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IGNATIUS E. LA RUSIC  
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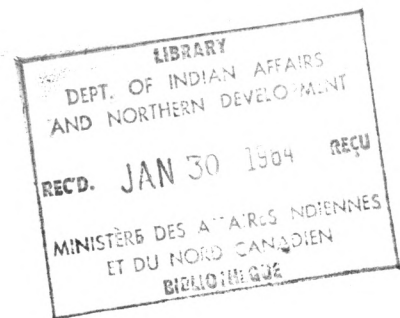
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BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES IN JAMES BAY

Impacts on the James Bay Cree of the  
James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

A Research Proposal



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Ignatius E. La Rusie  
3562 Ste-Famille  
Montréal

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(On peut également obtenir une version française du même texte)

PREAMBLE

Three years ago the James Bay Cree and the Inuit of Northern Québec signed an agreement with the governments of Canada and Québec, Hydro-Québec, the James Bay Development Corporation, and the James Bay Energy Corporation. This agreement, known in full as the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (generally referred to in this text as the Agreement) provided for the surrender by the Cree and Inuit of their "native claims, rights, titles and interests" in Québec north of the watershed of the St. Lawrence River. In doing so, it removed an important potential legal obstacle to northern development in the Province of Québec. In return for the surrender of these general claims the Cree and Inuit receive specific legal claims to the land and its wildlife, plus financial compensation, and at the same time they undertake to take part in a new northern administrative régime the objective of which is, in principle, to give the Cree and Inuit the opportunity to continue their present involvement in their land-based subsistence activities and, at the same time, participate in the larger economic development of the north through their involvement in Québec's northern public administration. We propose to examine the nature and effects of that involvement.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement<sup>1</sup> contains the classical elements of the treaty-making process used in Canada to obtain territorial surrenders from native groups. The surrender terms in paragraph 2.1 of the Agreement and the approaches used to determine the amount of federal reserve land for the Crees and the land régime applicable to them, reflect this historical continuity with the previous treaties with Canadian Indians. At the same time, the Agreement can be construed as a document which is mainly about the extension to the north of Québec's normal administrative functions and responsibilities. To illustrate this fact one may simply observe that some 85% of the nearly 500 pages of the Agreement are devoted to various aspects of what one may generally describe as "public administration".

This aspect of the Agreement ~~is~~ not without its critics. Our present concern is with the criticism (most explicitly developed by Boyce Richardson in his brief to Justice Berger during the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1976) that the Agreement establishes a northern bureaucracy of such size and complexity that its operation and maintenance become the principle activity of the people that it is designed to serve. It is a serious criticism, and one which merits close attention.

The research that is proposed here aims at an assessment of the early phases of the implementation of the administrative structures contemplated by the Agreement, and the implications of this process of implementation for the Cree themselves. As such, it aims also to be a review of the bureaucratic concepts

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix A for an outline of the groups involved in the Agreement, and some observations on the nature of that Agreement.

reflected in the Agreement, and an evaluation of the risks and benefits involved in the investment of public funds (in this case the compensation funds arising from the land claims settlement) in support of a public sector large in relation to the population base served by it.

2. SCOPE OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH

(A) Organization of the Study:

Since the scope of research on the initial public administration aspects of the Agreement must necessarily be quite broad, there will be a problem of presenting the complex material in a coherent manner which can be read by a non-specialist. Our approach to resolving this is to propose that four separate and discrete papers be prepared. These are:

- (a) Introduction: The James Bay Agreement and the Cree.  
(A brief outline to preface each of papers b, c and d)
- (b) Impacts on the Regional Level: The Cree Regional Office, IAB Val d'Or, and Québec Offices.
- (c) Impacts at the Band Level.
- (d) Impacts on Individual Groups of Cree.

Each of these papers will examine: 1) how far Cree experience parallels experience in other similar cases - the Navaho, Alaska, and Micronesia. (See B.I below for a review); 2) how far the historical experience of negotiating the settlement has led to the observed changes. (See B.II); 3) administrative problems specific to each level. (See B.III, IV, V).

