competency in locally modified universal teenage cultural products.

A number of the elders that I spoke with, including Isaac, were concerned about young people's exposure to television. They felt that they were copying the violence and sexual promiscuity that they saw daily. I do not want to dismiss these concerns. Nor do I want to sound like an advocate for television use, because I do not think that it is necessarily empowering for young aboriginals or for the aboriginal communities in general. However, I am simply questioning the perception of vulnerability of young aboriginals. Young people in general are supposedly especially susceptible to the corrupting nature of globalised commercial culture. According to this position, their undeveloped minds are unable to assess the potentially dangerous flows of meaning from the media and they uncritically absorb all of the sounds and images. David Buckingham (1993: 4) fiercely disagrees with this position. He argues that:

[T]hese fears reflect a broader ideological construction of childhood and youth. If children are typically defined as innocent and impressionable, they are also seen as potential monsters, who are in need of adult protection... When it comes to adolescence, and to what is typically seen as the precarious transition to adulthood, these fears of the collapse into

'primitive abandon' have been the focus of successive moral panics, in which such as cinema and popular music have been seen to play a major role. To define young people as merely vulnerable and credulous thus represents a forceful legitimization of adult power and control.

My superficial observations were that Cree youths are not uncritically absorbing the sounds and images that they witness on TV; nor are they simply replicating them. Lisa, a young woman with whom I watched a fair amount of T.V., provides one example of the skepticism that many youths have about what comes across the airwaves. She has the habit of flipping through the channels, not spending more than a few minutes on any one. She once commented while clicking incessantly on the converter, *What was that Springsteen song?.. 57 channels and nothing on* . She would also often make fun of the melodramatic dialogue from the day-time soap operas. However, she would look for and would take a particular interest and pride in the few Native characters and stars on television.

Some of the styles that are seen on TV are acquired and creolized to display young people's "Greeness". This Greeness is exhibited through the mixing of urban American styles with distinctly Cree styles, such as traditional embroidered leather mittens, worn with baseball caps and President Stone windbreakers. Young women wear berets, sometimes with traditional-type embroidery on them. The "in-your-face" attitude used by some urban youth to display their toughness and street savvy, is used in Red Bank but is indigenized adding a distinctly local sense of humour, gentleness and skepticism.

Liechty (1995) describes how the mass-media provides a menu of cultural symbols and meanings that can be chosen from by young people for their identity constructions. Buckingham (1993) discusses the empowering potential of television in terms of identity. It provides a medium of fantasy for young people

that can be empowering. Haunani-Kay Trask (1990: 2), on the other hand, explains why a number of typical aspects of life in aboriginal settlements, such as the ones I have described for Red Bank including television, are a source of subjugation for everyone in the community.

Any material aid to the colonies is an extension of exploitation, given to strengthen the economic dependency that binds colony to colonizer, just as teaching Natives to speak English, watch television and to drink alcohol creates a clever web of psychological dependency from which the colonized find it nearly impossible to disentangle. Generations become addicted to the worst cultural habits of the colonial society which increases both ignorance of, and alienation from, the Native culture. Indeed, cultural hegemony is the cutting edge of the imperial enterprise which explains why cultural nationalism becomes such a crucial Native strategy in the battle for decolonization.

Despite the belief that young people in Red Bank are not wholeheartedly embracing the cultural flows of television, or rather they seem to have a certain amount of skepticism about it, I would not deny that Cree youth cultural processes are greatly dependent on flows from the mass-media. Nor am I so sure how empowering it is for them to fill their days watching numerous hours of principally rich white urban television characters living lives of affluence that are generally out of reach to them. However, these television references are not necessarily disempowering either. As suggested by some, television and cinema have the potential for providing the raw materials for fantasy, play and imaginary vision that can inspire creativity that is locally relevant (Buckingham, 1993; Pilkington, 1994: 20). In the following section I illustrate how young people in Red Bank are using a popular cultural medium in this fashion.

Much Music and Local Artists ⁷

Much Music is a popular cable channel in Red Bank. The videos of

Metallica, Fugees and Greenday are studied by young artists to perfect their own use of the medium. Robert is a musically gifted local rock star who has been using this global-metropolitain medium to express the perspectives of young people in the community. His voice and melodies sound a little like Axl Rose. However, the lyrics are locally specific. His songs are written, in English, about contemporary experiences of alienation felt by young people in Red Bank. His song "Lost Inside" • compassionately empathises with the listener:

I know how it feels when you're lost inside
You're feeling cold and blue and you want to cry
You're thinking lonely thoughts
and you're trying to hide
You're feeling very weak feel as though you died

Another song written by Robert expresses the pain felt by a son whose father drinks: "Why does daddy drink so much...why is daddy so mean... he sits and watches T.V." Robert is very popular among young people in Red Bank. He plays to full audiences when he performs at the community centre. His CD is in the juke box at the pool hall and is selected repeatedly by young people.

In his song "The Test" 9 Robert writes about the excitement and precariousness of being young in Red Bank.

You're going out tonight like you're on a quest
You're looking for something to give you a test
You're feeling strong what can possibly be wrong
You feel like you're on a streak you don't stop to think
But I'm telling you now your future looks bleak
Your feeling's getting stronger you can't wait any longer

Robert's musical abilities have allowed him to become a mediator, of sorts, for the artistic expression of a number of other young people. Harry is one

of a number of people who have had their lyrics put to melody by Robert. Harry's song "Walk On" ¹⁰ is about a friend of his who committed suicide a few years ago:

Now tonight was the last night
In a young man's life
He let go too soon it's too late to say goodbye
But you've got to walk on in this life

You hear kids crying at night
There's no one to hold them tight
All that noise is just a fight
But still they walk on
They show the will to carry on

This song in particular is very popular and is played often on the juke box at the pool hall. At Robert's concert at the community centre, before he sang Harry's song, he invited Harry to come up on stage to explain why he wrote this song. Harry spent at least twenty minutes on stage explaining the context in which his friend killed himself and the importance for other young people to know that they're not alone, but they should "walk on in the circle of life." Harry uses local experiences with Pan-Indian imagery (the circle of life) that are expressed through a popular cultural medium.

Jody is another song writer who uses song writing to express local experiences. He too was working with Robert on putting his lyrics to music. I asked him if he ever wrote songs in Cree and he replied, "I tried it, but I found it sounded too much like Kashtin" (a popular Québec-Innu rock band. Robert, however, has included a number of verses in Cree in some of his songs.) Two years ago Jody went on a summer canoe trip with friends in the bush. He felt inspired by this trip and wrote the following song called "Simple Life" ¹¹:

You watch the river run dry.
You watch the trees say goodbye.

We don't know where we're going today...

Chorus

It was a simple life we shared.
It was a simple life we knew.
Waking up to the morning sun.
Got to understand.
We got to get back to the land.
Maybe some way.
Maybe someday.
Simple life.

He told me that he was not sure why he wrote it, because he really likes living in town. He said that perhaps he was feeling a bit nostalgic when he wrote the song. His sentiments seem to speak for many young people who value bush-life very highly but for a number of reasons, including loss of bush skills as well as attraction to town-life, only spend a few weeks a year in the bush ¹³.

The final young artist that I spoke with was Ancita. She is a singer/song writer/ poet who also writes about her experiences in town. The topics range from justice to her love for chocolate. In one of her poems, "Voices of Truth" ¹², she writes about her feeling of disempowerment.

Why doesn't anybody care anymore?
The ones who are ruling
are the ones who are destructing.

Who are they destructing?
They are destructing the lives
and the dreams of the future generation.

In her Poem "Hidden Fears"¹² she expresses very well how she felt growing up in an unstable environment and some of the anxieties she still has as a young adult.

I feel like hiding
from this cruel world

where man no longer
respects its beauty.

I feel like hiding
from the pain
that I once felt
during my childhood.

I feel like hiding
from bad memories
that have scared me
during my adolescence. (Teenage years)

In the next untitled poem¹² she describes how she felt after a friend of hers died.

The sadness I feel
just tears me up inside
the sadness of losing a loved one
could kill a person's happiness.....
instantly! But not permanently.
It seems the mourning process
lasts forever.

But, it doesn't.
We learn to accept the hardships
that life and death brings us.

This final poem by Ancita entitled "Chocolate"¹² is a very whimsical expression of her love for something that she can no longer have.

I love chocolate!
Chocolate is a passion.
Chocolate is smooth.
Chocolate is good!

I love chocolate!
Chocolate is romantic.
Chocolate is creamy.
Chocolate is a wonder!

I love chocolate!
I love chocolate!
I love chocolate!

Okay, I'll admit it.

I AM ADDICTED TO CHOCOLATE!

(but I can't eat any because I quit that addiction on New Year's day)

(I just found out that I am allergic to CHOCOLATE.)

Ancita has a very strong voice and she sings occasionally with a local rock band. Some of the poems that she has written have been put to music. This use of a popular cultural medium is not new in Red Bank. Perhaps it is not unlike previous generations in Red Bank who have formed country and western bands and continue to play at gatherings. This new group of young people have seized a global medium and are using it to express locally specific experiences.

One might ask what makes this cultural production, as Salisbury (1986: 121) put it, "distinctly Cree" or for that matter, distinctly aboriginal, rather than simply local. Alienation, disempowerment, suicide, alcohol abuse, nostalgia for a life that is being relegated to peripheral status ¹³ and perhaps the love for chocolate are issues that many young Cree in the region are faced with everyday. I think the content of the songs may have universal appeal, however most of the subjects are particularly identifiable for aboriginal youths in Canada who are more likely to live in communities with higher suicide rates and higher rates of alcoholism (Kehoe, 1981). Jody's song deals with something that is explicitly addressing the concerns of many rural aboriginal communities in the midst of changing their way of life or for individual aboriginals who move away from remote reserves. Some of the imagery is also distinctly Pan-Indian, as mentioned earlier.

The music that some of the young people in Red Bank have been producing has become known across Canada and the United States as "pow-

wow rock", because the powwows often include rock performances by these local rock groups (Keillor ,1995). The music is said to be a creolisation of rock and indigenous music. Rhythms, melodies and lyrics are used from both musical styles for its composition.

Neumann (1992: 297) discusses how a different artistic medium (the theatre) was used to express the aboriginality of young people in Australia. He described how one particular play was able to do this.

It depicts a lively and thriving present-day Aboriginal culture that takes and integrates diverse influences from other cultures as well as contemporising and mimicking 'traditional' Aboriginal concepts all of which contribute to its distinct Aboriginality.

This "Aboriginality" involves expressions of contemporary experiences of aboriginal people. These experiences include reflections of "traditional" symbols and narratives vis-a-vis everyday life on the reserve or in the inner-city. This aboriginality, using past (the past of a Pan-Indian community) and present references, is being expressed through various artistic mediums.

"Music has had an especially important place in [the] renaissance [of native tradition], as it offers a vehicle through which Native Americans can express their Indian-ness in spite of modern socio-economic conditions" (Keeling, 1992: 17). Elaine Keillor (1995: 121) points to evidence of the scope of this "renaissance" of expression of "Indian-ness" through contemporary music. "In the past twenty years Sunshine records of Winnipeg has released around 150 recordings by Native performers, some of which offer innovative syncretisms of aboriginal and non-aboriginal musical traditions."

