

---

# Property as Sharing: A Reflection on the Nature of Land Ownership among the Cree of Eeyou Istchee after the “Paix des Braves”

Mélanie Chaplier *McGill University / Université Catholique de Louvain*

---

**Abstract:** Since the “Paix des Braves,” a renewed land claim agreement signed in 2002, the Cree of Eeyou Istchee (James Bay, Quebec) are facing a new wave of change. While that agreement allowed for the damming of the Eastmain and Rupert rivers, it ensured a greater integration of the Crees in the economic boom resulting from resource exploitation. Central to this new partnership, the Cree family hunting territories have been invested with a new set of meanings and practices in which the tallymen have become entrepreneurs. Reflecting back on the debated question of the very nature of this land tenure, this article describes the complex entanglements resulting from the attempts to further develop and privatise Cree lands. In doing so, it demonstrates that these property relations have also been reinvented by the Cree land users to fit their own territorial model, in which stewardship and sharing remain essential.

**Keywords:** James Bay Cree, Indigenous territoriality, Canada, land claims agreements, resource management, family hunting territories

**Résumé :** Depuis la signature de « Paix des Braves » ; une entente signée en 2002 entre les Cris, Hydro-Québec et les autorités provinciales ; les Cris traversent une nouvelle vague de changements. Alors que cette entente a entériné la construction du complexe hydroélectrique Eastmain-Rupert, elle a assuré aux Cris une plus grande intégration dans le développement des ressources. Essentiels à la mise en œuvre de ce nouveau partenariat, les territoires de chasse familiaux cris se voient réinvestis d'un rôle et d'un sens renouvelé, les chefs de chasses (ici appelés tallymen) se muant en entrepreneurs. En posant un regard analytique sur le débat concernant la nature même de ce modèle foncier, cet article vise à décrire les enchevêtrements complexes provoqués par ces pressions à la privatisation des territoires cris. Ce faisant, je démontre comment ces relations de propriété se voient réinvesties par les Cris afin de mieux se conformer à leur propre modèle territorial, dans lequel le partage reste primordial.

**Mots-clés :** Cris de la Baie James, territorialités autochtones, Canada, ententes territoriales, gestion des ressources naturelles, territoires de chasse familiaux

## Introduction

The acceptance and use of the dominant culture and institutions are not necessarily a proof of capitulation on the part of the oppressed and colonized, but can in fact be seen as a sign that they are reinventing themselves, adapting their fundamental cultural referents to changing circumstances and developing new ones in the process, in tune with their evolving priorities. (Salée and Lévesque 2010, 107)

In the 1986 special issue of *Anthropologica*, a group of researchers asked the question, “Who owns the beaver?” Today, while the Crees<sup>1</sup> are facing renewed challenges, their land as a whole is caught up in multiple tensions. These changes encourage us to renew the ethnographic description of Cree territoriality, as well as the theoretical frame surrounding it, to better understand its complex nature and its various entanglements. In 2002, the signing of the “Paix des Braves” (PDB) launched a new form of partnership between the Crees and industrial actors on the land. While that agreement allowed the construction of a new hydroelectric project (the Eastmain–Rupert complex), the Cree obtained greater integration in the economic development of the region. As a result, Cree land tenure was also partially redefined to fit corporate interests and Western values of property. This redefinition is obviously not entirely new, as it is the result of gradual changes underway since the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975).<sup>2</sup> That said, for more than 15 years, Cree hunting leaders (known as the tallymen or *Ndoho Auchimau*) as well as their families, and the Cree community of Nemaska at large (the site of this ethnographic study), struggled to find a balance between the necessary and desired growing economic opportunities emerging from resource exploitation and the values they see as the basis of their relationship to the land

they know as Eeyou Istschee. This article aims at describing these tensions and processes of change through the lens of the property debate.

I will begin this article with an examination of the debates surrounding the concept of property and its use in the context of Indigenous<sup>3</sup> land claims and modern treaties in Canada. Theorising on the diverse acceptations of the concept of property, I will question its relevance for understanding and describing contemporary Indigenous territorialities. Building on an idea of property largely defined as a social relation, this article will advocate for an understanding of the various forms that property regimes can take and how this colonial tool can also be reworked and reframed by Indigenous actors to fit their particular relationship to the land. Furthermore, I will show how the history of the Cree family hunting territories' progressive engagements with external forces has encouraged me to think with the concept of property rather than to reject it. Finally, drawing on extensive ethnographic research within the Cree community of Nemaska, I will describe the changes and challenges the tallymen and their families have gone through in the recent years, after the decision was taken to use the family hunting territories (FHT) as a tool for resource exploitation and entrepreneurship. Describing the new practices at stake and relating the social and individual stories behind these adjustments, I will demonstrate how the frame imposed by industrial actors on the land has been reworked by the Nemaska Eeyouch to ensure a model of property that is not a form of market-driven private property. Instead, their property relations encompass the moral obligation to share the resources and revenues of the land, matching what is perceived today as the central role of the tallymen.

This article also bears an effort to reflect on the various anthropological perspectives regarding Indigenous territorialities and proposes a new approach. As I have described elsewhere (Chaplier and Scott, this issue), the research on FHT has oscillated between two standpoints. First, insisting on acculturation and change, several authors (Jenness 1932; Murphy and Steward 1956; Leacock 1954) have described the FHT as a creation of the fur trade and thus a form of private property imposed by colonial actors and institutions. Second, many authors have analysed the FHT as a pre-contact institution and developed in their interpretation a predilection for resistance and persistence theory (Speck 1915; Cooper 1939; Feit 1982; for a nuanced opinion on this, see Pulla, 2003, 2008). As Julie Cruikshank (1993, 135–136) notes, “there seems to be an unresolved conflict between models of stability and models of change in Arctic and Subarctic anthropology.” In the last de-

cade, the second perspective has met a form of consensus<sup>4</sup> but left us sometimes ill-equipped to describe the complex dynamics of change resulting from the neoliberal exploitation of Indigenous lands. Through the ethnographic examples narrated in the third part of this article, I aim at reconciling these perspectives to show that, as the Cree embrace a more active role in resource development, the FHT become a space of resistance as well as significant economic transformations.

## **Clearing the Path: The Property Debate and Indigenous Land Claims in Canada**

In the Canadian Indigenous context, the concept of property or land ownership has always been a central challenge for historians and anthropologists alike, not to mention the local communities themselves. Indeed, territory as a whole – in terms of property, access, and use of its resources but also in ontological and spiritual terms – is seen as the alpha and the omega of Indigenous claims and rights. As Hedican (2008, 123) expresses it, “the land is a prerequisite to and vital for both their spiritual and physical survival. Indian people assert that their rights flow from their relationship with the land.” Parallel to this importance of land as a whole for Indigenous peoples across Canada, property has been the central tool by which the settler state has extended its colonial power. More precisely, the idiom of property has been and is still central to the treaty-making process between the Crown (through federal and provincial governments) and Indigenous peoples. In the context of the various contemporary forms of treaty negotiations – leading to so-called modern treaties encompassing comprehensive land claim agreements and, more recently, self-government agreements – property rights are still the requirement upon which any concession can be made.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, obsessed by the pursuit of “certainty” (Blackburn 2005), governments keep imposing narrowly defined property regimes as a prerequisite for negotiations. In this scenario, “to even engage in the process of negotiating a land claim agreement, First Nations people must translate their complex reciprocal relationship with the land into the equally complex but very different languages of ‘property’” (Nadasdy 2002, 248). Not only does this imperative prevent many negotiations from succeeding, but it reveals an inherently unequal relationship. To use Nicholas Blomley's (2015, 175–176) terms, “the state is motivated not by a desire to right historic wrongs, or engage in inter-legal cultural conversations, but by a pragmatic wish to resolve an unresolved title question in order to advance investment certainty in an economy based on resource extraction.”