(B) Justification for Selecting Research Areas:

I. Comparative Literature

To obtain some perspective on the possible impacts

brought about in implementing the Agreement, studies of societies or regions which experienced a rapid transformation similar to that of the James Bay Cree were examined. The United States Trust Territory, Micronesia, is such an area for it has experienced the development of local government structures involving the employment of a very high number of local bureaucrats, as well as the concomitant rapid increase in transfer payments to those involved in the subsistence sector of the economy. It is an area where there has been careful study of the impacts of these developments. The similarities to the Cree situation are striking. It is an area with a long history of colonialism; it had an important subsistence sector of the economy; the educational levels of the populations are comparable; it has a scattered population with poor communications and transportation infra-structure; although having a larger population (110,000) it is scattered over some 90 islands most of which have populations of a similar magnitude to the Cree communities; it has a traditional government structure; it has a language problem in dealing with the dominant government similar to the Cree.

Following a change in policy by the United States in the early 1960's, an extensive local bureaucracy was established, primarily staffed by native Micronesians, and at the same time there was a marked increase in other transfer payments coming to the islands in the form of welfare and the U.S. food stamp programme. By 1976 the total transfer payment input into the territory was about \$80 millions, about a twelvefold increase over the \$6.8 millions provided in 1960.

Within the North American context two examples of rapid transformation similar to that of the Cree immediately come to mind - the post-1960 experience of the Navahos with

their oil wealth, and that of the Alaska natives following their land claims settlement. However, neither provided many helpful hypotheses. The Alaska settlement has been discussed mainly at the level of journalistic analysis (e.g., McPhee 1977) . There is a major impact study underway and it may be available by mid-1979<sup>1</sup>. The Navaho case is much better documented. Aberle (1969), for example, provided an extensive critique of the impacts and the direction of the development policy followed by the Navaho, in his presentation before the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress. His analysis suggests one critical aspect - the proportion of the population receiving economic benefits. The disposition of the oil revenues has had only a small economic impact on the traditional Navaho herders, so major impacts have been felt by relatively few Navahos. The expansion of the native bureaucracies has also been quite small in the Navaho case, where tribal enterprises and bureaucracies employ about 500 in a population of about 100,000; or one person in two hundred. The Cree situation clearly contrasts, since over half of all families already receive transfer payments through the Income Security Programme for Cree Hunters and Trappers established by the Agreement, and over 100 Crees, or one in sixty-five, receive salaries as officials.

Researchers in the area have called attention to several impacts of these events<sup>2</sup>:

- (a) "Decapitation effect": An important negative impact on Micronesia has been blamed on a "decapitation effect" brought about when large numbers of young,

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<sup>1</sup> A Study by Michael Doris, Centre for Native North American Studies, Andover, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 2 summarizes the findings of the Micronesian researchers.



educated Micronesians were attracted to the public service.

- (b) Entrepreneurial stagnation: This results from "decapitation" as young people do not enter business or productive fields.
- (c) Subsistence production decline: In Micronesia this has been continuous since 1962, so that today a formerly self-sufficient group of islands is an importer of basic foodstuffs. It is seen as a consequence of transfer payments permitting the purchase of cheap foodstuffs.
- (d) Increased economic dependency: The growth of the economy has tended to be in the service sector which has stimulated spending for consumer (as opposed to capital) goods, which results in an almost total leakage of cash transfers back to the U.S. (Aberle noted a similar leakage from Navaho-land). Today the Micronesian territory is even more dependent on the U.S. metropole than prior to the 1960's when large-scale assistance commenced. The new local bureaucracy is reported to be largely parasitic, with a vested interest in maintaining itself, and there seems to be little prospect for any major changes towards a more self-sufficient economy. The Micronesian situation implies that the new bureaucracy has simply inherited and multiplied the positions, class status and tasks of the previous white governors; the region has become "Micronesianized" but not transformed.
- (e) Class differentiation: With the driving force of the population concentrated in a governing and administering elite, the situation is established where the overlap between bureaucrat and politician.



becomes blurred and both have an interest in self-reproduction. The stage is set for a society to develop rather sharply differentiated class lines, especially in a population where only a minority, the sons and daughters of elite bureaucrats, tend to achieve the educational level necessary to man the structures.

- (f) Transformation of political dependency: A tendency exists for the leadership to become more and more estranged from their people and more dependent upon the relationship with the super-ordinate government to support their policies to remain in power. A new dependency develops, different from that of the classical colonial variety, but as overbearing and perhaps more complete, more pernicious.