Interestingly, Red Bank youths are using rock, part of the so-called "clever web of psychological dependency" (Trask, 1990: 2), to express subversive ideas, such as Ancita's proclamation that "The ones who are ruling are the ones

who are destructing". Nagel (1996: 70) comments that "[t]here is no more powerful counterhegemonic statement than one that turns hegemony on its head." Many young people, such as the ones above, have seized an artistic medium from the mass media and are using it in an empowering manner. Notwithstanding, the "Native strategy in the battle for decolonization", as Trask describes it, is also being pursued by some through the use of Native ceremonies. These ceremonies are also an important part of the youth cultural processes in Red Bank.

Chapter Seven

Powwows and Local Cree Youth Culture

The powwow is a relatively new ceremony developed by bands in the prairies of Canada and the plains of the western and mid-western United States. It is a secular inter-tribal summer celebration that draws Native participants from across the continent. Its origins are the wild west shows that took place in the southern plains of the United States. The tribal dances and songs, that were outlawed by the American Bureau of Indian Affairs in the late 19th century, resurfaced in the commercial wild west shows in modified secular forms (Kracht, 1994).

In 1990, Red Bank started having their own powwows. The powwow represents another extralocal cultural flow being channelled to Red Bank. Unlike the television, however, the powwow does not involve the dissemination of asymmetric flows of meaning. Although there may be strong similarities between the symbols and ceremonies of each powwow, powwows that are held in each of the communities are created with local flavours and people who attend them borrow and add their own styles and meanings (Kracht, 1994; Dyck, 1979).

Benjamin Kracht (1994) describes how the Kiowa have contributed a number of tribal dances to the southern plains powwows. These dances include the sun dance, the ghost dance and the gourd dance. Kracht says that the Kiowa are very proud of the contribution they have made to the powwow circuit of dances that represent their own tribal identity.

One author, however, has argued that the powwow has had negative acculturative effects on local indigenous rituals. Gertrude Kurath (1970) compares the Tewa Pueblos of New Mexico's religious dances and songs to the secular, commercialised powwows. She sees these powwows as an attempt to promote Pan-Indianism and serve "psychological needs". In the process, the

appropriated religious dances and songs have lost their original meanings. "The Algonquins in Michigan and Ontario have diluted the dance." And they have copied the costumes (Kurath, 1970: 222).

Noel Dyck (1979) disagrees with this claim that the powwow is tainting local traditions. Despite his agreement that it is a relatively recent phenomenon used, for one of many purposes, to promote a feeling of Indian unity, he disagrees with the point that they are less authentic or less important than local religious ceremonies. He describes the importance of the powwow as:

constitut[ing] an autonomous achievement which summons a larger community to celebrate the value and the excellence of Indianness in a manner which is both individually rewarding and collectively uncontroversial...[T]he powwow overcomes the dispersion of Indians and unites them as members of a cultural community or fellowship which is symbolically defined in terms of opposition to non-Indians and mainstream Canadian society. (Dyck, 1979: 91-93)

Robert Jarvenpa (1985: 31) does not disagree with Dyck's claim that the powwow is an important unifying medium. However, like Kurath he claims that it does in effect erode local language and tradition.

One of the ironies of pan-indianism in recent history is that certain traits and institutions from historical Plains culture, such as the pow wow complex, have become symbolic and a general 'Indian' identity for many Native American groups on the one hand, while increased interaction and communication between groups have contributed to the decline of local indigenous languages and a secularisation of life on the other hand.

Wendy Rose (Coltelli, 1990: 4), a Native American author, disagrees with this position by claiming that tribalism and Pan-Indianism are very compatible and in fact they complement each other:

To be tribal and to be Pan-Indian exist side by side, and in fact Pan-Indianism is intended to protect those tribal identities not replace them.

In this section I discuss how young people are using transnational or Pan-Indian symbols and meanings to create town-life. The cultural flows involve the south-western Canadian and American powwow circuits that young people have followed and later brought to Red Bank. They also involve cultural specialists from other communities who visit Red Bank. In the process, some young people are reinventing tradition. This is serving a number of functions, including the creation of a transnational identity that complements the mediascape that they are exposed to and challenges adult authority in the community. Despite Red Bank's relative isolation from the dominant white population, they are far from isolated from the effects of the south's industrial expansion. However, they are virtually absent from representation in the mediascape. The northern Cree experience is virtually non-existent on television. Through the powwow some young people are gaining transnational representation by becoming a part of a Pan-Indian community and, as mentioned above, they are defining themselves "in terms of opposition to non-Indians".

The reinvented tradition is compatible with town-life. Bush-life is explicitly valued very highly among most young people and is nostalgically discussed by many young people as an ideal way of life. However, there are a number of sacred symbols and rituals (ie. expressions of aboriginality) that are compatible with town-life that are being used by some young people. Symbols like the four sacred colours (red being their chosen colour) and dream-catcher earrings can be worn fashionably in town. It is a way of expressing aboriginality without having to be in the bush.

Reinterpreting Tradition

Many young people in Red Bank are challenging their elders' notions of

tradition. This is done by rejecting orthodox Anglican rules that the elders in the community try to enforce. In the process, they are reinventing local tradition. They are doing this by consciously appropriating Pan-Indian symbols and meanings from extralocal sources. These symbols are being used as transnational and local political tools. However, they are also being assigned religious significance by young people and by elders who contest their use.

Not all young people are contesting the authority of the Church. However, certain young people who feel alienated by Anglican services and rules are attracted and excited by traditional Native rituals and teachings. When I asked Lisa who is discovering Native spirituality if she could compare the Anglican mass to Native traditional ceremonies, she asked, *Have you ever been to a sweat lodge ceremony? It's amazing*. She spoke highly of the prairie ceremonies that she has attended. I asked her if she thought that most elders were orthodox Anglican and she agreed. When I asked why she thought that this was the case, she responded:

I think most of the elders were brainwashed. There was a white minister that came here about 60 years ago and he brainwashed them to believe that our ways were wrong. A lot of young people are searching for their spirituality that was lost because our elders no longer practice it. One of the problems with the community is that there are no ceremonies performed. Well, there are some but most of the elders are against it. The ceremonies have to be performed by people from other communities that haven't lost them.

I then asked her if she thought any young people in the community are against Native ceremonies and she replied: *No, most young people don't care about the Anglican rules. Most are looking for Native spiritual guidance.*

Sarah believes that many young people are using the spiritual practices as a way of quitting drinking and doing drugs. She described how powerful these

ceremonies can be for this purpose.

Others go into that because they're quitting drinking. If you drink or do drugs you can't dance. Once when we were drinking, we went to [a particular camp ground]. In the summer you can drive anywhere around there. We went down and we saw some people drumming and it started raining. We got stuck and it started to rain. One of the guys drumming came over and said 'we made our circle.' (Sarah stopped and stared at me for a few seconds, with the expectation that this should have a profound meaning for me.) *He says, 'you guys were drinking'.* (It is her belief that the truck got stuck by supernatural forces because they were drinking where a sacred circle was formed.)

She then explained that others practice these ceremonies simply out of vanity. She explained with disapproval how a lot of young women spend a lot of time making traditional dresses for the dances (eg. jingle and fancy dances¹⁴). *They go to the dances to show off how they've got the prettiest dress. 'Well, I've got the best looking dress. No, I've got the best...'* She said that she would rather not be a part of this competition.

John, on the other hand, believes that some of the ceremonies, particularly the dances, should be for the purpose of having fun. He was a member of the traditional drumming group and he explained, *People would ask us why we'd laugh when we'd drum. They'd ask, 'are you drunk or something?' We laugh because we're having fun. We drum because it's fun.* John described how he interprets what the powwows should mean: *At the powwows you're supposed to have fun. People think it's religious. 'It's a pagan thing. It's a pagan thing.' It's not, it's really just a social thing.*

Some young people in Red Bank are beginning to use Pan-Indian symbols in their identity constructions and are appropriating these symbols from communities in the west and the south in order to reinvent their own local tradition. A group of young men in the community have formed a drumming

group that beats a plains Indian drum and chants at various ceremonies. There are a number of young women who have made their own dresses and dance at these ceremonies. They have made jingle and fancy dance dresses and have learned the appropriate dances.

One of the rituals performed at the ceremonies is the burning of sweet grass for the purpose of cleansing the space for impurities. Gifts of tobacco are given by the dancers to drummers as signs of respect. The powwows on Elizabeth Island, and the sweat lodge ceremonies in some of the camps, are examples of Native rituals, that are not local in origin, and are being used specifically by young people. I have spoken to several young people who feel firmly committed to being involved with these ceremonies, despite the fact that many of the elders in the community are opposed to these rituals because they feel that they are idolatrous.

Occasionally certain religious elders will publicly condemn the Native religious practices. This public condemnation is usually over the local radio station and is often directed at Native spiritual practices occurring during a holy day or during the mourning of the death of a community member. One such condemnation occurred five years ago after the funeral of a young man, originally from another reserve, who died in a car accident. The young man in question was spiritually active and when he died his family requested that a plains drum be beaten at the Anglican ceremony. The bishop, who just happened to be visiting the community at the time, presided over the ceremony. He allowed the drum in the ceremony; however many elders objected. Aside from the belief that this observance was idolatrous, some of the elders also argue that the ritual has never been part of their ancestors' tradition. Isaac explained, *these big round drums have never been used in our community. My parents are in their 90's and*

they said that they had small drums that they held in their hands, not these big round ones.

Not all of the elders are opposed to the practice of Native rituals. One elder, Jeremiah, who was mentioned to me by a number of youths for his expertise in traditional matters and his exceptional ability to communicate with younger members of the community, said that he was not opposed to this movement by young people. He feels that these Pan-Indian symbols are not alien to the community. He feels that the drum has always been a part of the community in one form or another. He also questioned some of the contradictions which he saw with the elders in the Anglican Church's use of traditional symbols.

I can't complain about young people around the drum. These traditions were supposed to be destroyed. It's something that was almost destroyed. Christianity thought we were doing something evil. I was brought up to be a Christian. Everybody wants to go to heaven. But Christianity can't stop tradition. Something that I don't understand is why the elders are so against what young people are doing, while there is moose hide trimming around the altar at the church. Why are they so against it when they have moose hide on the altar?

Jeremiah's own interpretation of tradition includes plains drums. His questioning the use of Native fetishes, such as moose hide trimmings, by the church reveals not only a political analysis of the missionaries' presence, but also the way he has indigenized Christian symbols to have magical significance. The perfunctory symbols imported by the Anglican church have been "indigenized" and have taken on magical significance. Some Christians that I met with spoke of their fear of the mystical power of the drum and their faithfulness to the magical protective powers of the ministers. Adrian Tanner (1979: 212) claims that the Anglican Catechists in many of the communities have taken over some of the

roles of the Shamans. Tanner (Ibid: 108) also says that there has been a "syncretism" between Native spirituality and Christianity, where many Christian rites have gained alternative Native spiritual significance. The example is provided by Tanner of the belief that if hunters do not respect the Christian holy days this will lead to poor hunting results.