This analysis, pointing at the inherently unequal and colonial relations in which land claims and the agreements emerging from them are embedded, has led several Indigenous intellectuals to criticise the imposition of property regimes on Aboriginal lands<sup>6</sup> and reject the process altogether (Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Palmater 2010; Atleo 2008). In a less radical or revolutionary way, there is today an abundant literature denouncing and describing the process by which Indigenous territorialities are confined and transformed by the treaty process. This literature shows the complex entanglements – legal, cultural, cartographic and socio-economic – through which property, as a discourse and a practice, is imposed on Aboriginal peoples (for example, Blackburn 2007; Blomley 2014, 2015; Egan 2013; Egan and Place 2013; Gagnon 2012; MacDonald 2011; Mackey 2011; Mansfield 2007; Nadasdy 2002, 2003; Papillon 2012; Rynard 2000; Slowey 2008; Thom 2009, 2014a, 2014b).

This literature points to the difficulty of defining property itself, both generally and when applied to the specific context of Indigenous territoriality. On one hand, many institutional actors, and the general public, tend to conflate property with private property, understood as the individual ownership of and unlimited control over a parcel of land and its resources (a control ensured by institutional and legal framings). In this perspective, the focus is often on the “thing” (the land that is owned) or on the individual (the owner). This narrow definition has obvious limits and, very often, is condemned as not helpful for understanding property’s various and complex manifestation and subtleties. On the other hand, legal theories describe property as a “bundle” of rights and obligations (MacPherson 1978) or, more broadly, stress property as the expression of social, political and economic relationships (Rose 1994). This latter reading, in which property is “not so much a statement of a thing as it is a description of a set of practices that we go through in our daily life with others” (Bryan 2000, 4), is obviously preferred by social scientists (Hann 1998). Nonetheless, this approach leaves us with the difficulty (or, according to some, impossibility) of circumscribing the limits of these property relations. This distinction between two different theories of property (one narrow, one broad) brings us to two different perspectives on how to treat property in Indigenous contexts. These perspectives have to be thought of as two faces of the same coin and certainly not as theoretically opposing points of view.

For the anthropologist Paul Nadasdy, author of a landmark contribution on property in the Canadian subarctic (2002), there is something profoundly wrong with

the very use of the term “property” to describe complex Indigenous relationships to land. He stresses that the idea of property has a “specific set of meanings in European legal and political discourse, and these meanings are both created by and reflected in the complex legal and political institutions of the state” (Nadasdy 2002, 251). Moreover, this set of meanings is alien to many Kluane First Nation members with whom he works. His assessment is also based on the descriptions by several anthropologists of Cree land tenure (Scott 1988; Tanner 1971; Feit 1991a, 1991b). Built on a solid ethnography (2003), Nadasdy’s insistence on rejecting the idiom of property (here narrowly defined) to describe Indigenous land tenures is also political since it allows him to denounce the symbolic violence rooted in the treaty process.<sup>7</sup> For him, it all comes down to unequal relations of power: if Indigenous people refer to their land as property, it is to secure their rights and access to land. Overall, the treaty process leaves them no choice but to use the terms of the dominant society, even if this frame does not match their own practice on the land.<sup>8</sup> While there is an intellectual consensus on the necessity to describe, analyse and denounce these unequal relations and their consequence for Indigenous communities, not everybody shares Nadasdy’s strict rejection of the term “property” or his insistence on resistance rather than change. His perspective perfectly fits Waldram and Dyck’s description of the importance of advocacy in recent ethnographic accounts, which stresses that

ethnographic accounts also demonstrate both a greater circumspection in dealing with sensitive topics and the rising popularity of a new analytical approach emphasizing the manner in which aboriginal people, both past and present, have sought to resist governments’ attempts to strip them of their cultures and to force their assimilation into the “mainstream,” non-Native society. (Waldram and Dyck, 1993, 11)

However, because the treaty process (as well as the enforcement of these treaties) can be characterised as an entanglement of various territorialities, it stimulates a reworking of what property is. In this context, property is not solely the result of external and colonial pressures; it is also embraced and redefined by Aboriginal communities to various degrees.<sup>9</sup> Thus, refusing to speak of Indigenous territorialities in terms of property can misrepresent the nature and dynamics of their land tenures and prevents us from thinking of property as a far more diverse and fluid phenomenon. Nicholas Blomley (2014, 1304) invites us to consider another perspective, noting “the multiplicity and fluidity even at the core of

a ‘certain’ property and the possibility of carving out space for difference even within legal systems that seem bent on purification.”

Moreover, and maybe a bit more controversially, some stress that the idea of property is not entirely alien to Indigenous territorialities as a whole (Egan 2013; Thom 2009; Blomley 2014). Providing that we view property in a broader sense, the challenge for social science is then to develop tools and concepts that help us think about and describe those alternative forms of land ownership in Indigenous terms – or at least in terms applicable to broader cross-cultural contexts, such as Elinor Ostrom’s “property of the commons” (2015). Our ability to take on this task is related to our capacity to think the dynamics and complexities of Indigenous and Western territorialities through a less binary logic. As Brian Thom (2009, 181) describes it in regard to the work of cartography, there is an inherent paradox in Aboriginal territorialities, and “envisioning Indigenous territories as neither a fixed cadastral matrix superimposed on a static social landscape ... nor as boundary-less (and by implication property-less), is clearly the challenge for resolving the seeming paradox of mapping Indigenous boundaries.”<sup>9</sup> Stated otherwise, this paradox and the question it raises are: Since there is evidence of a certain idea of land ownership among most Indigenous groups, should the absence of property as a state-enforced institution and a fee-simple real-estate model among them turn us away from an understanding and description of the way property is thought of and enacted in their land tenures? This article is an attempt at describing the complexities at stake when we answer “no” to this question.

### **Property and the Cree Family Hunting Territories: From the Original Debate to Complex Entanglements**

The Algonquian<sup>10</sup> family hunting territory (FHT), and even more the Cree version of it, has historically been a central case study in debates on property. It was also one of the most discussed topics in early Canadian anthropology. As several articles in this issue show, ever since its “discovery” by Frank Speck, this land tenure has been successively analysed as (a) a pre-contact property regime (Speck 1915; Speck and Eiseley 1939; Cooper 1939), (b) a result of the imposition of a market relationship through the fur trade (Leacock 1954; Bishop 1986), and later (c) an Aboriginal form of territoriality consistent with their cultural beliefs and practices (Feit 1988, 1991a, 2000; Nadasdy 2007; Preston, 1975; Scott 1982, 1984, 1988; Tanner 1971, 1979, 1986). In this debate, the property question – a term most initial

contributors “treated as unproblematic, [with] the concepts it entails left virtually unanalyzed” (Tanner 1986, 25) – was intrinsically linked to the inquiry regarding the origins of this form of territoriality. Long trapped in a binary perspective lacking nuance, the first stages of the debate<sup>11</sup> showed the early anthropological tradition’s limits in addressing the complex dynamic of change occurring among Indigenous peoples in Canada – an assessment established in the original special issue of *Anthropologica* (Bishop 1986). Yet, as Toby Morantz later formulated it, the truth was probably somewhere between the two original options: she stressed that “neither an Indigenous system nor a wholly European construct, [the FHT] worked well for both Cree and the [Hudson’s Bay] company” (Morantz 1992, 179). On that matter, historians and ethnographers alike did struggle with the same seemingly unresolvable paradox earlier mentioned by Thom (2009). On one side, Cree hunters sometimes describe a fluid land use, claiming that “everybody can hunt wherever they want.” But on the other, Cree tallymen can draw clear boundaries of their territories and do speak about owning these particular tracts of land. Is this ambivalence due to the deep merging of Western-like notions of land ownership with an originally property-less model? Or is it the sign of a different kind of property that rests on alternative moral, ontological and social bases? The anthropological literature that arose in the last third of the twentieth century and later oscillated between these two possibilities and has provided us, undeniably, with more refined descriptions and analyses, showing that the truth probably lies in both these affirmations.