The Cree experience, at all levels, will be analyzed to see if these six processes are occurring there. Since some features of the Agreement seem to be designed to mitigate some of the potential negative impacts discussed above (for example, provisions in the Income Security Programme which foster the continuance of traditional subsistence), it will also be important to describe and evaluate the effectiveness of the mitigating provisions.

## II. Effects of the Negotiating Experience

Our experience<sup>1</sup> during the negotiations leading up to the Agreement suggest six aspects of the new bureaucracy that have antecedents dating from this period:

- (a) Emergence of a Cree staff: Band organization and the initial bureaucracy of the Cree developed before the signing of the Agreement. It emerged during the James Bay court case particularly, and resulted in the organization of the body called

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<sup>1</sup>Research on the political development of the Waswanipi band was already underway when the James Bay Cree began their opposition to the James Bay Hydro-Electric Project in 1971. The court proceedings and the events surrounding the negotiations were closely monitored (La Rusic 1979).

"The Grand Council of the Crees (of Québec)" in 1974. Beginning in 1971, the Cree had been actively involved in the "Indians of Québec Association", the political body which initiated the court proceedings and researched the case. This operation was financed by special funds in the form of a loan from IAB, granted to pursue their claims against the hydro-electric development.

(b) New mobility of the Cree: The very fact that numbers of Cree people were hired by the IQA, and later by the GCCQ, gave them the opportunity to travel about to the south, where they developed a new, direct access to government offices and structures. Prior to 1971 an individual Cree band official had been circumscribed in access to other than local IAB bureaucracies by virtue of the fact that the bands had very limited funds for travel, and few full-time personnel who could afford to spend the time on the effort. While their work involved court-related activities, the fact that they operated in Montreal where they were near government offices gave them the opportunity to approach agencies directly to pressure for solutions to local problems. From 1971, then, the Cree had that direct access to the Indian Affairs Regional Office which previously had been limited to southern bands who lived nearby.

(c) Personal relations with bureaucrats: Not only did the new mobility simply give the Cree the opportunity to meet government officials, the nature of the negotiations placed the Cree across the table from officials who dealt with everyday aspects of programmes in Indian communities. This set up personal relationships which necessarily affected local programme

delivery. From the perspective of the proposed research, this creates a problem of interpretation in assessing whether improvement in the delivery of services is effected by more direct personal relations and by greater financial capacity, or from the content of the actual Agreement. We shall examine the possibility that the quality of programme delivery is best influenced simply by local specialists lobbying in a general way, and that services can be generally improved by providing bands with funds for local staff and an adequate travel budget. Phrased another way, money may be as important as bureaucratic structure.

(d) Technical advisers: The nature of the court proceedings and the subsequent negotiations required the Cree to make extensive use of technical advisers. A persistent criticism is that the Cree, as they implement the Agreement, have continued to depend upon these advisers to the point that it is the advisers, not Cree, who operate the new structures. We will make the analysis of how sophisticated the Cree have been in their use of advisers, and how they have used them to advantage - an important concern. Interviews and analysis of quantitative data available from the Cree will provide the basis for this analysis.

(e) New role of IAB personnel: The extensive use of advisers means that pressure has been put on Indian Affairs personnel, who now deal with specialists where before they dealt directly with Cree. There have been reports that this has lead to some friction. The implications of this new situation will be explored in interviews.

(f) The pioneer effect: The James Bay settlement

was an historic one, and one which resulted in considerable criticism from other Indian groups, as well as demands on the Cree to explain and defend the course of action they were taking. At the operational level this created demands on the time of leadership to travel to meet other groups, to give interviews, or make films, or to arrange to explain the significance of the organization to visitors. Aware of this public reaction, and having no experience in setting up bodies envisioned in the Agreement, one would expect the Cree to proceed more slowly, with great caution, both because the area is unknown and to avoid untoward criticism if they make mistakes. The importance of these effects would be assessed largely through interviews with Cree leaders.