As mentioned above, not all young people in Red Bank are contesting the Church's authority. Quincey, who claims to be a devout Christian, interprets the two religious doctrines similarly to Jeremiah in a sense that they are both powerful forces. However, Quincey sees the powwow as potentially evil. First he describes the significance of the powwow.

People don't understand. There's two spirits in there. They say that the powwow is a good thing. But there's also an evil spirit. When I go to the powwows I can feel the drumming in my heart. There's evil. There's something in the smoke of the sweet grass. They say it will stop evil spirits. What if the sweet grass attracts the evil spirits? You're surrounded by spirits.

He said firmly that he does not like going to the powwows. He feels that many young people are readily getting involved with Native ceremonies, like the powwow, without understanding what it means. He repeated:

They don't understand what's behind it. During a powwow it starts raining when somebody comes... a bird flies overhead, these are signs. At a powwow everyone is involved. Even the animals are involved.

He told a story of a confrontation between a Christian preacher and a Shaman on his home reserve when he used to live there. His story recounts how the Christian magic is more powerful than the Shamanic magic.

[In my reserve] they have tent meetings that last for a few days. It's like Billy Graham. People say that it's not good for young people (Shamanism). It's not from a man, it's from a creator. I know from the bible that you can't mock God. One man got fed up with the late night music...

He didn't like it. He asked the reverend to come over to talk to the young people [about the music late at night]. Mr. James [who was a spiritual healer in the community confronted the reverend and] said some bad things to the reverend. Mr. James was mocking God. The preacher didn't want to say anything. [After this incident occurred] they found a brain tumour. In a way it back fired. Mr. James said to the preacher that our beliefs are more powerful than your beliefs and he got a brain tumour soon after. You can say that it's a coincidence but I don't think so.

Quincey is creolising indigenous shamanistic beliefs with both Protestantism and with the ceremonies of the powwow. The nominal role of the Pentecostal preacher and the secular significance of the powwow have been reinterpreted as being opposed to each other in a metaphysical battle between two supernatural forces.

Rodney is also fairly religious. He does not go to mass regularly but does meet with the Anglican priest occasionally to discuss theological issues. He has many questions about about both mixing and segregating Anglican and traditional Native symbols. He believes that the two are completely compatible and is actually quite offended by those who classify traditional spirituality as a "pagan" religion or involving the adoration of more than one "creator". He says that it was because his ancestors already believed in one supreme creator that they accepted Christianity so readily. However, perhaps in an attempt to integrate the two belief systems, Rodney contradicts this monotheistic argument by referring to Christ as being simply "a great medicine man".

I am not necessarily arguing that young people in Red Bank are using extralocal symbols without recognising their origins. On the contrary I am arguing that these young people are often very conscious of the sources of these cultural practices, and this would be stating the obvious for many of them. John expresses his very conscious appropriation and use of extralocal cultural flows:

I'm like Bruce Lee. He would see everything that was wrong with all the

different styles of fighting and he'd take a little from everything. I like to do the same thing with religion. I could become a Buddhist or I could follow Islam. I think this would shock a lot of people. I would do it just for that reason.

He asked me about going university and said that he would like to write a thesis on religion. He is interested in doing a comparative study of many different religions. He believes that religions are all fundamentally the same. *None of them are perfect* but there are positive features of each of the doctrines that can be appropriated. According to John, ideally pan-Indian spirituality and Christianity should complement each other.

As mentioned, pan-Indian symbols are being imported to Red Bank by its young people. They are also being imported by traditional specialists who come from other Native communities to the conferences and gatherings in Red Bank. One instance of this occurred seven years ago when three young shamans came to Red Bank from a Cree reserve in Manitoba to perform a round dance ceremony. Another example of specialists importing traditional symbols occurred during the last week of my stay, at a conference on substance abuse. A Native actor from Alberta, who was invited to the conference by the Youth Council Chief, gave performances illustrating how the temptations of alcohol can be overcome through traditional Native spiritual rituals. On the last night of the conference there was a round dance ceremony. This was performed by the local young drummers and dancers and was presided over by an elder from a Mic'maq community and the performer from an Albertan Cree community MC'ed.

On one particular occasion, the conflict over the elders' notion of tradition and young people's perception of tradition was expressed publicly. A fascinating debate over the meaning of tradition took place. The catalyst for this was not a round dance ceremony or a sweat lodge ceremony. Rather it was a Saturday

night dance for young people, which continued past midnight. The following Monday the elders called a meeting to scold the young people at the dance for dancing on the Sabbath which the elders believe is against their tradition. John took credit for the dance:

I was running the dance and I got in trouble for it. It was a Much Music dance (This is a national D.J. service that he hired). Their contract was from 8:00 until midnight. The music stopped at midnight but we could tell that people still wanted to dance and we had no trouble all night. There were a few drunks but nothing bad. We had our own D.J. there. So, I said 'keep it going'. It went on until 3:00 or 2:30 in the morning. The next day we got in trouble for it.

Isaac, a Catechist, explained, *I didn't blame the young people. I just followed our tradition not to dance on Sunday. Most of the elders are against dancing on the Sabbath.* Isaac's interpretation, that the rules of the Anglican Church is local tradition, is widely held. John, on the other hand, rationalised his actions as being in keeping with Christian beliefs. *Everyone was having a good time. Jesus was a man. Maybe his last supper was a big party.*

Some young people did not question the historical grounds for the Anglican based tradition. Nonetheless, they did feel that it is a double standard that bingo, which is very popular among the elders, is not called off during Lent. However, many other young people who attended the meeting, and almost all of the young people that I interviewed, rejected the idea that they were breaking tradition. Most argued that this is not their tradition, rather it is the tradition of their colonisers. When asked about the elders' version of tradition, Sam explained:

They got that from the white man. They think that the drum is evil. The white man brought in technology; unbreakable plates - pots and pans; a lot of things that impressed our people. Some of it's the colonisers'. Dancing on Sunday is ok, because some of the other communities have it. When there's a death, I understand not dancing because people are

mourning. Some of the elders don't like the powwows and sweat lodge ceremonies either, even though they were used by our ancestors.

Sam's reinterpretation of tradition is based on the practices of other eastern James Bay Cree communities as well as being part of a transnational Native community. He considers his community to belong to a larger Cree fellowship that includes Cree in the west. One young woman that I spoke with on this subject added, *I don't see anything wrong with borrowing from our brothers and sisters from the south and west.* She then commented on the ecological nexus between Red Bank and reserves in the west, with respect to one particular western ritual of burning sweet grass: *Sweet grass grows in our community too.*

Native symbols from the south and the west are imported through symmetrical flows by Red Bank's young people who visit powwows and gatherings in the prairies and the United States quite regularly and members of other communities who visit Red Bank. The symmetry represents the feedback in the varying meanings associated with symbols, which unlike T.V., are negotiated through face to face encounters rather than being disseminated. There is no such thing as a powwow manual, rather as mentioned above, participants add and borrow material from each of the powwows that they attend. Several young people that I spoke with have attended powwows and gathering in southern Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Connecticut and New Mexico; and a number of young women in the community have attended traditional dance classes in Ottawa.

Most young people I spoke with who disliked this rule that forbids them to dance on Sundays supported Sam's claim that Red Bank was the only Cree reserve in Québec that enforced this rule. Miles, however, had a slightly different interpretation of the situation. He expresses his blunt pessimism about the elders

ever changing their minds about this issue.

I'm all for people having fun. But this is something that the elders feel strongly about. I don't see the point in arguing with them. You might think that this is a bad attitude but I don't think they'll change their minds about this. We'll just have to wait until they all die off.

The overall perception of people from all age groups is that elders believe that the rules of the Anglican Church are tradition and should be followed to the letter. The elders that I spoke with stated that these rules are Cree tradition. Young people on the other hand overwhelmingly rejected these rules, some simply because they interfered with their social life. However, many rejected them because they believed that they are not really theirs but are remnants of European colonisation. Many young people are therefore appropriating Pan-Indian symbols and using them to represent earlier local religious practices. It also is being done to become a part of a larger North American aboriginal community. The irony of the contestations over Cree tradition in Red Bank are profound. Elders defending the rules of the Anglican Church as "authentic" tradition, while young people "seek Native spiritual guidance" through the southwestern powwow circuits was admittedly an unanticipated finding.

The notion of the invented or imported tradition is often misunderstood to mean copied or made-up tradition. However, as discussed earlier in the thesis, it should by no means imply inauthenticity. Handler and Linnekin (1984: 286-287) explain how tradition becomes authentic:

The origin of cultural practices is largely irrelevant to the experience of tradition; authenticity is always defined in the present...tradition is not a bounded entity made up of bounded constituent parts, but a process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present through making reference to the past.

The "re" prefix that I have used is meant to signify the fact that all tradition is invented and continues to be reinvented. The creolisation and reinterpretation of tradition occurs in every society. In fact, the contentions over "real" tradition in Red Bank have made some young people very conscious of its volatile nature. For all the young people cited above, the powwow and other Native ceremonies have become important parts of their lives. As stated earlier by Hanson "the invention of culture is no extraordinary occurrence but an activity of the same sort as the normal, everyday process of social life." Even Quincey, who is wary of the event, expresses the eminent significance of the powwow for him.

Chapter Eight

Cultural Change, Ethnography and the State

Ethnographers are in a precarious position between Native groups and the State. Native groups who are struggling for land settlements and self-determination have been at times supported and, at other times, hindered by the work of ethnographers. There are, nonetheless, a range of opinions about the business of cultural studies. Alan van Gestel (1990) published an article on American Indian political groups' use of the courts to bamboozle "honest taxpaying citizens'" properties. In the article he describes anthropologists' role in this supposed 'scam'.

Indians have nearly monopolized the available anthropological and historical expertise. This is so because of the sentiments of most academics, because of the heavy level of funding available to hire them, and because when they "help" Indians they are praised by their institutions and colleagues. By contrast, those scholars who are called to serve the defence often come under intense pressure both within and outside their institutions to refrain from participation. (Van Gestel, 1990: 304)

This belief that anthropologists are biased towards the interests of the aboriginals they study was also reflected in the decision of Judge McEachern in the Delgamuukw vs. The Queen land settlement case in British Columbia 1991. The Judge stated that the cultural anthropologist is " 'more of an advocate than a witness' and thus is 'very much on the side of the witness' " (Asch, 1992: 236). The judgement points to a segment of the code of ethics of the American Anthropological Association to explain this bias.

an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he studies. Where there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their their physical, social and psychological welfare and to honour their dignity and privacy. (Asch, 1992: 236)

Michael Asch (1992) disputes the conjecture made by Judge McEachern by saying that the primary role of the anthropologist, which is accepted in the discipline, is not to protect the subject s/he studies by whatever means possible but is rather to ensure that the results of her/his research are comparable and can be replicated. He also clarifies that this section of the code of ethics was established to prevent the use of anthropology for motives other than academic pursuits, such as military espionage.