A detailed ethnographic portrayal of Cree society was instrumental in understanding the full nature of Cree territoriality as they were undergoing a major social transformation.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, scholars have documented the consistency of the family hunting territories with core Cree values and beliefs as well as with their subsistence economy and social organisation as a whole. Feit (1991a, 230) describes the family hunting territories as communal and inalienable, and the authority of the tallyman as based on his hunting knowledge, spiritual ties to the animals and ability to ensure the sharing and well-being of the land’s various resources (a point of view shared by Tanner [1986, 22]). To summarise, Feit (1991a, 224) stresses that “hunting territories are more accurately viewed as means of social reproduction, and of resistance, rather than of assimilation” and that they rely on “a form of land ownership that is not a relationship of ownership by market standards but by Cree standards of proper stewardship of the land” (1991a,

229). For Tanner (1986, 28), “Algonquian territories are never ‘owned’ by anyone other than those who work on them; they cannot be sold, accumulated, or used by the owner to accumulate surplus production. Labelling them private property in ‘our’ sense of the term thus tells us very little and is actually misleading.” This position brings us back to the question of how to define property, with Tanner obviously referring to the narrow sense of private property. Colin Scott (1988, 50) develops a similar perspective in which he refuses to speak of Cree land tenure in terms of private property but then goes on to describe the “legitimizing principles of the Cree system of property,” showing how the autonomy of each hunting household is balanced by a strong ethos of communal well-being, a balance the tallymen are responsible to ensure by managing access to land and sharing the resources. His work is thus an attempt to think about property in Cree terms.

This ethnographic refinement also sheds light on recent Cree history. As much as one can insist on the cultural consistency of the Cree family hunting territories, we cannot understand them without paying attention to the way they were gradually shaped by various external influences. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century, in an ongoing dialogue with colonial agents, the Cree participated in the strengthening of their land tenure, keeping it a Cree institution while letting conservation policy-makers and resource developers use it for their interests. From the creation of the beaver preserves in the 1930s to the formal mapping of the whole Cree territory in the 1970s, not to mention the registered trapline system enforced in 1947, the Cree land tenure has served as a model for crafting resource management policies imposed by bureaucratic colonialism (Morantz 2002) as well as by industrial partners, such as Hydro-Quebec since the 1975 signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA).<sup>13</sup> Each of these historical events (to which we can obviously add the recent “Paix des Braves”) has brought an additional layer of significance and new ways of interacting with the land for the Crees (Preston 2011). This integration has definitely been a double-edged sword for the Crees, assuring the recognition of their land tenure in the management of the land but also initiating its transformation. Namely, these changes have participated in rigidifying (as shown in the map of Cree family traditional territories in the introduction of this issue) this originally fluid land tenure model. They have nonetheless turned the family hunting territories into a story of resilience in the face of major societal transformations, and part of the anthropological fascination for this institution is certainly due to its capacity to absorb change and colonial influence while strongly remaining,

in the eyes of most Crees, true to their relationship to land and their social values.<sup>14</sup>

Nonetheless, the question of the limits of this resilience has been asked repeatedly in the last decades (Feit 1991a, 2009, 2010; Morantz 2002; Nasr and Scott 2010; Scott 1988, 2004, 2013; Preston 2011). As the Crees are more and more embedded in the values and ways of the market society, one can wonder how long their land tenure, based on reciprocity, sharing and stewardship, can resist. Observing these trends, Colin Scott had already noted, in 1988: “Whether cash economic development will precipitate more ‘capitalistic’ views of property is an open question. Cree leadership associates entrepreneurial initiative as well as bureaucratic efficiency with economic growth and self-sufficiency. There is a controversial balance still to be struck between values of sharing and the accumulation of personal wealth” (Scott 1988, 50). While this question has an undeniable relevance (and has gained even more relevance since the signing of the “Paix des Braves”), these entanglements clearly indicate the need for subtle analysis. We cannot afford to simply oppose ideas of property and Indigenous land tenure. There are, without any doubt, tensions at stake, but the narrative is not one of the replacement of a customary model based on stewardship and everyday interaction with animals<sup>15</sup> by a neoliberal model of resource ownership and exploitation. What emerges is a complex cohabitation, full of tensions and creative adaptation. As Susan Preston (2011, 79) points out:

In general terms, from a traditional position of land and landscape as social interaction in which the human person is but one participant with conscious agency, we can trace the emergence of other ways of thinking. These include notions of land as a working resource with internal functional boundaries, as cultural identity, as heritage, as property and, most recently, as an abstract economic resource. Traditional meanings have been retained and have been renegotiated to such a degree that complex layers of meanings now exist.

The focus of this article will now switch to these multiple layers and complex ways of thinking about and interacting with the land, based on ethnographic data I gathered among the Nemaska Eeyouch during and after the construction of the Eastmain–Rupert hydroelectric complex.

### **The “Paix des Braves” as a New Frame for Action on Cree Lands**

When, in October 2001, Ted Moses (the grand chief of the Crees at the time) announced that he had reached an agreement with the Quebec government regarding

another hydroelectric project, he certainly did not fail to surprise everybody, Crees and Quebecers alike. Indeed, after decades of deteriorating relationships – riddled with a profound lack of goodwill from Canadian institutional actors, to which the Crees responded with lawsuits and protests – a peace seemed quite unachievable. Yet a few months and a referendum later, the “Paix of the Braves” (PDB; Secrétariat aux affaires Autochtones du Québec, 2002) was well and truly reached, reframing the relationship between the Crees and Quebec as a “nation-to-nation” partnership aimed at fostering beneficial political, economic and social relations in the further development of the region (see Saganash, Trudel, and Vincent 2002). Altogether, the agreement is in continuity with the JBNQA. It did not challenge the frame the latter imposed on Cree lands but aimed at rectifying two of its major flaws. First, it re-organised forestry activities that, in the south of James Bay, were felt by the Crees to be completely out of control, and second, it enforced a whole section of the JBNQA that had never been enforced – that is, the provisions regarding Cree economic development. In doing so, the PDB ensured the Crees more influence in the decision-making process and more guarantees regarding the economic opportunities resulting from resource exploitation activities. Finally but importantly, this agreement allowed Hydro-Quebec, also a signatory, to go forward with the Eastmain–Rupert project, adding a little less than one thousand megawatts to the existing La Grande Complex by additional damming on the Eastmain River and diverting and greatly diminishing the flow of the Rupert River, as shown on the map below (Figure 1).

The PDB can be seen as a twofold phenomenon. It emerged as the result of the Crees’ gradual involvement in resource development, strengthening long-term processes of change already prompted by the JBNQA. Nonetheless, at the same time, it was a turning point, creating a new frame for interacting with the land. This new framework can be perfectly described in the terms set by neoliberal governance (Papillon 2012, 2014; Feit 2010; Martin 2008; Salée and Lévesque 2010), a framing that faced anthropologists with the challenge of finding the words and concepts to describe the complex assemblages produced by the Crees themselves. Following this line of investigation, I focused my research on the way the partnership presented in the PDB was enforced and what kinds of new practices emerged from it. Regarding our understanding of the challenges faced by Cree land tenure, the PDB forces us to think beyond the building blocks that the original debate left us with but also beyond the description of an antagonistic relationship

between the Crees and industrial actors. As Harvey Feit (2010, 50) so accurately and truthfully notes,

Some of what neoliberalism creates or makes possible may be engaged with by Indigenous peoples seeking to advance their own projects and survival, not only through opposition but also by taking up opportunities for new forms of projects with states and markets ... Recognizing these diverse and under-analyzed engagements does not ignore the suffering, burdens, and losses that colonialism and neoliberalism create. Nor need it involve abandoning the engagements of analysts themselves in movements against neoliberalism. Analyzing the situated diversity of relationships that Indigenous polities may seek with markets and states does, however, require respectful and critical social analysis.

To meet this requirement, we have to pay attention to the double nature of the complex dynamic created by the penetration of neoliberalism as a governance model (in which property is a powerful tool). On one side, the Crees have no choice but to respond to the new norm, but on the other side, it would be a mistake to depict them as passive or reluctant victims.