### III. Impacts at the Regional Level

The administrative problems to be dealt with on this level concern the Cree regional office in Val d'Or and both levels of Indian Affairs - that at the district office in Val d'Or and the regional office in Québec City. Five aspects will be treated in our research:

#### (a) The establishment of the Cree office in Val d'Or:

During the court case and throughout the negotiations, the Grand Council of the Cree operated from offices in Montreal. In 1976 the operations were transferred to Val d'Or after protracted discussion on the possibility of moving to a Cree community. Through interviews and a review of Cree documentation we will be able to assess the costs and benefits of that move as perceived by the Cree.

(b) Replication of Indian Affairs: The Agreement does not stipulate that the Cree must form a bureaucratic structure on the regional level to take advantage of contractual rights gained by the Agreement. However, there seems to be a tendency to develop one, of large size, which has some remarkable similarities to the Indian Affairs structure.

(c) Financing the new organization: While part of the large regional bureaucracy in Val d'Or would represent a decision to channel revenues from the Compensation Funds in the bureaucratic infrastructure, there are sections of that organization which are financed either by Indian Affairs or the Québec Government. An analysis of budgets over the last few years, together with interviews with financial staff, will permit us to assess both the overall cost of the organization and the percentage of compensation revenue needed to support it over time.

(d) New Cree-Government relations: In Appendix A there is a brief outline of the new relationships which the Agreement demands of the Cree, Indian Affairs and other Government bodies. These will be detailed, and an assessment and evaluation made of the initial experiences of establishing these new relationships.

(e) Staff and budget changes in Indian Affairs:

The development of a Cree bureaucracy and supportive technical services raises the question of the extent to which these services have reduced

the demand on Indian Affairs staff. One of the guarantees of the Agreement is that all Cree will continue to receive normal Indian Affairs services. But, if the Cree provide their own services through new bodies, or by hiring their own consultants, we must ask whether there is a duplication or diminution within Indian Affairs. We can speak to this question through analysis of documentation of time devoted to Cree matters by IAB staff which is available within Indian Affairs, supplemented by interviews with staff. Data from the Cree on the evolution of their own technical services will also feed into this analysis. Indian Affairs budgetary data for at least five years, and for ten if it is feasible, will be used to make a careful analysis of budgetary changes in Indian Affairs occasioned by the Agreement.

#### IV. Impacts at the Band Level

Four administrative problems will be treated:

- (a) Potential for inter-band rivalry: For the first time, the individual Cree communities are in competition among themselves for services provided by their own regional government. This sets up the potential for inter-band rivalry and it will be useful to look for some early indications of how conflicts are being resolved. It is doubtful whether there will be much concrete evidence of resolution of cases, for the experience is still a very new one. Nonetheless, it will be useful to interview at least to the extent to which the local political body is aware of the potential conflict and if they have any strategies to resolve them.
- (b) Abrogating band management to the region: It will be important to document and describe the changes

that have taken place in planning and the establishment of priorities on the band level over the past few years to determine whether there is any tendency towards abrogating responsibility for local decision-making to the new regional structure. Given the size and resources of the Cree regional office, one might expect such a trend to develop. Interviews with band officials will include a discussion on what they see as the role of the band in the future. In particular, there will be an attempt to draw out comment on what these people think will be the direction of long-term social and economic development of the band.

(c) Dealing with Cree bodies and authorities: Since the Agreement has been implemented, certain programmes which formerly were delivered by Indian Affairs now come directly from newly established Cree bodies. Assessments of the effectiveness of the new structures will be elicited through interviews with band officials. Careful attention will be given to distinguishing between the responsiveness of the new Cree bureaucracy and the efficiency with which it can perform, compared with Indian Affairs.

V. The Individual and the Agreement

While the principal emphasis of the research will focus on the bureaucracies, it is important that attention be given to what the Agreement means for the individual Cree. Three aspects have been selected for attention:

(a) Education and career choice: For half the Cree families, those who are involved in hunting and trapping, the Agreement provides specific benefits in the Income Security Programme. For these families the impact of the Agreement was immediate and substantial, in that it had a major effect on



their incomes. However, an important implication of the Income Security Programme is that it sets up two distinct groups of Cree people - those who harvest the land and spend most of their time on their hunting territories (the average being higher than six months per year), and those in other sectors of the economy, the most important of which is the Cree public service, the majority of whom reside in Val d'Or. Both follow very different life-styles and this may be manifest in their approach to making educational choices for their children.