From another perspective, Gerald Vivenzor (Coltelli, 1990: 161-170), a Native American author, criticises anthropology for its attempts to subjugate the spirit of Native culture through its clinical interpretations. According to him, these interpretations have little to do with the lived realities of Native people.

It's a system of power; anthropologists have invented cultures; it doesn't have anything to do with Indians and it's all their business. It's very interesting. And they can peek at each other, you know, on either side of the bookshelves...but it doesn't have anything to do with tribal people...They need culture so they can get Ph.D.'s and gain power, and the masks they've constructed about culture... The methodologies of the social sciences separate people from the human spirit.

The masking that Vivenzor describes is the "decoding and recoding", that ethnography carries out in its interpretation of culture, discussed by James Clifford (1986: 6). In the process the ethnographer has a new textual creation that stands apart from what s/he has witnessed. In other words, the anthropological text has little to do with the lives it claims to represent and in fact in some cases it derogates these lives by claiming they do not really exist as the actual actors believe they do.

The claim that culture is invented rather than something that is primordially inherited is one such anthropological interpretation that has been a contentious

issue among academics, Native political groups and the legal system. Jocelyn Linnekin (1983: 241) explains the relationship both anthropologists and ethnic nationalists have with the creation of aboriginal tradition in Hawaii.

Both anthropologists and ethnic nationalists use the concept of tradition to define a cultural identity. While both view the rural community as representative of an authentic inheritance, the attempts by nationalists to discover this heritage usually produce cultural creations.

Linnekin's prevailing anthropological interpretation that culture is fluid and is invented and reinvented by individuals led her to a crucial deduction about the invention of Native Hawaiian interpretations of traditional lands.

Kahoolawe has been the subject of Hawaiian protests for several years. Hawaiian nationalists claim that it is sacred ground and the U.S. Navy is destroying the graves of Hawaiian ancestors... Kahoolawe has become the archetype of the idealized Hawaiian land, even though, using historical data, many other Hawaiian lands could be regarded as more deserving of that status.

This conclusion made by Linnekin was used by another anthropologist by the name of Tom Keane who was hired by the United States Navy to debunk the Hawaiian Natives' claims to the land. In his report he states that the Native's claim that Kahoolawe is sacred to them is "fakery" (Trask, 1990: 16).

Haunani-Kay Trask (1990: 2-4) claims that this type of assertion by anthropologists is based on racism and on perceived threats that Native culture poses to the hegemonic establishment.

[It's] premised on the racist belief that Natives don't know their culture well enough to assert it. Therefore, the reasoning is, they are arguing for something devised on the spot or, what is more malevolent, they are asserting something political not cultural. Examples of this include accusations by anthropologists and other alleged 'experts' that Native nationalists 'invent' cultural traditions for purely political ends or that the culture they practice is not authentic ... in the colonial context, all Native cultural resistance is political: it challenges hegemony ...[therefore] mainstream scholars and officials seek to undermine the legitimacy of the Native representatives by attacking their motives in asserting Native

culture...

Trask goes on to explain how "traditional" aboriginal culture is inherently anti-systemic and thus is empowering to aboriginals who use its references.

Thinking in one's own cultural referents leads to conceptualizing in one's own world view, in turn, leads to disagreement with and eventual opposition to the dominant ideology... The direct links between mental and political decolonization are clearly observable to representatives of the dominant culture, not only to those oppressed and struggling to strengthen those links .

Trask claims here that Native traditions are political in nature because of this politically motivated friction with hegemonic culture. Nagel (1996: 63) , in contrast, claims that it is the process of cultural inventing itself that is the empowering exercise. "It is my argument that ethnic renewal, whether it takes the form of individual ethnic identification or cultural construction, is ultimately an empowering, rejuvenating and liberating enterprise."

Hanson (1989: 899) supports the substance of Vivenzor and Trask's comments; however, he seems to suggest that the misdeeds are inadvertent when he remarks that in the ethnographer's quest to understand the narrative, s/he emasculates rather than empowers the Native. Hanson clarifies what he believes should be the role of the ethnographer: "The analytical task is not to strip away the reformulated portions of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity."

Murray (in Nagel, 1996: 66) offers another suggestion for the role of the anthropologist with regard to understanding Native culture.

In trying to avoid the colonialist assumption of an ability to comprehend (in the sense of encompass, as well as understand) Indian cultures and their difference, we could modestly confine ourselves to examining the accounts and representations of Indians, not to judge their accuracy but to reveal what they say about white ideological investments.

Hanson and Murray offer two formulas for ethnographers to develop a qualified understanding of Native cultural production while staying out of the way of the political efforts of Native groups. In defence of cultural studies and of my own project, I would argue that ethnography is far from being simply an imperialist enterprise with its primary goal to give legitimacy to state subjugation. In the Delgamuukw vs. the Queen land settlement case, mentioned above, social scientists' testimonies in support of the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en were disregarded by the court. The assertion that Native culture, like all culture, is not biologically inherited but is socially constructed and continues to be reconstructed was ignored by Judge McEachern. In other words, what was ignored was that the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en people's activities on their land may have changed over time, that this does not mean that they are no longer aboriginal, nor does it mean that the land is less important to them.

The land rights case has recently been overturned on appeal. Asch (1992: 235) mentions a number of other court rulings in which anthropologists have been instrumental in conveying this understanding about the nature of culture. In one particular Supreme Court ruling on Native self-determination rights it was stated "existing aboriginal rights must be interpreted flexibly so as to permit their evolution over time and that clearly...an approach...which would incorporate frozen rights must be rejected."

A number of anthropologists played very important roles in supporting the struggles of the eastern James Bay Cree after the Québec government's hydroelectric development proposal in the region. Richard Salisbury, Adrian Tanner, Colin Scott and Harvey Feit are four such anthropologists who were instrumental in providing support to the Cree leadership in negotiating and implementing the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement.

This thesis is not an attempt to deconstruct and debilitate the credibility of the Cree elders' narrations of Cree-Anglican tradition. Nor is it my intention to expose the "fakery" of young people's appropriation of Pan-Indian symbols because for one thing, I have little to expose, considering that many young people are keenly aware of this appropriation. My intentions are to use Cree youth culture, visible in the community, to illuminate the fluid nature of aboriginal culture. In doing so I have emphasised the creativity of Cree youths in their processes of re-inventing culture.

Nevertheless, we do need to fully understand the common denial of cultural agency to youth and to Native people in general. Both forms of denial involve a treatment of a category of human beings as passive recipients of culture, cultural objects rather than subjects. What ultimately goes with this ascription of passivity is a denial of political rights, a refusal to accept the rights of the 'other' (whether defined in terms of age, ethnicity, gender or class) to self-determination and self-expression. This is not simply a claim that the state and various institutional interests (including the assorted interests of social scientists) are denying cultural agency to Native people as a homogeneous group. Rather it is a claim that there is a struggle of collective identifications and assertions of authenticity between various interest groups; including contestations of claims between state and institutional bodies and Native groups as well as contestations within Native communities themselves.

I have outlined a number of these struggles. One such prominent struggle exists with Native groups, such as the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en, whose cultural agency was officially denied by the court. This was denied by equating it with cultural loss. In other words, the court stipulated that they are no longer behaving like "authentic Indians", and thus, no longer have an authentic claim to being

Indian.

The description was also provided of how young people's agency has been denied by academics as well as by some elders in Red Bank. The cultural agency of youths has been equated with cultural loss and even "psychopathological" behaviour. This diagnosis, which translates their cultural creativity into a pathology, is not only a misrepresentation of the nature of the culture processes it is also socially emasculating for the young actors. In other words, this tactic of exerting control by claiming that there is something unhealthy or unnatural about young people's behaviour is a mechanism for debunking young people's attempts at self-expression and the re-creation of their aboriginality.

Finally, social scientists have had an involvement in the denial of Natives cultural agency. This denial has sometimes been in the form of "decoding and recoding" (Clifford, 1986) the cultural practices of Natives, where Native claims to "authenticity" of cultural practices have been discredited. Hanson (1989) claims that this disparagement is an inadvertent side-affect of the pursuits of understanding narratives. While, Trask (1991: 162-3) believes that anthropology's slighting of Native claims is an attempt by the hegemony to protect its position of power. In her article (1991) "Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle" Trask responds to an article written by Roger Keesing (1989) "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific".

For Hawaiians, anthropologists in general (and Keesing in particular) are part of the colonizing horde because they seek to take away from us the power to define who and what we are, and how we should behave politically and culturally. This theft testifies to the stranglehold of colonialism and explains why self-identity by Natives elicits such strenuous and sometimes vicious denials by members of the dominant culture... The direct link between mental and political decolonization are clearly observable to representatives of the dominant culture, like Keesing,

who find their status as "experts" on Natives suddenly repudiated by Natives themselves.

In a subsequent article by Keesing (1991) he responds to Trask's accusations. First, he asks her why she feels it necessary to defend the practice by some Pacific Islander political groups to manufacture a "Golden Age" of pre-European contact free from wars, patriarchy and chiefly oppression. In short, he accuses her of suspending her critical judgement of the history.

Keesing then declared that he recognises the political sensitivity of 'outsiders' contradicting Native historical claims. However, he believes that the real clash of interests is not necessarily between Natives and non-Natives, but rather it is a conflict of class interests. He (1991: 168) asserts that "there are plenty of 'insiders', many with Swiss bank accounts, busily selling their forests, their minerals, their fish - the lives and environments of their village cousins and their own children and grandchildren - to foreign interests." He claims that "cultural nationalist rhetoric is increasingly deployed by Pacific elites to camouflage these issues of power and interest." And Native academics, whether they want to admit it or not, are also part of the bourgeois class of their white academic counterparts. "It is not surprising that they seek to resolve these contradictions [of class interests], to validate their right to represent 'their' people, and to maintain senses of personal identity by invoking bonds of shared essence, racial and cultural." Keesing asserts here that some upperclass Natives are using Nationalist rhetoric of a romanticised pre-European past to distract lower class Natives from the real problems which involve class issues.

Keesing's point is an important one. Aboriginals are not a homogeneous group. Within this very broad group there are different interests based on a number of grounds including age, gender, region and class. Thus Murray's

proposal (in Nagel, 1996: 66) for social science to limit its focus of inquiry to avoid getting in the way of the political struggles of "Indians" is problematic because of the potential for internal injustices to go unchecked and grievances to go unheard.

Anthropologists have been accused of representing young people as "appendages to adult society", where they might be visible but are still "inaudible" (Caputo, 1995: 22). I gave examples of three authors who did represent young Cree in this manner (Preston, 1979; Sindell, 1976; Wintrob, 1976). In order to understand the social positions of young aboriginals, we must provide them with voices in the research process. This would require more inquiry than simply taking the official narratives of the community at face value, as Murray proposes.

Nevertheless, one could also make the argument that both Keesing and Linnekin were being very naive to think that their work would not be used to dismantle Native land claims in the region. At any rate, it is an extremely difficult situation that social scientists find themselves in. On the one hand, portraying Natives as existing in socially and culturally unchanged societies would ultimately be a great political disservice because of the fact that they have changed and so have their needs. On the other hand, the state and the judicial system's lag behind contemporary understandings of the nature of culture and cultural change has led to critical misinterpretations of ethnographies. Despite this awkward situation, the overall project of cultural studies to develop and disseminate understanding about culture, is an important one and it is contributing to positive changes in how the state and judiciary system are treating aboriginal claims in Canada (Asch, 1992: 235).