Most of the literature quoted above regarding property in Indigenous contexts focuses on two aspects: the judiciary and the treaty negotiation process. My research is of a different nature since I have focused on the local implementation of the PDB through the everyday life of the Nemaska tallymen and their families. The originality of this research is thus, first, in analysing life after the signing of an agreement, and second, focusing on local actors rather than leaders and policy-makers. If we cannot deny that the PDB entails a neoliberal agenda and tends to treat family hunting territories as a form of property, the remaining question is how that new frame is enacted and reworked by local actors on the land. My former analysis, as well as my data, have shown that the Cree family hunting territories are primarily places of struggle for self-determination. In the aftermath of the PDB, the tallymen were given a central role in the new partnership with various industrial partners and were thus on the front line of everyday negotiations of the Cree involvement in resource exploitation. Therefore, the central question of this ethnography can be formulated as such: After politicians and regional leaders negotiated these agreements, how have Cree tallymen, their families and the land users<sup>16</sup> dealt with these new terms and struggled to define a property regime as they see fit? To answer this question, it is necessary to describe the various ways the role of tallymen has been redefined and challenged since they became major actors in the new partnership proposed by the PDB.

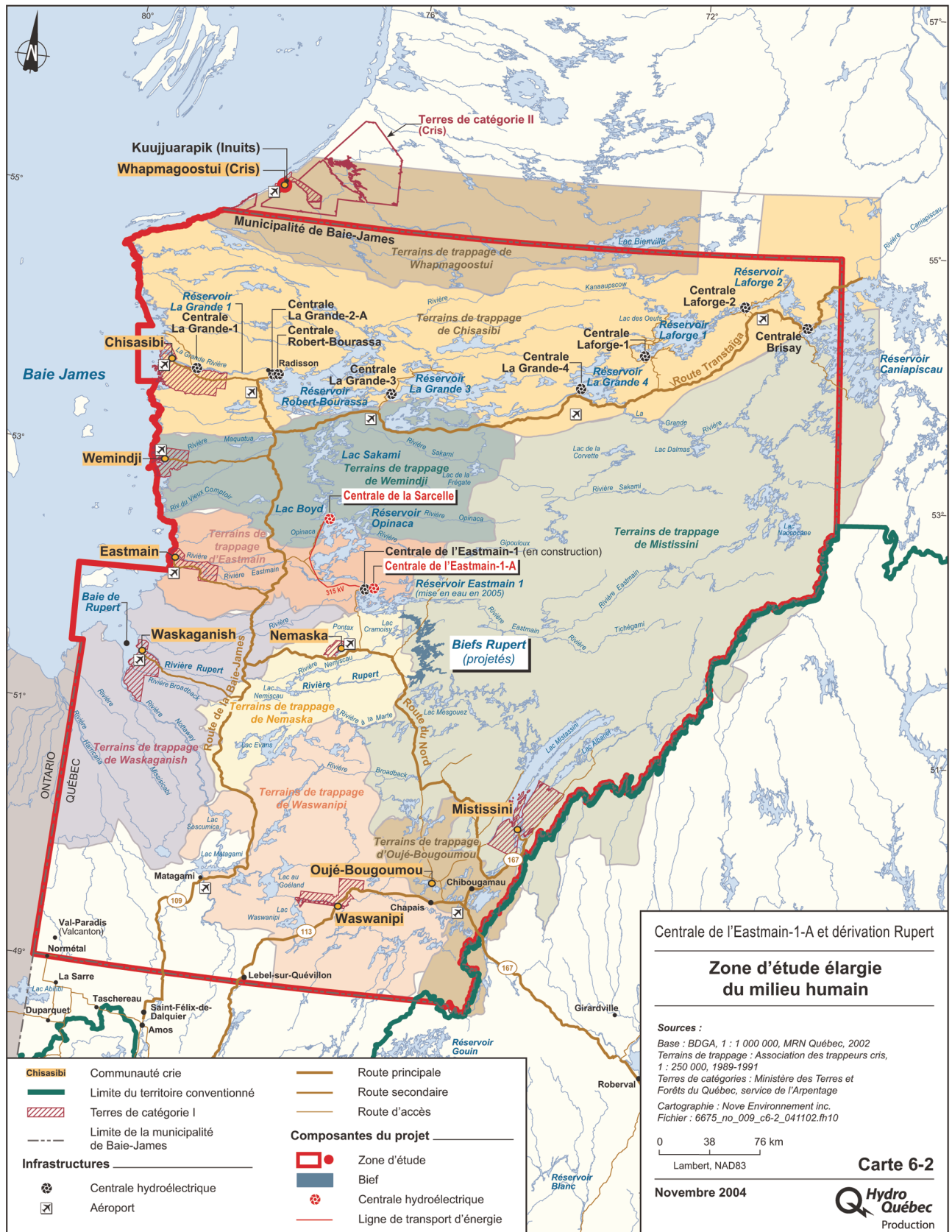


Figure 1: Eastmain 1-A Power plant and Rupert diversion (image courtesy of Hydro-Québec, 2004)

## The Multiple Hats of the Nemaska Tallymen

The land surrounding the community of Nemaska is divided into 11 family hunting territories, all impacted by the Eastmain–Rupert hydroelectric facility in various ways. For most of these tallymen, the PDB was associated with loss (of tracts of land, of the river, of important historic sites, of animal well-being, of family burials, et cetera), and only a few of them were in favour of this agreement. As a tallyman told me in 2006, “The river is my whole life, it’s all I know and all I love. I have no idea what my life will be after this.” For the Nemaska tallymen, the land is primarily a place of teaching and sharing, as well as a place of connection to their hunting traditions. It is where the Cree culture finds its values and its balance. But they also recognise that ever since the JBNQA, the land has become something else. It is a place of economic opportunities and, for the younger generation, a place to learn new skills to find their way in a world dominated by the Canadian entrepreneurial and resource-based economy. As such, most tallymen have worked hard to find a balance between these two domains of Cree life, even if the entrepreneurship part of their function has tremendously grown during this period of intensive construction and change propelled by the PDB, and involving them in the hydroelectric project.

To describe the new role of the tallymen as economic partners and entrepreneurs, we must highlight the multiple nature of their involvement in the project. First, the tallymen (as well as their families and land users) were hired as consultants. From the very beginning of the project until today, their expertise and participation have been required on a large number of small and larger contracts. More specifically, as Nasr and Scott (2010) have documented, the tallymen had a substantial role in the mandatory environmental impact study of the Rupert diversion. According to a Hydro-Quebec employee, close to five hundred Crees were hired through the impact study (across all Cree communities). After this period, the number was reduced, but the tallymen still had to juggle numerous requests, from participating in fauna observation and fish population studies (including water levels follow-ups) to sharing their expertise on historical land use and cultural activities. These consulting contracts were appreciated by the tallymen, who felt that their expertise was being recognised. The second form of partnership involving the tallymen was related to the many funds created by the PDB,<sup>17</sup> the largest one for managing remedial work. Following the impact study, a series of projects were identified for each trapline (in

partnership with the tallymen) to limit the negative impacts on the land and to ensure their rights to hunting, trapping and fishing activities were upheld. Not only were the tallymen instrumental in identifying these projects but, once the projects were approved, they also obtained the contracts to carry them out. These remedial work contracts varied from building new hunting camps, access roads and boat docks to creating sturgeon spawning areas, planting trees and grass on the riverbanks to facilitate the return of beavers, installing pond areas to encourage geese landing, et cetera. These small- to medium-sized contracts are still conducted today as the impacts of the projects evolve and the Crees have to familiarise themselves with a greatly transformed river. This abundance of funds and the project-oriented policy of Hydro-Quebec<sup>18</sup> has turned the tallymen into project managers.<sup>19</sup> Third and lastly, the family hunting territories system as a whole was used to rationalise and boost the economic partnership between Hydro-Quebec and Cree companies. This is definitely the most controversial aspect of the redefinition of the tallymen’s role, certainly because of its more overtly neoliberal nature. As a way to improve the benefit sharing recommended by the PDB, the Cree leadership decided that, during the construction, some industrial contracts<sup>20</sup> would be given on a priority basis to Cree companies. Therefore, within each family hunting territory, a series of small-sized contracts were set aside and offered to the tallyman, who could decide to fulfill them or to subcontract them to a company of their choosing. These mostly involved forestry work, such as slashing, building snowmobile trails and tree planting. As a consequence of this new policy, most of the tallymen of Nemaska created their own companies to honour these various contracts.<sup>21</sup>