There seems to be evidence (Scott, 1977, La Rusic, 1978) that many children of the hunters and trappers have been withdrawn from school so that they may go to the bush with their parents to learn that life-style. In essence, the hunters and trappers may be taking the education of their own children in their own hands, providing them with the skills needed to follow in their parents' footsteps. If this is true, the choice of the parent would have important ramifications for the future mobility of the child in the labour force. Essentially, they will be locked into that life-style. This matter is important to research to learn the generality of the pattern, and if it is widespread; to learn something of the parents' reasoning for taking that decision.

(b) Dealing with outside bureaucracies: Since many sections of the Agreement relate to new relations with the Government of Québec, there is an increasing demand for a fluency in French for those who will be involved in the bureaucracies.

To improve the situation, some Cree officials are already involved in French immersion courses, sponsored by the Québec Government. But even before this, it was reported that the children of some of the Cree bureaucrats had been sent to French schools in the region. The reserve-based schools, for the most part, use English as the language of instruction. It would appear that some people already involved in the bureaucracy perceive the importance of French fluency and are ensuring that their children are prepared to live in a French-speaking world. The long-range implication of this would be that the children of the present bureaucrats will be the prime candidates for any replacement decisions in the bureaucracies some years down the road, because of their tri-lingual skills. It is impractical to extend the proposed research to include a broad range of interviews with parents of children on how they perceive the situation. However, the perceptions of the leaders of the Cree can be documented to assess the degree to which they think it is a problem.

(c) Rapidity and ease of access: From the perspective of the individual, the overall size of the Cree bureaucracy is less important than the problems of dealing with any level of it. The research will address itself to the question of whether there is a situation developing which makes it more difficult for the individual Cree to get a decision within a bureaucracy. A careful study of the Agreement will be made and the impressions of the leadership involved with its implementation collected, so that we can assess the actual complexity of the evolving

structures. If, when the totality of the Agreement is in place, the new structures are so complex that the individual Cree is faced with long delays as requests for action filter through layers of bureaucracy, or if the regulations are so complex that they almost require legal counsel before making the decision, then the overall Agreement can be said to be somewhat counter-productive for the individual.

(C) Methodology:

The methods to be used vary in each aspect of this study and have been listed in each section. Permission has already been obtained for interviews with Cree leaders and for visits to the settlements. The Executive of the Cree Regional Authority has agreed to permit the researcher to consult the documentation in both their current and dormant files. Both working papers and the raw data used in research carried out by the Cree staff have been offered for a further analysis.

The legal counsel for the Cree have amassed an important body of documents relating to the negotiation process and the implementation of the Agreement. Most of this material can be consulted by the researchers and it can be supplemented by interviews with the legal staff. The firm has agreed to co-operate fully with the proposed research.

Officials of Indian Affairs at the regional office and the district office have been interviewed, and the kinds of data and interviews required for the research can be obtained. There is a small reserve concerning the timing of collection of fiscal data, which should not conflict with the ending of the fiscal year.

The following is a partial list of the documentation and data to be collected in the proposed research:

GCCQ resolutions  
Band Council resolutions  
DINA budgets in detail, 1968-69 to 1978-79  
DINA staff level, 1968-69 to 1978-79  
Data on educational achievement of the Cree  
Cree manpower resource survey 1978 (for computer analysis)  
GCCQ budgets since inception (with breakdown for Cree  
School Board, Cree Construction Company, etc.)  
GCCQ staff levels since inception to 1978-79  
Data on educational achievement of GCCQ staff  
Advisers and consultants used by GCCQ, number and specialty  
Organigrams of GCCQ, CRA and IAB  
Staff of band governments  
Staff of band level administrations  
Travel time of GCCQ staff  
Basic demography  
Basic economic data in communities studied

While the collection of data from all the Cree communities on all the programmes that have been delivered to the communities would be ideal, the time and budgetary parameters which have been defined for this study will not permit it. It is proposed to focus on four programmes which have been delivered to three communities. This will provide a body of data of sufficient depth to permit serious analysis. The communities selected for intense study are Mistassini, Waswanipi and Eastmain. There is good basic data available from previous research in these communities, and it will avoid the problem of making too many demands for interviews.