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

There is now a generation of young people who have spent all or almost all of their lives in Red Bank. Life on Elizabeth Island involves snap shots and stories of the old good life. Life in Red Bank is problematic in many respects. Extremely rapid changes to the way of life in Red Bank have been forced upon its members. As a result the relocated community has been faced with many new problems. These are problems that I do not think many people would deny. However, Red Bank is also a vibrant, exciting place where many interesting cultural changes are occurring. Young people are at the forefront of this change.

Despite the fact that most young people explicitly attach a higher value to bush-life, many spend all but a short period of the year in town ¹³. The bush has been an inseparable part of Cree identity. While I do not think that you will find a single person in the community who does not think the bush remains so, "traditional" Native symbols and ceremonies have become alternative media for the expression of Native identity. These new imported forms of Native identity expression do not necessarily have to be manifested by spending time in the bush. In fact, they often require facilities only available in town. Round dances, which are expressions of Native identity, can occur in the school gym or the community centre's auditorium.

Town-life involves global flows of symbols and meaning from the mass media. Part of the youth cultural processes occurring in town are tied to its mediascape which involves T.V. and film characters, scripts, scenarios and video lyrics. Town-life also involves the cultural flows of transnational Native symbols that are channelled by the members attending powwows and gatherings in other

communities and people from elsewhere who come to Red Bank's powwow and gatherings. Youths are using these media with indigenous cultural values and practices for the negotiation of their cultural processes and identity constructions.

The conflicting descriptions of town-life, as being both boring and exciting and having both decadent and sacred characteristics, reveal some of the general contradictions that exist, not only in the difficult context of Red Bank, but generally in life everywhere. Identity constructions, which are multiple, strategic and situational, are able to incorporate these contradictions. Being a hunter, a pool shark, a rock star and part of a Pan-Indian community are all possible for one person because they are situationally and strategically contingent.

The purpose of this thesis was not simply to examine and exhibit Cree youth culture. Its broader purpose was to demonstrate the changing nature of culture; highlighting aboriginal cultural change. The view that authentic or verified culture should be determined through taxonomical analysis equates so-called authentic culture with lifeless museum pieces; cultural artifacts collecting dust on shelves. The denial of cultural agency to any category of human beings, whether on the basis of age, ethnicity, gender or class, can be interpreted as an attempt to assert control over the groups in question. Therefore, arguments that cultural invention or renewal is part of the practice of cultural "fakery" for political gain should also be scrutinised seriously.

The general project of cultural studies, to understand culture, is a sensitive one. This is particularly the case when it concerns Natives who are often politically marginalised and have very little control over the rapid socioeconomic and cultural change that they are faced with. However, it is an important project and is contributing to changes in how the state and judiciary systems are treating aboriginal claims in Canada. This treatment is based on the recognition that

Aboriginal communities are changing and so are their needs but this fact makes them no less aboriginal. Young people in Red Bank provide a clear representation of lively and authentic aboriginal culture in the making. Their creativity exemplifies how local aboriginal cultures and traditional practices are in processes of continual renewal.

Future Research

Aboriginal youth cultural agency is a concept that deserves further study. The cultural processes of young aboriginals have generally been left out of Native studies in Canada. They have typically been portrayed as apprentices for adult culture. In this manner, aboriginal youths have typically been denied cultural agency. This denial is ultimately a denial of self-expression. Where there has been numerous studies on subjects such as juvenile delinquency and substance abuse, few have approached these problems in terms youth cultural production. In order to effectively understand many of the problems faced by young aboriginals we must understand them as being cultural producers and to allow them to have a voice in the research process.

A second course of study that deserves further investigation is on the subject of aboriginal cultural change and the state. However, the study that I am suggesting is not necessarily further examination of cultural change in aboriginal communities. Rather, what I am proposing is that the justice system's interpretations of aboriginal culture and cultural change in general merits examination. This might involve reviewing various land-claims decisions or it might involve interviews with judges on their understandings of culture and cultural change. It is the legal system's general cognitive lag behind contemporary understandings about the nature of culture that should be explored

and exposed.

Appendix 1

Statistical Profile of Red Bank

In this supplemental section, I use data from the Census and the Aboriginal Peoples Survey to provide a detailed profile of Red Bank regarding a number of factors. The context of Red Bank regarding demography, education, income and labour force involvement is outlined and compared with larger encompassing geographical areas (see Appendix 2). Income and labour force involvement are reviewed in terms of both formal cash activities and subsistence activities. This addendum is useful for understanding in more detail the socioeconomic changes that have occurred in Red Bank. Its purpose is also to contextualise the findings of my ethnographic study with respect to other comparable communities and with respect to the representativeness of my sample for Red Bank itself. Despite the fact that the latest census data that I am using was collected six years before the collection of ethnographic data, I believe that it is still useful in providing us with a more complete understanding of the context of the of Red Bank.

1) Demographic Characteristics

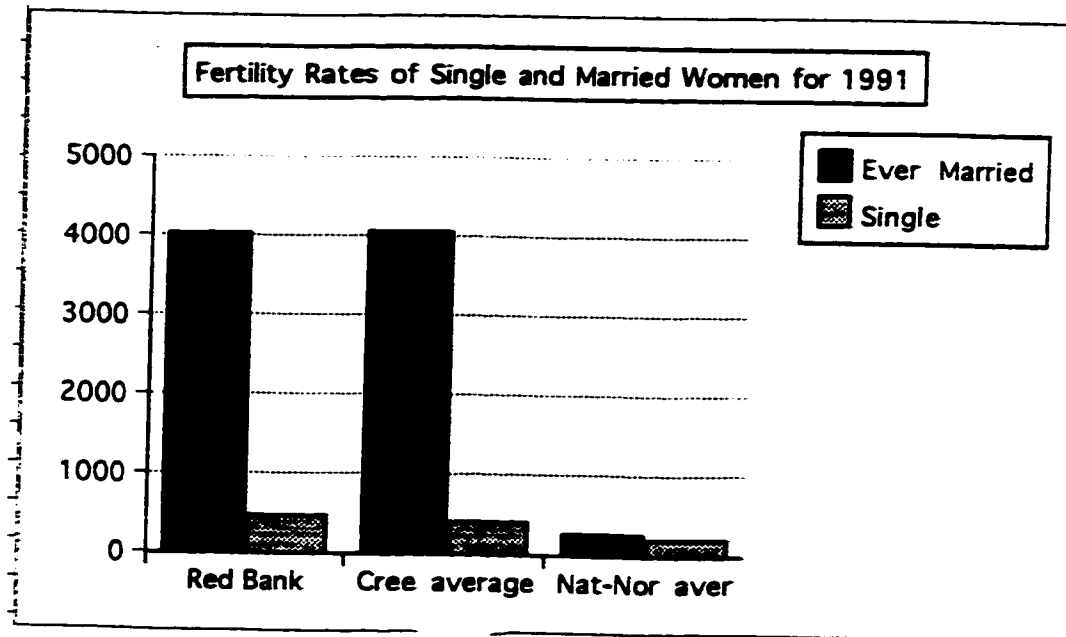
I first review data on the fertility rates for Red Bank and compare them to rates for larger encompassing population groupings (the average for the total of Cree communities and the average for the total of Native-Northern communities, see appendix 1). Second, I look at migration patterns for Red Bank residents between the years 1986 and 1991.

Fertility

Graph 1 illustrates the fertility rates of single and married women in Red Bank, the average for all of Cree communities and the average for the Native-

Northern communities. The fertility rates are the number of children born per 1000 women.

Graph 3



(Source: Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

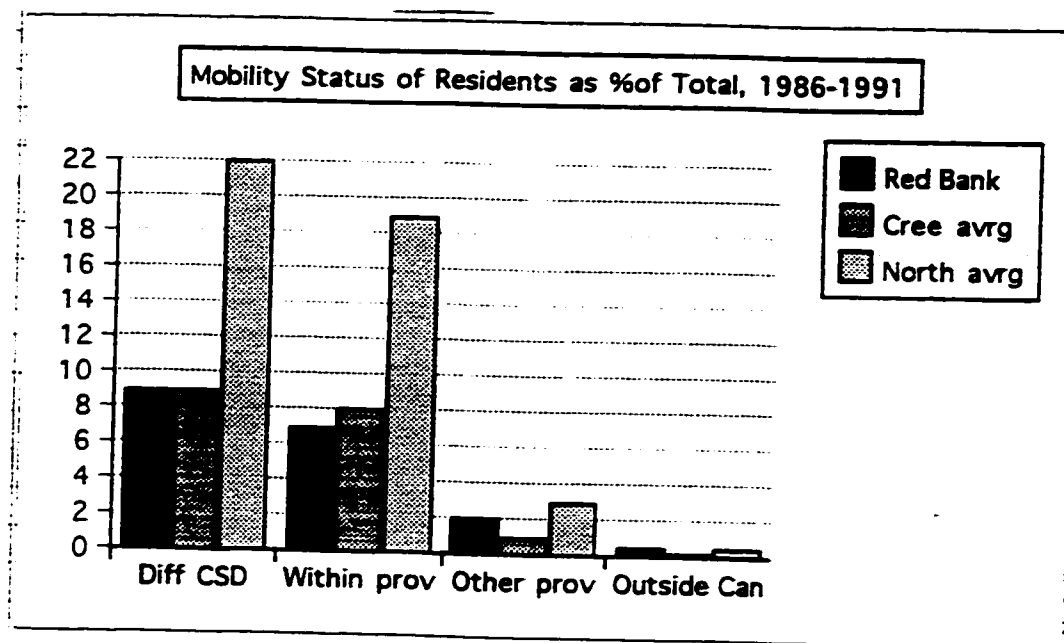
The graph indicates that the fertility rate for married women in Red Bank is slightly lower than it is for the Cree average, but is substantially higher than the rate for the Native-Northern average. For single women, the Red Bank fertility rate is slightly higher than it is for both the Cree average and the Native-Northern average.

What may be concluded from the graph is that married, and to a lesser extent, single women are having more babies in Red Bank and in the average of Cree communities, than they are in the Native-North. This will likely mean that Red Bank and the Cree average have a relatively young and growing population.

Migration

Graph 2 illustrates the mobility status of residents between the years 1986 and 1991. Red Bank is compared to the Cree community average as well as the Native-Northern community average. The four types of mobility status that are compared are: the percentage of residents who have moved from another census subdivision (CSD: see appendix 2) during the previous five year period; the percentage of residents who moved within the province; the percentage who have moved from a different province; and the percentage who have moved from outside of Canada.