Altogether, empowering the tallymen and the use of the FHT to rationalise Crees’ involvement in economic development fulfilled a long-held demand by the Cree leadership, who had been asking for greater respect of their land tenure practices ever since the JBNQA. Among the Nemaska Eeyouch the tallymen are knowledgeable hunters, and their authority is largely recognised and respected. While some contesting voices have risen against the power that is given to them, the Nemaska Eeyouch generally welcome the above practices, stressing that the tallymen share their benefits and create jobs in the community (which external companies never really did). On the other side, there is definitely a sense of worry regarding the way the FHT and the values they rely on have been “twisted around.” According to a member of the Nemaska Band:



Today, some are converting our traditions in other ways and it is quite scary. And all of that is happening so fast, like in the blink of an eye. My opinion is that the Paix des Braves has changed the values of hunters too deeply. And those changes are diminishing us. The big companies like Hydro-Quebec, they saw a weakness and they use it. Now, some people do not see land for what it is but only what they can extract from it.

Despite these opposing opinions about these changes, it is obvious that the tallymen, who are generally older men not familiar with accounting, human resources or business leadership, were ill prepared to face their new responsibilities. The first years were particularly difficult and overwhelming for them, and these changes have been a source of tension within their families, especially when one knows the rapid pace imposed by a company like Hydro-Quebec. Consequently, several tallymen in Nemaska asked for the band's help, and in 2004, the Niskamoon Corporation<sup>22</sup> was created to assist them in the fulfillment of their contracts as well as to standardise their access to funds. After that, the families seemed to be adjusting better. Nonetheless, the story of these changes is a complex one. It is made up of various struggles that I like to qualify, following Anna Tsing, as frictions, a metaphorical image useful for understanding the heterogeneous and unequal encounters entrenched in global connections as well as the new arrangements that emerge from them. According to Tsing (2004, 6), "speaking of friction is a reminder of the importance of interaction in defining movement, cultural form, and agency."

In my research, I have dealt with the variety of frictions encountered by the tallymen of Nemaska and their families since the early 2000s. In this changing context, some tallymen are considered "success stories," while others have experienced financial difficulties. Some have struggled with the workload and hoped for better days, while others have revealed themselves to be gifted businessmen. Some families have been torn apart, while others have thrived. In sum, what they experienced cannot be reduced to a one-size-fits-all description. To answer that difficulty and avoid a simplification of the heterogeneity of Cree life on the land, I have mostly worked through storytelling (Chaplier 2014, 2015). Here are two family stories that nourish the debates about the forms of property relations that emerged in Nemaska during and after the construction of the Eastmain-Rupert hydroelectric complex.

### **Frictions on the Land: Storytelling Cree Land Tenure in Times of Change**

Our first example is one of the Nemaska tallymen who adjusted best to the new context created by the PDB

and who is often mentioned as one of the big "success stories" of Cree entrepreneurship. He proudly became the tallyman of his trapline in 1990, replacing his brother after the latter accepted a full-time job in the community. He strongly believes that his father's choice to give him the tallyman role was a way to reward him for the sacrifices he made when he was younger. At the age of eight, he was sent to residential school. According to him, he stayed long enough with his parents on the land "to be really grounded" and to be very knowledgeable in the bush. He spent six years in residential school and revealed himself as a bright student, to the point that he wanted to further his education. However, after six years, his father asked him to return to the bush with him and he accepted, reluctantly putting his education aside. He never returned to school and stayed in the bush with his parents and then with his own family, before working and settling in Nemaska. Becoming the tallyman was then a logical step for him, after all the sacrifices he had made.

A few years later, the PDB was signed. As his trapline was deeply affected by the hydroelectric project, he had to adjust very quickly. A self-made man, he created his own company to take advantage of the many opportunities made available to him. As I visited his bush camp in 2008, he proudly told me, "The bush is my office now." At his peak, he was employing no fewer than 60 people. This job creation is his major source of pride. As he told me: "I wasn't there to make big profit for myself. If more people are profiting, that's better than one person profiting." He gained a lot of authority from his role as a tallyman and as a businessman. Among his family, his opinion is highly regarded, and they seem to accept his leadership. He shares his business opportunities with most of his brother and sisters. He is also a knowledgeable hunter and a man who still, has a strong bond with the land. Full of paradoxes, he many times expressed his mixed feelings about what the Crees are facing today: "You know, when I go to the reservoir, which I do occasionally, I connect with the land that is underwater now. And all I see is a vast body of water where the Eastmain River used to flow. I know it is there, somewhere. And I have to live with the fact that my memories are flooded under the water ... This is the biggest burden of the loss that I will always carry."

The second story relates how these changes affected another trapline, located along the Rupert River. When he told me the story, John<sup>23</sup> had only been the tallyman for a few years. Indeed, he became the tallyman in 2010, replacing his brother, Andrew, who was the one in charge when the PDB was signed and most of the contracts and economic opportunities emerged. During

that time, Andrew did not share much information about his business ventures with his family, and he proved to have difficulties as a businessman. Moreover, according to John, “Andrew started acting like the trapline was his and only his. He told people they could not hunt there, that he was the boss. He even shouted at some people.” Things got progressively worse, and he had financial issues with Hydro-Quebec to the point that their partnership was at stake. After a few years, Hydro was reluctant to give him more contracts. Informed of the situation, the family gathered and asked him to explain, which he twice declined to do. Feeling that they had no other choice, all the other brothers and sisters, with the blessing of their mother, agreed to remove him as the tallyman and to name John as tallyman. They went through an official process and signed a document that they submitted to the Cree Trappers Association, the band council and Niskamoon. John accepted the tallyman role even if it was not easy for him. He was not as available as he should have been since he held a job in the community and could not spend much time on the land. Nonetheless, his son helped him in his task. The family suffered from this conflict, and John saw how painful it was for his mother. He hoped that what happened would serve as a lesson and that today’s tallymen would work harder to include their whole family and land users.

During this past decade, two other families in Nemaska went through similar tensions, and another tallyman was replaced. When I asked him how he would define his role as tallyman, he told me that he had become like a spokesperson:

Like some people ask me something and I try to work out something for them to get what they want. It is kind of hard, though ... That is what I am trying to do for the family, to share. I am not going to try to say, “Hey, you are not included.” I try to share because I know it has caused some problems for other families. They did not want to include the family. That is what the fights are about, when people want to push the family aside and are trying to deal with everything alone. And tallymen should not act like that, they are not supposed to. So that’s what I see, the change.

## Concluding Remarks: Property as Sharing

Once we carefully follow the enactments of fee simple, the space of reconciliation is more fluid and multiple than at first sight. When we look, we find multiplicity, not singularity. (Blomley 2014, 1303)

Returning to the idea of the various enactments of property, what can we draw from these descriptions?

One of the interesting characteristics of the PDB is that this agreement does not per se impose a private property regime on the Crees. Nonetheless, by connecting with the role of the tallymen and turning them into entrepreneurs, it de facto brings new pressures to privatise Cree lands. To function, a structure like Hydro-Quebec needs the certainty provided by private property. While such a regime is not in itself established on Cree lands, it is nonetheless enacted.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the practices emerging from the partnership between the tallymen and Hydro-Quebec identified the tallymen as a kind of landowner, and the Cree society at large responded by negotiating and enacting their own definition of what property should be. These entanglements are challenging and constitute an everyday struggle for the Crees. Central to the above descriptions and stories is the idea that the Cree notion of property, made visible through the institution of the FHT and the recognition, or lack thereof, of the tallymen’s authority, encompasses the moral obligation of sharing. As Colin Scott (1986, 170) described it more than 30 years ago in *Anthropologica*,

the authority of the tallymen is tempered by a strong egalitarian ethic. If a hunting boss’s authority fails to result in collective benefit, due to inexpert decisions or unwillingness to share hunting opportunities, other hunters do not respect his decisions about the use of his grounds and a localized breakdown of the informal rules may occur until new leadership is initiated and accepted.