Mistassini is the largest community, approaching 2,000, which has a large sector of the population involved in subsistence hunting and trapping. It has probably one of the most active and efficient band councils, and has been

experimenting with new procedures to involve band membership in the decision-making process. A number of the band members have board or representative positions on the new consultative bodies established by the Agreement.

Eastmain, on the James Bay coast, is one of the smaller communities, isolated, with significant problems for economic development. A band of this size is most useful to consider in relation to questions of "decapitation effect" on local leadership.

Waswanipi is a relocated band that has just moved to a new reserve. They face complex problems regarding their relocation, which involves the construction of new housing for the whole band, as well as a complete community infrastructure. In this they worked closely with the newly organized Cree bodies - the Cree Housing Authority, the Cree Construction Company, the Cree School Board, and the Cree Health Board.

These three communities are representative of others in the Cree area presenting a range of programmes and projects from which generalizations can be made. Three programmes selected for study - housing and community services, education, and economic development, are ones which were in place prior to the Agreement but under Indian Affairs aegis. Thus they will provide measures of the changes which have occurred as a result of the Agreement.

### 3. STAFFING AND TIMETABLE

The total time needed to carry out the research depends upon the size of the research team. One person might possibly accomplish the whole task in about a year and one-half. With the use of a small research team the final product could be available in about eight months.

Approximately 20 weeks will be needed for a team to carry out

Phase I - data collection, documentation, preliminary analysis, and interviews. Since the permissions to consult the files of the Cree and their legal counsel have been granted to specific individuals, it will not be possible to economize on time devoted to data collection by increasing the number of researchers. Thus, in Phase I, the bulk of the work must be done by the principal researcher. By the use of a part-time research associate (who has been granted access to Cree materials), it will be possible to effect some economies by having him provide the principal researcher with the documentation and preliminary analysis needed to inform the interviews. A part-time research assistant can be used to advantage in this phase. During the data collection period, then, staff and time requirements are estimated at:

	<u>Weeks</u>	<u>Days/week</u>	<u>Total Days</u>
Senior researcher	20	5	100
Research associate	15	3	45
Research assistant	6	5	30

A tentative data collection schedule would be:

Week	Senior Researcher	Days/week	Research Associate	Days/week
1	Data compilation	5		
2	Quebec City, Data compilation	5	Preliminary Analysis	3
3	Val d'Or, Data compilation	5	Preliminary Analysis	3
4	Data review and analysis	5		
5	Val d'Or, Data and Interviews	5		
6	Communities, Data and Interviews	5	Preliminary Analysis	3
7	Quebec City, Interviews	5	Community Data & Interviews	5
8	Data compilation & analysis	5	Data compilation	3
9	Data compilation & analysis	5	Data analysis	3
10	Val d'Or, Data and Interviews	5	Val d'Or, Data & Interviews	5
11	Val d'Or, Data and Interviews	5	Data compilation	3
12	Data analysis	5	Data analysis	3
13	Data analysis	5	Data analysis	3
14	Interviews, Montreal, etc.	5		
15	Interviews, Montreal, etc.	5		
16	Data compilation & analysis	5		
17	Data analysis	5		
18	Quebec, Val d'Or, Interviews and data update '78-'79	5	Community, data update '78-'79	5
19	Communities, Data update '78-'79	5	Data compilation	3
20	Data compilation	5	Data compilation	3

During weeks 4, 5, 16, 17, 19 and 20 a research assistant is required.



At this time, our "best estimate" for the time required for Phase II - analysis and write-up, is 14 weeks. To do the work in this time frame, three researchers would have to work on the material, supported by part-time research assistants. Since the research director would be one of the writers, it is advisable to utilize a senior consultant to coordinate the theoretical approaches taken by the writers. Several seminars with the researchers and the consultant would provide a unifying structure. The staff and time required are estimated to be:

	<u>Weeks</u>	<u>Day/week</u>	<u>Total days</u>
Research consultant	10	1	10
Senior researcher	14	5	70
Research associate	10	4	40
Research associate	10	4	40
Research assistant	8	5	40
Research assistant	8	5	40

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## Appendix I

### Some observations on the bureaucratic implications of the James Bay Agreement

The Grand Council of the Crees (of Québec), together with the Northern Québec Inuit Association, signed an agreement with the following bodies on November 11, 1975.