Graph 4



(Sources: Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

Graph 4 indicates that there was relatively little in-migration to Red Bank over the five year period compared to the Native-Northern community average. Only 9% of the population of Red Bank moved there from another CSD during

the five year period. This is compared to 22% for other Native-Northern communities. 7% of Red Bank's population moved from a different CSD from within the province. This is compared to 19% for the Native-Northern community average. 2% of Red Bank's population moved from another province. This is similar to the 3% for the Native-Northern community average. Finally, 0.5% moved to Red Bank from another country. This is slightly higher than the Native-Northern community average of 0.4%. Overall, few people have moved to Red Bank during the five year period.

2. Work

Subsistence production continues to play a significant role in the economies of many northern aboriginal communities in Canada (Elias, 1995). Food acquired from hunting and fishing play important roles in improving the living conditions in the north.

Subsistence producers have readily adopted new technology which has made their yields greater, as well as some of the bush conditions more tolerable (Salisbury, 1986). However, this technology comes at a price. The need for cash requires most Native hunters in Canada to engage in wage employment, at least part-time.

The Cree communities of Northern Québec are able to receive cash incomes for their subsistence production. The Cree were very effective in negotiating the terms of an agreement (Income Security Program [ISP] : Section 30 of the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement) that allowed their families to work full-time in subsistence production (Salisbury, 1986).

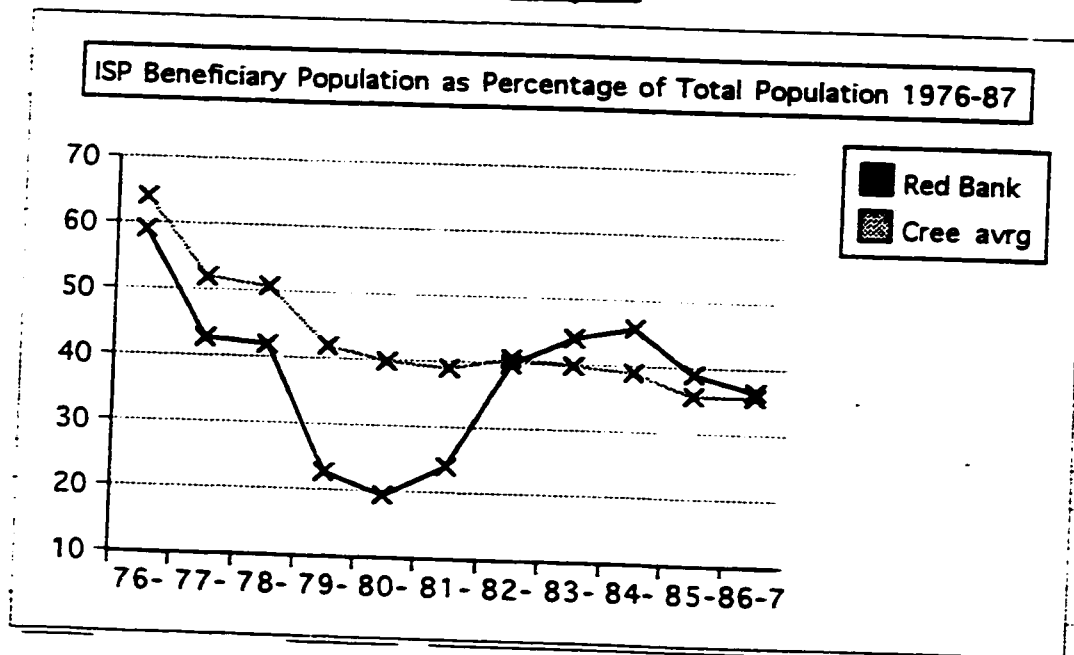
In this section, I review data that gives a description of the balance

between subsistence production and formal labour force activity. Participation levels in the ISP, as well as participation rates in the labour force are reviewed. The proportions of occupations will be compared longitudinally and between the Cree average and the Native-Northern average.

ISP Participation

Graph 5 illustrates the changes in ISP participation over a ten year period. The participation of Red Bank residents and the Cree average are compared over the period of 1976, when it began, to 1987.

Graph 5



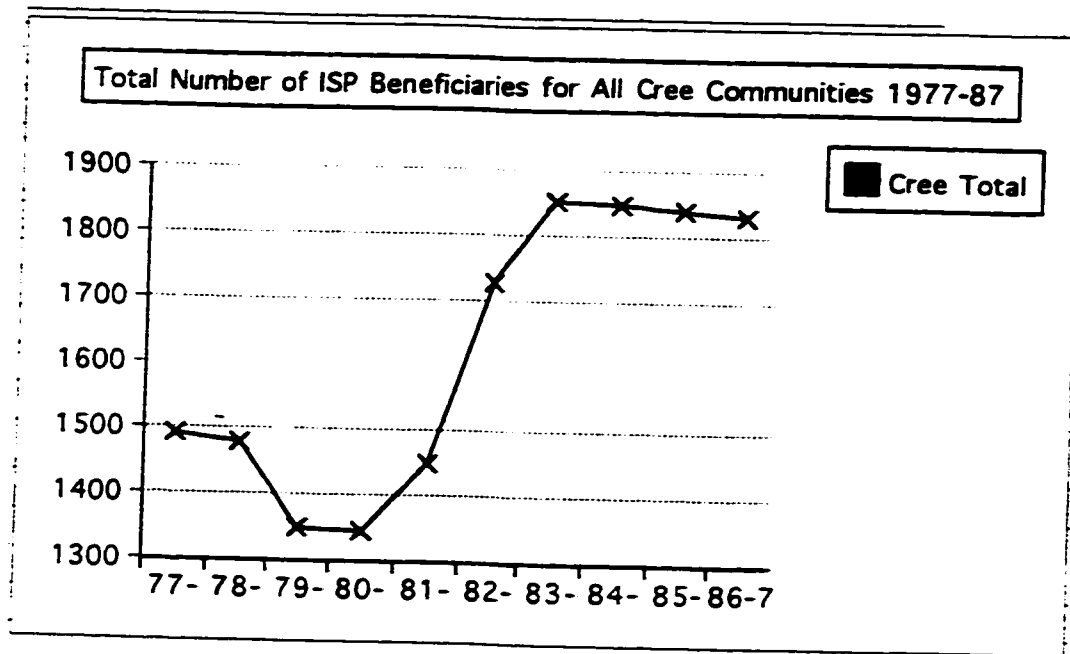
(Source: Scott and Feit, 1992)

The percentage of Red Bank's population enrolled in the Program when it began in the mid 1970's dropped from 60% to less than 20% in 1980. The drop was likely related to Red Bank's relocation from Elizabeth Island. From 1981 to 1985, Red Bank's ISP participation increased to 45%, passing the participation

percentage for the Cree average. From 1985 to 1987, the ISP participation percentage decreased slightly to 37% of the population. Overall, for the Cree average, the proportion of the population participating in the ISP has decreased.

Despite this decrease in the proportion of the population participating in the ISP, Graph 6 illustrates that the absolute number of ISP beneficiaries had increased over the ten year period.

Graph 6



(Source: Scott and Feit, 1992)

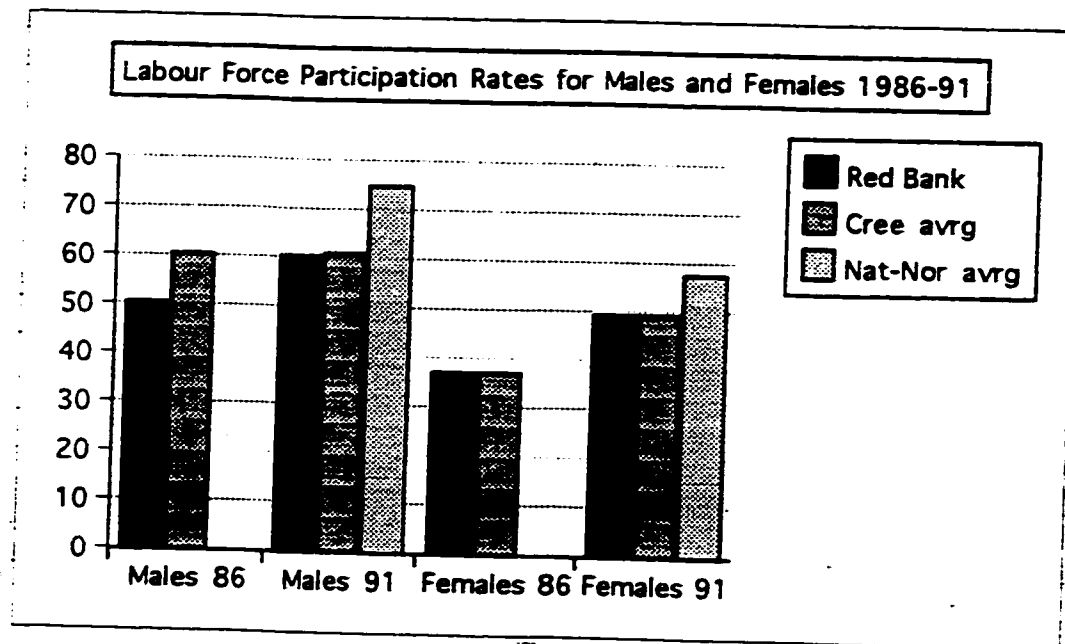
During the period of 1977 to 1987, the number of ISP beneficiaries had increased by more than 300. In the late 1970's this number decreased by more than 100, but then increased significantly in the 1980's. The proportional decrease in ISP beneficiaries over the ten year period is likely due to population increase. More people were participating in the ISP, however, more people were

also not participating.

Labour Force Participation

The participation rates in the wage labour force has increased for the population of Red Bank between 1986 and 1991. Graph 6 illustrates this increase.

Graph 7



(Sources: Census Profile 1986, Statistics Canada; Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

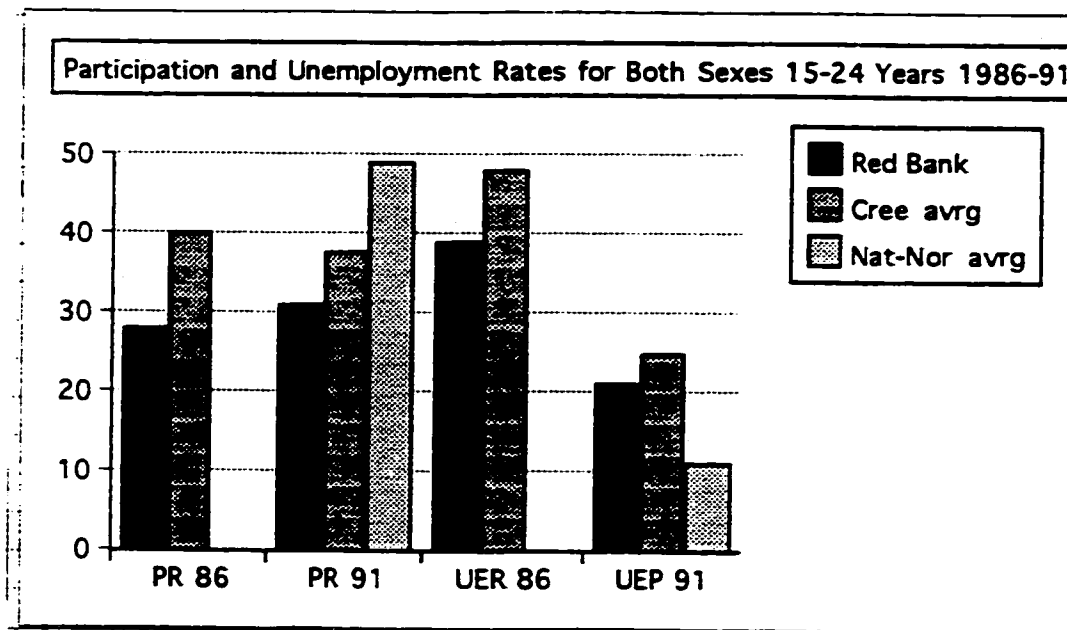
Labour force participation rates have increased by almost 10 percentage points for both men and women during this period. This means that proportionately more men and women are employed or were looking for work. For men in Red Bank, over the five year period, their participation rate has increased to match the participation rate of the Cree average. For women in Red

Bank, it has increased faster than the rate of the Cree average and in 1991 was even with the Cree average.