As the narratives above have shown, this is still true today, even when facing a different set of practices as well as challenges of a new nature. From a Western point of view, linking property and sharing is far from obvious. On the contrary, in our propensity to think of property as private, we tend to contrast these two terms. Nonetheless, if we want to think past the apparent paradox of Aboriginal territoriality – marked by a discourse of ownership and boundaries while involving a fluid and shared use of the land – and rightfully describe Cree territoriality, we have to develop a conceptual frame that encompasses property and sharing. Just as Brian Thom (2009, 179) has stressed, Indigenous notions of territoriality are “framed within a pervasive ideology of sharing” as well as “underwritten by a relational epistemology.” The narratives presented in this article were meant to demonstrate this.

Moreover, the reaction of Cree families, land users and institutions to the changes imposed by the PDB challenges the idea that treaties and resource exploitation are unilaterally turning Indigenous land tenures into forms of private property. It also challenges the

idea of property as a uniform “one-size-fits-all” model of land tenure. While there is a type of property at stake here, it relies on and includes the moral obligation of sharing. Indeed, “ownership, according to the Cree, involves keeping traditional law and order in that area, ensuring that the land is not abused, and overseeing the sharing of resources” (Berkes 1986, 151). While only a few people within Cree communities will challenge the validity of the tallymen’s claim to land in general terms, they will definitely question the authority of a tallyman displaying improper behaviour. Property, in the stories related here, is thus a negotiation – between Crees and external actors but also among the Crees themselves – and encompasses a form of struggle. The FHT are a place of resistance as much as of innovation. These entanglements are an invitation to pay attention to the complexity of FHT and contemporary Indigenous territorialities. While this article’s focus is on the integration of Cree tallymen in the natural resource industry, FHT also obviously remain fundamentally linked to Cree hunting practices. Family territories remain, even in the face of major changes, a central expression of Cree environmental ethics and underlying ontology, enacted through their everyday engagements with the animals they hunt. As such, these descriptions and portrayals can and should be nuanced in order to appreciate the complex layers of meaning encompassed in Cree territoriality.

**Mélanie Chaplier**, *Centre for Indigenous Conservation and Development Alternatives, McGill University, Montreal, Canada & Laboratoire d’Anthropologie Prospective, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium. Email: melaniechaplier@gmail.com.*

## Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Toby Morantz as well as Professor Colin Scott for their valuable advice on previous versions of this article. I also wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and critiques. This project was spread over two postdoctoral appointments, the first at Dartmouth College and the second at the University of Waterloo. As such, this research received the support of the Fulbright Belgium-Luxemburg Commission, the Fond Spécial de la Recherche of the University of Louvain-la-Neuve, and the Waterloo Institute for Social Innovation and Resilience

## Notes

- 1 While the Cree, as a specific sociolinguistic group, are spread from Quebec to Alberta, my focus here is on the

Cree of Eeyou Istchee, occupying the lands east of James Bay and politically organised under the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec. As such, the term “Cree(s)” will be used in this article to identify this specific group. More recently, the term “Eeyou/Eeyouch” (singular/plural, Northern dialect) or “Eenou/Eenouch” (Southern dialect) – also spelled “Iiyiyuu/Iiyiyuuch” and “iinuu/iinuch” – has emerged. I will at times use that wording when referring more specifically to the “Nemaska Eeyouch,” the term used among the members of this community.

- 2 It is also important to note that these changes were more salient in the communities most directly concerned by the Eastmain–Rupert hydroelectric project (Mistissini, Nemaska and Waskaganish). As such, we have to keep in mind that the local processes shaping territorial practice remain diverse.
- 3 A point of view that is related to the importance of advocacy in the work of anthropologists, especially in the context of Indigenous land claims in Canada (for more details on this question, see Waldram and Dyck 1993; Asch 2001; or Hedican 2008; but also the introduction of this issue).
- 4 This impetus takes various forms (from fee simple to variable redefinitions of Indigenous rights) and is not always straightforward.
- 5 The most important contribution pleading in favour of this imposition of private property on Indian lands is the controversial essay of Flanagan, Alcantara and Le Dressay (2011). Let us note that this policy agenda gained a lot of traction under the conservative government of Stephen Harper. While it is far from winning unanimous support from Indigenous leaders, it is nonetheless supported by a few.
- 6 This critical perspective on the symbolic violence and colonial nature of the relationship between the settler state and Indigenous peoples goes beyond property regimes. Indeed, many authors (Slowey 2000, 2001; Rynard 2000; Altamirano-Jiménez 2004; Kuokkanen 2011) have developed the same arguments regarding the way Indigenous self-governance has been problematically limited to a form of neoliberal governance. When we are aware of the importance of private property to enforcing neoliberal regimes, it is obvious that these two forms of governance are intrinsically linked.
- 7 This political position does not prevent Nadasdy from developing a nuanced and rich ethnography of the Kluane First Nation’s practices on and ideas of the land. While he sees property as an imposed Western category, he recognises that “the discourse and practices associated with European notions of property now coexist in Kluane society (however uneasily) alongside discourse and practices whose roots lie in a very different set of cultural assumptions” (Nadasdy 2003, 261). This is not different from what is happening among the Nemaska Eeyouch.
- 8 A dynamic, again, that Nadasdy is far from denying. In his way, he also invites us to pay attention to these when he says: “I suggest that anthropologists would do better to concern themselves less with attempts to define property than with trying to understand why and how people use and struggle over different conceptions of ‘property’ in the first place” (Nadasdy 2002, 251). As such, Nadasdy’s

work has been highly influential on my research, and I have shown elsewhere (2014, 2015) how relevant his depiction of the Indigenous land claims process is. Moreover, his point of view is not so distant from Thom's or Blomley's perspectives since their differences rely more on semantic choices than on the nature of the reality they wish to describe.