The labour force participation rates for men and women in 1991 for both Red Bank and the Cree average were significantly lower than the Northern average. Participation in the ISP is likely a large contributing factor for these lower rates. Fewer Cree were employed or were looking for employment than the Native-Northern average because they were hunting full-time.

Graph 8 illustrates changes in young people's labour force activity over a five year period.

Graph 8



(Sources: Census Profile 1986, Statistics Canada; Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

Red Bank's participation rate (PR) for young men and women, ages of 15 to 24, between years 1986 and 1991 has increased slightly, but remained lower than the Cree average. In 1991, the participation rate was also substantially lower than the Native-Northern average. More than 25% fewer Red Bank young

people, than young people in the Native-Northern average, were participating in the labour force in 1991. This might also be due to participation in the ISP.

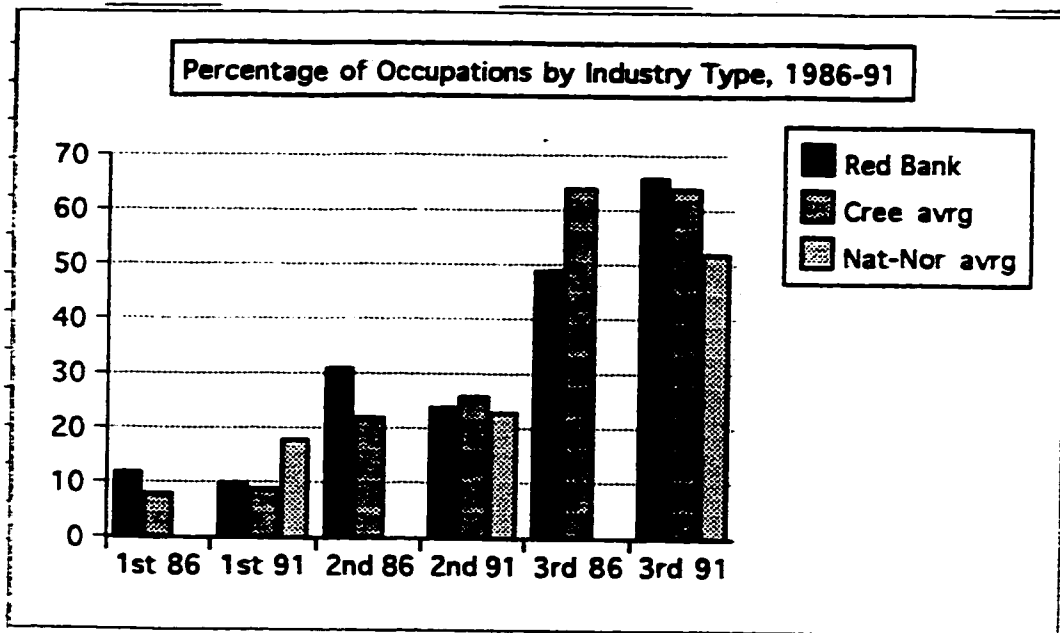
Another explanation, could be that more young people have given up looking for work. People not looking for work are not considered to be part of the labour force.

Youth Unemployment

The unemployment rate (UER) in 1986 for youth in Red Bank was less than it was for the Cree average. However, despite the fact both the youth unemployment rate of Red Bank and the Cree average dropped, they both remained higher than the Native-Northern average. There are two possible reasons for the unemployment drop in the Cree communities: more employment for young people or some young people have given up looking for employment. It seems likely that both have occurred. The youth participation rate for the Cree average decreased slightly between 1986 and 1991, likely meaning that more people have ceased looking for work. Declining participation has not matched the decline in the unemployment rate for the Cree average, meaning that some young people must have found employment.

Occupations

Graph 9 illustrates the changes in the proportion of people in occupations in different types of industries between 1986 and 1991. Primary industry occupations (1st) are resource extraction industries. They include mining, logging, fishing and agriculture, etc. Secondary industry occupations (2nd) are manufacturing industries. Tertiary industry occupations (3rd) in the service sector. They include teaching, sales, clerical, administrative, etc.

Graph 9

(Sources: Census Profile 1986, Statistics Canada; Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

The proportion of occupations in Red Bank in primary industries was low in both 1986 and 1991. For the Cree average, these occupations were slightly lower. Red Bank and the Cree average had lower proportions of occupations in primary industries than the Native-Northern average.

Between 1986 and 1991, the proportion of occupations in secondary industries in Red Bank dropped slightly. However, in 1991, Red Bank and the Cree and Native-Northern averages all had similar proportions of occupations in secondary industries. This was between 20 and 25% of all occupations.

Occupations in the service sector increased by almost 20% in Red Bank between 1986 and 1991. In 1991, this proportion was slightly higher than it was for the Cree average. Both the proportions of occupations in the service sector for Red Bank and for the Cree average were 10 to 15% higher than it was for the Native-Northern average. This relatively large proportion of occupations in the

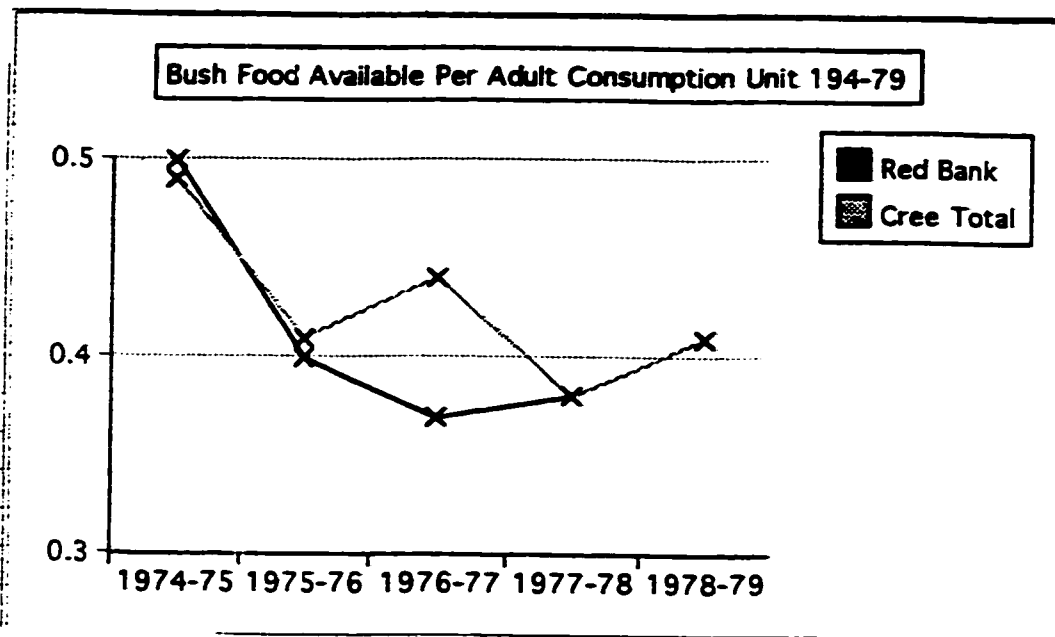
service sector in Cree communities is likely representative of self-administrative roles seized by the communities. Since the mid-1970's, Cree communities have been increasingly assuming control over administering their own public services and administration (Salisbury, 1986). Red Bank's Band Council, high school and hospital are just a institutions in the community that provide employment in the service sector.

3.Income

Thus far, we have looked at two sides of Red Bank's economy: Its cash economy and its subsistence economy. In this section, I review levels of cash and subsistence incomes of the community. Subsistence incomes include food from harvests.

Subsistence Income

Graph 10 illustrates the average food weight, in kilograms, available per adult consumption unit per day. This graph represents the community's collective income of meat and fish.

Graph 10

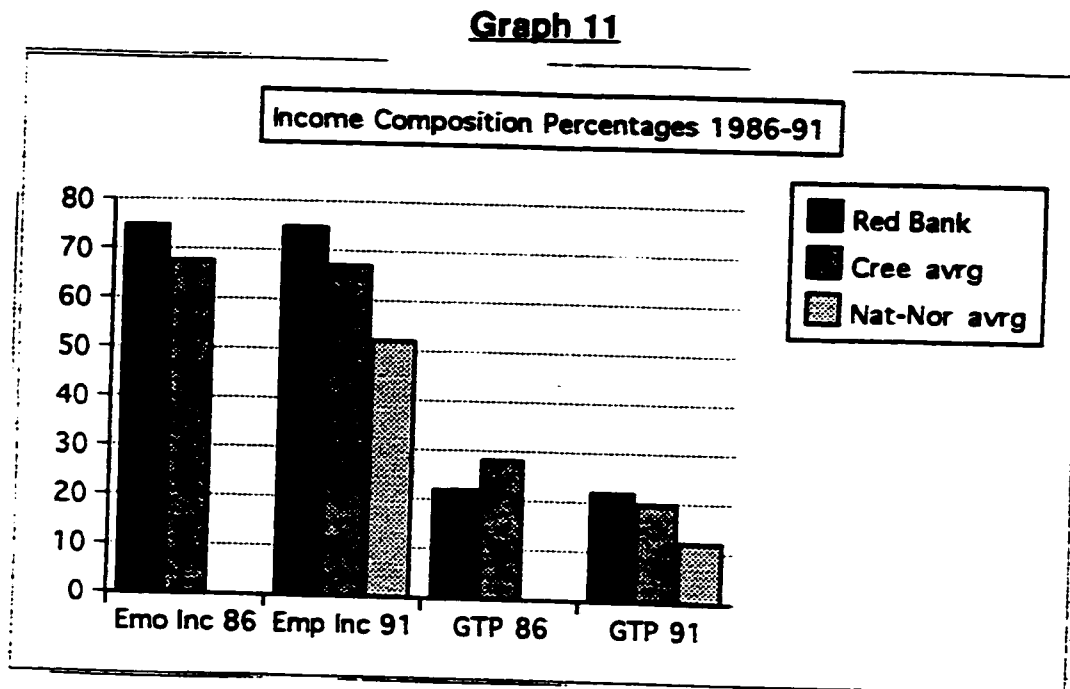
(Source: Scott and Feit, 1992)

Graph 10 indicates that Red Bank's availability of weight bush food per adult consumption unit was generally higher than the Cree average. However, in 1975 and 1976, it dropped below the average for Cree communities. In 1978, it rose and surpassed the Cree average.

The mutual relationship between Red Bank's subsistence and cash economies can be seen in practices of income sharing. Subsistence activities produce a substantial proportion of food consumed by members. Hunters consume the bush food that is acquire in the bush. Full-time hunters also exchange gifts of bush food with community members, that are employed full-time, for cash gifts (Scott, 1982). The cash gifts, as well as cash incomes from the ISP, make it possible for full-time hunters to purchase commercial goods. Local commercial consumption by ISP beneficiaries creates market demands that result in more employment in the community.

Cash Income Compositions

Graph 11 illustrates the cash income compositions of Red Bank over a five year period and between sample populations. Employment and government transfer payments (GTP) are two sources reviewed.



(Sources: Census Profile 1986, Statistics Canada; Census Profile 1991, Statistics Canada)

The income composition for Red Bank between 1986 and 1991 is virtually the same. The greatest source of income for individuals in Red Bank is employment, representing 76% in both 1986 and 1991. The proportion of government transfer payments represented roughly 23% of the composition and other income represented roughly 1%. Red Bank's proportion of income coming from employment is slightly higher than the Cree average and is significantly higher than the Native-Northern Average. Red Bank's proportion of income coming from government transfer payments is similar to the Cree average but is much higher than the Native-Northern average. Income Security benefits are

recorded by Statistics Canada as government transfer payments. Red Bank and the Cree average's relatively high proportion of government transfer payment as income, represents their ISP participation.

4) Conclusion

In summary, a large proportion of Red Bank's population is young. In 1991, 58% of the population was below the age of 24 and 22% of the population was between the ages of 15 and 24. The proportion of people with high school diplomas in Red Bank is low. However, most of those who have graduated from high school have continued with some post-secondary education. Between 1986 and 1991 there has been a growth in the proportion of people with post-secondary training specialised in commerce/ administration and engineering/technical fields. The quantity of Income Security Program beneficiaries also grew in absolute numbers for all Cree communities. However, proportionately their number has declined. This is likely due to the growing population among the Cree communities. Labour force participation rates increased for Red Bank's population, as well as for Red Bank's young people, in particular. Finally, the availability of bush food increased for Red Bank's residents. Cash incomes also increased for Red Bank's families. This is higher than both the Cree and Native-Northern community averages. Despite the high family incomes, Red Bank's family income inequality is low.

The information in this section reflects the complex relationships that Red Bank has with enduring and emerging modes of production. Young people in Red Bank are negotiating youth culture within this context of changing relationships between new and old ways of life.

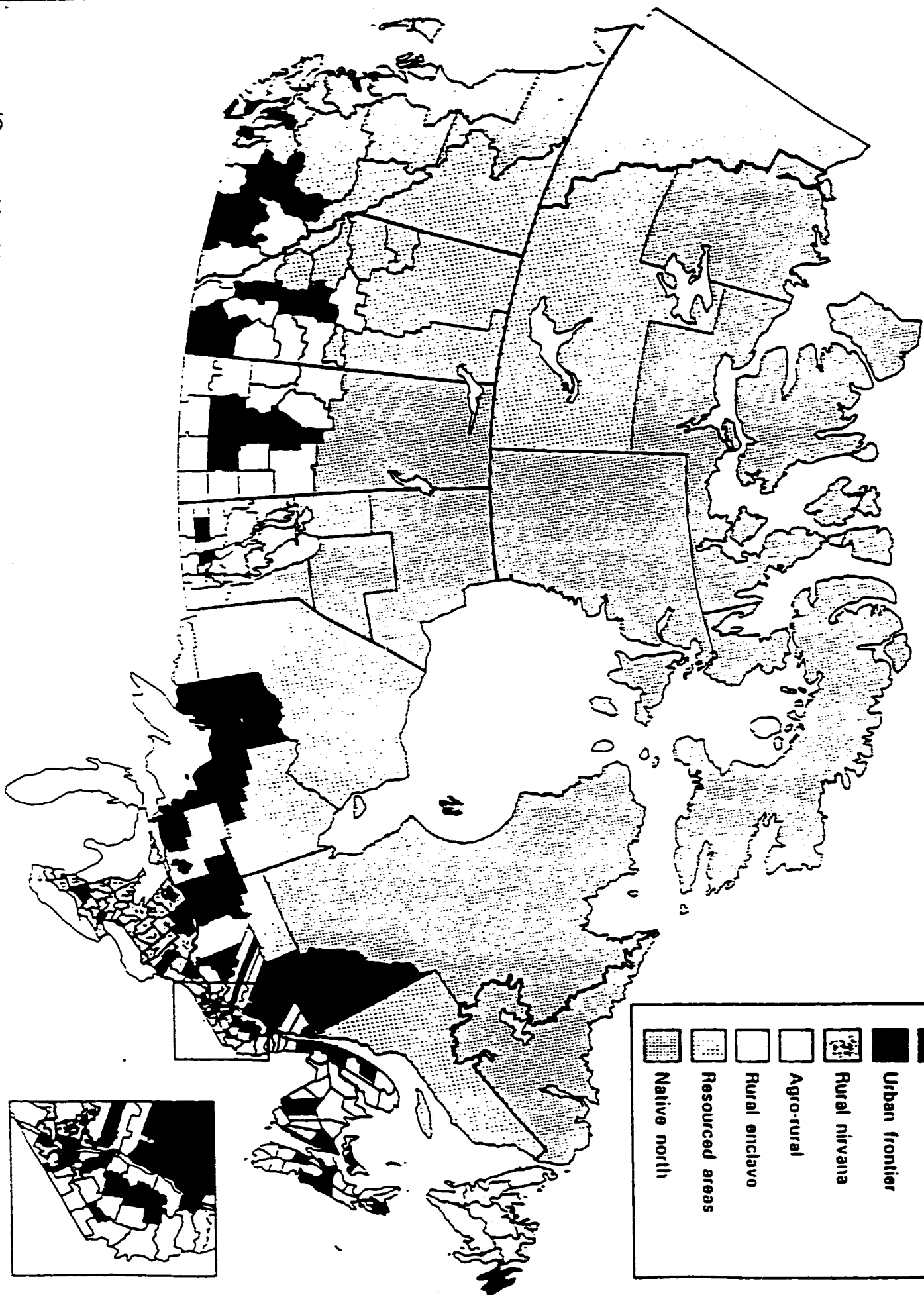
Appendix 2

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Primary Settlements	CDs containing the major metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Ottawa. Characteristics include a large urban population, high incomes and education levels, a skilled workforce and service-based economy.
Urban Frontier	CDs which either contain a larger city such as Quebec City or are adjacent to a Primary Settlement. They have similar but less extreme characteristics to the Primary Settlements.
Rural Enclave	CDs where there appear to be few economic opportunities. Sectors that do exist such as manufacturing, fishing or forestry tend to be in decline. This is coupled with low income levels, a high percentage of families below the low income cut-off and a high rate of dependency on government transfer income. Education levels tends to be below average but there is a good demographic structure and young people appear to remain within the census division.
Rural Nirvana	CDs which seem to represent outmigration of city dwellers to the countryside. Skills and income levels are high. They are likely to commute to work and remain economically and socially integrated to nearby cities, suggesting that an apparent lack of schools and hospitals is initially less important.
Agro-Rural	CDs characterised by rapid population decline, out-migration of the young moderate incomes but a high degree of dependence on government services for employment and transfer payments for income. They are found predominantly in agricultural areas and may fit the scenario of farmers in the Prairies where the spouse is employed as a teacher or in the local hospital.
Resourced Areas	CDs dominated by the presence of mining and oil. There are young family structures, good and stable income and a high percentage of the population with post-secondary education. A prime example is CD #16 in Alberta (north-east corner) where one-third of all employment is in oil.
Native North	CDs dominated by a very young population structure with population either centred in settlements or in remote areas. These CDs also have mining resources, but this employment is generally second to government services. There are few people with post-secondary education, low to moderate but apparently rising incomes.

(Source: Hawkins, 1995)

A Preliminary Typology of Rural Canada



(Source: Hawkins, 1995)

End Notes

1. All of the communities named in this paper were given pseudonyms in order to protect, as much as possible, the privacy of the community in question.
2. All of the names of people were replaced by pseudonyms, with four exceptions in the *Much Music and Local Artists* section on pages 50 to 56 (see end notes 7 to 12).
3. Comments made about the comparatively lower levels of education should have no bearing on the quality and determination of the teachers at the school. Most people that I spoke with seem to feel that the community has a number of exceptional educators.
4. The barricade is a blockade on the the road leading to Lafleur, which is paid for and operated by the community. Its purpose is to prevent alcohol from entering the community. Cars entering Red Bank are stopped and may be checked for alcohol. The effectiveness of the barricade is a controversial subject within the community. It is costly to maintain and some argue that the money used to maintain it could be spent more wisely.
5. There are a few excellent articles written on Aboriginal youth culture in Australia. David Palmer and Len Collard's article entitled "Aboriginal Young People and Youth Subcultures" describes very well the creativeness of Nyungar young people in urban areas, as well as many misconceptions about them. Another useful article is: Neumann (1992), "A Postcolonial Writing of Aboriginal History".
6. While youth cultural production is often associated with cultural innovation and hybridity, not all researchers universally make this association (Caputo, 1995; James, 1995). Some recognise that young people and children in particular can be culturally conservative. Both Caputo and James found that the young people they observed were preserving songs and sayings that are generations old.
7. Choosing to reveal the identities of the people in this section was difficult. I felt that the choice between compromising the integral privacy of the community and giving due recognition to the artists for their work was not an easy one to make. However, I feel that revealing their names is appropriate.
8. Songs by Robert Bobbish, from his album Lost Inside Blue Thunder Music Publishing, 1996.
9. Song by Robert Bobbish, from his album Lost Inside Blue Thunder Music Publishing, 1996.

10. Song written by Harry Snowboy in Robert Bobbish's album Lost Inside Blue Thunder Music Publishing, 1996.

11. Song by Jody House, unpublished.

12. Poems by Ancita Bugden, unpublished.

13. Most young people spend only the spring and sometimes the fall goose hunts in the bush. However, many (roughly 30% of the entire community) are also hunting full-time, as indicated in Graph 5 in the in the appendix. Those who have acquired the necessary bush skills, have access to family trap-lines and who choose to hunt full-time are doing so. The Income Security Program (Section 30 of the James Bay Northern Québec Agreement) allows hunters who spend more than 120 days a year in the bush to receive a stipend (see Appendix 1 for a detailed description of Red Bank's economy). Unfortunately, I was unable to interview young people who were currently participating in the Income Security Program; meaning that limitations exist with the field data in this respect.

14. The Jingle dance and the Fancy dance are two of the more common dances performed at powwows and social events. Jingle dresses are made with many small metal tassels attached to them so that make jingle sounds during the dance. Fancy dresses are usually made with long colourful scarves that are waved through the air during the dance.

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