- 9 The term "Algonquian" used here refers, as it was common in the past anthropological literature (see introduction of this issue), to a larger sociolinguistic group that included namely the Cree, the Algonquin, the Innus (Montagnais), and the Atikamekw.
- 10 For more details on the original debate, see Morantz, this issue.
- 11 In 1975, after a hard-fought court battle, the Crees of Quebec signed the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA), known as the first modern treaty in Canadian Aboriginal history. Through this comprehensive agreement, the Crees gave Quebec the green light to proceed with the "project of the century," a major plan to exploit the region's natural resources, with hydroelectricity as a focal point. In place of undefined Aboriginal title to their land, the Crees agreed to a new land regime and a shared management of the resources. They also obtained some reinforcement of their traditional livelihood practices through the Income Security Program for Cree Hunters and Trappers. Another major consequence of this agreement was the birth of the Cree Nation as a regional entity and the creation of a robust bureaucratic structure.
- 12 This history of integration contrasts partially with that of other groups such as the Atikamekw or the Algonquin – the Crees' southern neighbours – whose land tenure was more clearly threatened by colonial presence, as they have been, in the last decades, in constant opposition with government and industrial actors seeking to encroach upon them. Even if, in the northern parts of their lands, their FHT were subject to about the same policies of formulation in the 1930s and 1940s (with the beaver preserves and registered traplines), they were never given the same later legitimacy as were the Cree FHT through the JBNQA.
- 13 The hybrid nature of FHT can be seen as the consequence of the Crees' inclusive way of dealing with intercultural encounters. Indeed, the Crees have made continuous compromises and efforts to share their lands with outsiders, despite repeated disrespect and lack of goodwill from governments and industrial actors. As Feit (2009) has shown, this social logic of inclusion (and reciprocity) is at the core of their political philosophy. Thus, the Crees have, maybe more than other Native groups in Canada, always maintained a dialogue regarding the management of their lands and have adjusted their land tenure accordingly. Their family hunting territories as they exist today are evidence of this dialogue.
- 14 Undoubtedly, the nature of the relationship between the Crees and the animals they hunt is important here. The FHT are, first and foremost, instrumental for organising and harmonising hunting practices among the Crees. In this article, however, the choice was made to focus my analysis on the Crees' progressive involvement in resource exploitation and to leave the contemporary forms of their hunting practices for a subsequent contribution.
- 15 Among Cree communities, the term "land user" is broadly used to designate a person (more often a regular hunter) who has interest in a particular tract of land inside a family hunting territory and has built a cabin or camp there in order to pursue subsistence activities, with the permission of the tallymen. While the land users are often related to the tallymen as kin, it is not always the case.
- 16 As a long-time employee of Hydro-Quebec explained to me, the day of the signing of the PDB, it was actually nine agreements that were signed. While the PDB was quite general, these other agreements detailed the content of the new partnership between Hydro-Quebec and the Crees. Resulting from these, a series of funds were created such as the mercury fund, the archaeology and heritage fund, a training fund, the remedial measures fund (which is the largest) and the Eenou Indouhoun fund. As the project went on, the tallymen were encouraged to submit their own projects and ideas in order to access these funds.
- 17 Both the Grand Council of the Crees and Hydro-Quebec have always been strongly opposed to direct financial compensation of Cree individuals. Compensations are stressed as collective. Given their strong interest in land and the substantial negative impact the project has had on them, the tallymen's involvement and the projects they have access to are seen as a form of "benefit sharing" and not as direct compensation.
- 18 Let us note that other Cree hunters or land users can submit projects, but they need the approval of the tallymen to do so, in the form of a signed consent document.
- 19 According to a Niskamoon (see endnote 22) employee, we are talking here of 1 to 2 per cent of the contracts available.
- 20 Creating a company was not mandatory, as the tallymen had the option to work with the band office, the latter dealing with the administrative aspects and paying the tallymen a wage. In Nemaska, only a couple of tallymen chose this option.
- 21 Niskamoon is a dual corporation financed both by the Grand Council of the Crees and Hydro-Quebec. A fascinating institution that necessitates an analysis in itself, it was instrumental in dealing with the general impacts of the PDB and supporting the tallymen and their families. It was created to facilitate access to the various funds created after the PDB and to assist the tallymen in their administrative tasks.
- 22 The names used here were not real names.
- 23 As such, the Cree case is quite unique because it cannot be fully described and understood through the usual legal analysis (Blomley 2014). On the contrary, here our attention has to be directed at the everyday interactions on the land, and we have to pay attention to the property relations emerging from them.

## References

- Altamirano-Jiménez, Isabel. 2004. "North American First Peoples: Slipping Up into Market Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 8(4): 349–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102052000316963>.
- Alfred, Taiaiake, and Jeff Corntassel. 2005. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism." *Government and Opposition* 40(4): 597–614. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x>.

- Asch, Michael. 2001. "Indigenous Self-Determination and Applied Anthropology in Canada: Finding a Place to Stand." *Anthropologica* 43(2): 201–207. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25606035>.
- Atleo, Clifford. 2008. "From Indigenous Nationhood to Neoliberal Aboriginal Economic Development: Charting the Evolutions of Indigenous-Settler Relations in Canada." Canadian Social Economy Hub. <http://socialeconomyhub.ca/sites/socialeconomyhub.ca/files/CAtleoCSEHubPaperOctober09.pdf>.
- Berkes, Fikret. 1986. "Common Property Resources and Hunting Territories." In "Who Owns the Beaver? Northern Algonquian Land Tenure Reconsidered," ed. Charles Bishop and Toby Morantz. Special issue, *Anthropologica* 28 (1–2): 145–162. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25605196>.
- Bishop, Charles. 1986. "Territoriality among Northeastern Algonquians." In "Who Owns the Beaver? Northern Algonquian Land Tenure Reconsidered," ed. Toby Morantz and Charles Bishop. Special issue, *Anthropologica* 28 (1–2): 37–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25605192>.
- Blackburn, Carole. 2005. "Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty: Negotiating Aboriginal rights and Title in British Columbia." *American Anthropologist* 107(4): 586–596. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2005.107.4.586>.
- . 2007. "Producing Legitimacy: Reconciliation and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Rights in Canada." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13(3): 621–638. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2007.00447.x>.
- Blomley, Nicholas. 2014. "Making Space for Property." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104(6): 1291–1306. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.941738>.
- . 2015. "The Ties That Bind: Making Fee Simple in the British Columbia Treaty Process." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 40(2): 168–179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12058>.
- Bryan, Bradley. 2000. "Property as Ontology: On Aboriginal and English Understandings of Ownership." *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* 13(1): 3–31. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0841820900002290>.
- Cooper, John. 1939. "Is the Algonkian Hunting Ground System Pre-Columbian?" *American Anthropologist* 41(1): 66–90. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1939.41.1.02a00060>.
- Coulthard, Sean. 2007. "Subjects of the Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory* 6(4): 437–460. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300307>.
- . 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chaplier, Mélanie. 2014. "La 'Paix des Braves' et la gestion des ressources naturelles chez les Cris de la baie James (Québec). Transformations du territoire et conséquences sur le rôle du tallyman." In *Terres (dés)humanisées: ressources et climat*, ed. Charlotte Bréda, Mélanie Chaplier, Julie Hermesse, and Emmanuelle Piccoli, 127–153. Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia Bruylandt.
- . 2015. "De la hache à la tronçonneuse. Transformations, résistances et évolution du rapport au territoire chez les Cris de la baie James (Québec)." PhD dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain.
- Chaplier, Mélanie, and Colin Scott. 2018. "Introduction: From Beavers to Land: Building on Past Debates to Unpack the Contemporary Entanglements of Algonquian Family Hunting Territories." *Anthropologica* 60(1): 30–44.
- Cruikshank, Julie. 1993. "The politics of Ethnography in the Canadian North". In *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada*, ed. James B. Waldram and Noel Dyck, 133–145. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Dyck, Noel, and James B. Waldram. 1993. *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Egan, Brian. 2013. "Towards Shared Ownership: Property, Geography, and Treaty Making in British Columbia." *Geografiska Annaler* 95(1): 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/geob.12008>.
- Egan, Brian, and Jessica Place. 2013. "Minding the Gaps: Property, Geography, and Indigenous People in Canada." *Geoforum* 44: 129–138. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.10.003>.
- Feit, Harvey. 1982. "The Future of Hunters within Nation-States: Anthropology and the James Bay Cree." In *Politics and History in Band Societies*, ed. Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee, 373–411. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1988. "Waswanipi Cree Management of Land and Wildlife: Cree Ethno-ecology Revisited." In *Native Peoples, Native Lands*, ed. Bruce Alden Cox, 75–91. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- . 1991a. "Gifts of the Land: Hunting Territories, Guaranteed Incomes and the Construction of Social Relations in James Bay Cree Society." *Senri Ethnological Studies* 30: 23–268.
- . 1991b. "The Construction of Algonquian Hunting Territories: Private Property as Moral Lesson, Policy Advocacy, and Ethnographic Error." In *Colonial Situations*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr., 109–134. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 2000. "Les animaux comme partenaires de chasse: réciprocité chez les Cris de la Baie James." *Terrain* 34: 123–142.
- . 2009. "Governmental Rationalities and Indigenous Co-governance: James Bay Cree Coexistence, from Mercantilist Partnerships to Neoliberal Mechanisms." In *Unsettled Legitimacy: Political Community, Power and Authority in a Global Era*, ed. Steven Bernstein and William D. Coleman, 97–128. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- . 2010. "Neoliberal Governance and James Bay Cree Governance: Negotiated Agreements, Oppositional Struggles, and Co-governance." In *Indigenous People and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*, ed. Mario Blaser, Ravi de Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William D. Coleman, 49–79. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Flanagan, Tom, Christopher Alcantara, and André Le Dressay. 2011. *Beyond the Indian Act: Restoring Aboriginal Property Rights*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Gagnon, Justine. 2012. "Diversification des territorialités autochtones contemporaines: réflexions sur l'accès à la propriété privée chez les Nisga'a de Colombie britannique."

- Cahiers de Géographie de Québec* 56(159): 599–619. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1015309ar>.
- Government of Quebec. 1975. James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Quebec: Government of Quebec.
- Hann, Chris. 1998. *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hedican, Edward. 2008. *Applied Anthropology in Canada: Understanding Aboriginal Issues*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Jenness, Diamond. 1932. *The Indians of Canada*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65.
- Kuokkanen, Rauna. 2011. "From Indigenous Economies to Market-Based Self-Governance: A Feminist Political Economy Analysis." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 275–297. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423911000126>.
- Leacock, Eleanor. 1954. *The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade*. New York: American Anthropological Association Memoir 78. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.35991>.
- MacDonald, Fiona. 2011. "Indigenous Peoples and Neoliberal 'Privatization' in Canada: Opportunities, Cautions and Constraints." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 257–273. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000842391100014X>.
- Mackey, Eva. 2011. "Competing or Relational Autonomies? Globalization, Property, and Friction over Land Rights." In *Property, Territory, Globalization: Struggles over Autonomy*, ed. William D. Coleman, 148–171. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- MacPherson, Crawford. 1978. *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mansfield, Becky. 2007. "Privatization: Property and the Remaking of Nature-Society Relations." *Antipode* 39(3): 393–405. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00532.x>.
- Martin, Thibault. 2008. "Hydro Development in Quebec and Manitoba: Old Relationships or New Social Contract?" In *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Quebec*, ed. Thibault Martin and Steven M. Hoffman, 19–37. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Morantz, Toby. 1992. "Old Texts, Old Questions: Another Look at the Issue of Continuity and the Early Fur-Trade Period." *Canadian Historical Review* 73(2): 166–193. <https://doi.org/10.3138/CHR-073-02-02>.
- . 2002. *The White Man's Gonna Getcha: The Colonial Challenge to the Crees in Quebec*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Murphy, Robert, and Julian H. Steward. 1956. "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Process in Acculturation." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4(4): 335–355. <https://doi.org/10.1086/449720>.
- Nadasdy, Paul. 2002. "Property and Aboriginal Land Claims in the Canadian Subarctic: Some Theoretical Considerations." *American Anthropologist* 104(1): 247–261. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.247>.
- . 2003. *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- . 2007. "The Gift in the Animal: The Ontology of Hunting and Human-Animal Sociality." *American Ethnologist* 34(1): 25–43. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.1.25>.
- Nasr, Wren, and Colin Scott. 2010. "The Politics of Indigenous Knowledge in Environmental Assessment: James Bay Crees and Hydroelectric Projects." In *Cultural Autonomy: Frictions and Connections*, ed. Petra Rethmann, Imre Szeman, and William D. Coleman, 132–155. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Palmater, Pamela. 2010. "Opportunity or Temptation? Plans for Private Property on Reserves Could Cost First Nations Their Independence." *Literary Review of Canada* 16(3): 6–7.
- Papillon, Martin. 2012. "Les peuples autochtones et la citoyenneté: quelques effets de contradictoires de la gouvernance néolibérale." *Éthique publique* 14(1): 2–15.
- . 2014. "The Rise (and Fall?) of Aboriginal Self-Government." In *Canadian Politics*, 6th ed., ed. James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, 113–131. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Preston, Richard. 1975. *Cree Narrative*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man.
- Preston, Susan. 2011. "Lifeworlds and Property: Epistemological Challenges to Cree Concepts of Land in the Twentieth Century." In *Property, Territory, Globalization: Struggles over Autonomy*, ed. William D. Coleman, 56–79. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Pulla, Siomonn. 2003. "Frank Speck and the Moisie River Incident: Anthropological Advocacy and the Question of Aboriginal Fishing Rights in Quebec." *Anthropologica* 45(1): 129–145. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25606120>.
- . 2008. "'Would You Believe That, Dr. Speck?' Frank Speck and the Redman's Appeal for Justice." *Ethnohistory* [Columbus, OH] 55(2): 183–201. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-2007-060>.
- Rose, Carol. 1994. *Property and Persuasion*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Rynard, Paul. 2000. "'Welcome In, but Check Your Rights at the Door': The James Bay and Nisga'a Agreements in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 211–243. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900000081>.
- Saganash, Roméo, Pierre Trudel, and Sylvie Vincent. 2002. "La 'Paix des Braves,' une entente avant tout économique." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 32(2): 118–124.
- Salée, Danièle, and Carole Lévesque. 2010. "Representing Aboriginal Self-Government and First Nations/State Relations: Political Agency and the Management of the Boreal Forest in Eeyou Itseechee." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 41(41): 99–135. <https://doi.org/10.7202/044164ar>.
- Scott, Colin. 1982. "Production and Exchange among the Wemindji Cree: Egalitarian Ideology and Economic Base." *Culture* [Quebec] 2(3): 51–64.
- . 1984. "Between 'Original Affluence' and Consumer Affluence: Domestic Production and Guaranteed Income for James Bay Cree Hunters." In *Affluence and Cultural Survival*, ed. Richard Frank Salisbury and Elisabeth Tooker, 74–86. Washington: American Ethnological Society.
- . 1986. "Hunting Territories, Hunting Bosses and Communal Production among Coastal James Bay Cree." In "Who Owns the Beaver? Northern Algonquian Land

- Tenure Reconsidered,” ed. Toby Morantz and Charles Bishop. Special issue, *Anthropologica* 28(1–2): 163–173.
- . 1988. “Property practice and Aboriginal Rights among Quebec Cree hunters.” In *Hunters and Gatherers*, vol. 2. Property, Power and Ideology, ed. Tim Ingold, David Riches and James Woodburn, 35–51. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2004. “Conflicting Discourses of Property, Governance and Development in the Indigenous North.” In *In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization*, ed. Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit, and Glenn McRae, 299–312. New York: Zed Books.
- . 2013. “Le partage des ressources au Québec: perspectives et stratégies autochtones.” In *Les Autochtones et le Québec. Des premiers contacts au Plan Nord*, ed. Alain Beaulieu, Stéphan Gervais, and Martin Papillon, 363–384. Montreal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal.
- Slowey, Gabrielle. 2000. “Aboriginal Self-Government, Extinguishment of Title and the Canadian State: Effectively Removing the ‘Other.’” *Native Studies Review* 13(1): 1–17.
- . 2001. “Globalization and Self-Government: Impacts and Implications for First Nations in Canada.” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31(1–2): 265–281.
- . 2008. “The State, the Marketplace, and First Nations: Theorizing First Nation Self-Determination in an Era of Globalization.” In *Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Manitoba and Quebec*, ed. Thibault Martin and Steven M. Hoffman, 39–54. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Speck, Frank. 1915. “The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization.” *American Anthropologist* 17(2): 289–305. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1915.17.2.02a00070>.
- Speck, Frank, and Loren Eiseley. 1939. “Significance of Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory.” *American Anthropologist* 41(2): 269–280. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1939.41.2.02a00080>.
- Tanner, Adrian. 1971. “Existe-t-il des territoires de chasse?” *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 1(4–5): 69–83.
- . 1979. *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters*. London: C. Hurst.
- . 1986. “The New Hunting Territory Debate: An Introduction to Some Unresolved Issues.” *Anthropologica* 28(1–2): 19–36.
- Thom, Brian. 2009. “The Paradox of Boundaries in Coast Salish Territories.” *Cultural Geographies* 16(2): 179–205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474008101516>.
- . 2014a. “Confusion sur les territoires autochtones au Canada.” In *Politiques, pratiques et droits des peuples autochtones: Terres, territoires, ressources*, ed. Irène Bellier, 89–105. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- . 2014b. “Reframing Indigenous Territories: Private Property, Human Rights and Overlapping Claims.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 38(4): 3–28. <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.38.4.6372163053512w6x>.
- Tsing, Anna. 2004. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
-