- 1) The Government of Québec (The Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs)
- 2) The Government of Canada (The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs)
- 3) La Société d'énergie de la Baie James (SEBJ). (The public corporation responsible for the construction of the hydroelectric works in the James Bay area).
- 4) La Société de développement de la Baie James (SDBJ). (The public corporation responsible for the overall economic development of the James Bay area).
- 5) La Commission hydroélectrique de Québec (Hydro-Québec). (The Crown corporation which operates the electric utility in the Province).

Basic changes in the administrative structures for the north of Québec are implied by the Agreement (The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement). Four observations on the nature of these changes are made here to suggest why it is useful to research the bureaucratic implications of the Agreement in approaching a study of its initial impacts.

1) The first, and perhaps most important, observation is that there were six parties to the Agreement and all were involved in two years of quite intensive negotiations that preceded the signing of the Agreement. The Agreement defines the relationship among all six parties, and not just the relationship between the native groups and federal and provincial governments. (The only clear exception to this general statement is the relationship between Hydro-Québec and the

James Bay Energy Corporation, which was left essentially intact by the Agreement). The importance of this observation consists in the fact that the Agreement defines administrative relationships between the James Bay Crees, the two levels of government, and the three Crown corporations which signed the Agreement. This fact in itself results in a measure of complexity which would have been difficult to avoid; for, had the corporations not been involved directly in the negotiations (they were, because they were parties to the litigation), the need to seek administrative links between them and the native communities would undoubtedly have arisen as the construction of the hydroelectric project proceeds. In other words, the Agreement involves a complex series of linkages between agencies, which is a product of the circumstances surrounding the development of the hydroelectric resources in the James Bay region.

2) The second point to be made is that the Cree (and Inuit) communities of northern Québec are all treated as separate, permanent, and, to some extent, politically autonomous settlements. The establishment, therefore, in the Agreement of municipal institutions for these communities consistent with the general provisions of the Cities and Towns Act in Québec is at one level a recognition of this separate and independent status of the individual settlements. At the same time, it is very clear that these communities are much smaller than the typical rural municipality in Québec and that municipal finance and administration will, in practice, have to respond to the reality of community size. The assumption that each of the communities is a socially and economically viable unit, to be recognized as such by the Agreement, leads to the erection of a series of parallel municipal structures which themselves constitute an important local bureaucracy. This observation has to be tempered, however, with the comment that, as in the case of other rural municipalities, the community nevertheless can exercise a considerable degree of freedom in deciding the extent to

which it wants to invest in the administrative apparatus of municipal government.

3) The third observation is that the Agreement provides provincial government services to northern settlements which are routinely available in the south. The significance of this rather unremarkable observation is that it implies transfers on a rather large scale of administrative responsibilities from the federal to the provincial government, and an application to the north of the mechanisms of regional decentralization of government programmes which have been developed over the years in the south. The Agreement provides illustrations of this in the delivery of health services, the establishment of northern school boards, and in the formation of northern police units and the administration of justice. What is unusual about them generally is not the administrative or legislative principles on which they are based, but the fact that they serve a much smaller population base than would normally be the case elsewhere in the province. The northern administration and regional decentralization of government services themselves imply, therefore, a relatively heavy administrative burden for the local population which must be consulted in most decisions regarding the operation of the regional public administration. Perhaps it is appropriate to comment here that the Cree Regional Authority itself is faced with the problem of defining the extent of its governmental role, as it considers both the cost of fulfilling an administrative role for the individual communities, and the economies of scale from providing community administrative services from one central location. But even the Cree Regional Authority has a much smaller population base than that typically advocated for regional forms of municipal administration for southern communities.

4) The fourth and final comment concerns the special status of the Cree and their greater participation in northern public

administration over and above what one would anticipate in the south. The mechanisms provided in the Agreement to give effect to this "special status" and thereby offer some degree of protection to Cree culture and the Cree community economies are of two kinds.

On the one hand, there is the "joint venture" concept, in which the developer in the territory (JEEC, JBDC, or Hydro-Québec) collaborates directly with the Cree communities to carry out projects designed primarily to offset the impacts of development on the communities, whether by promoting access to alternative wildlife resources, or by encouraging other forms of economic activity and local enterprise. On the other hand, there is the consultative body through the Cree community participating with federal and provincial government officials in making recommendations to the appropriate government regulatory authorities concerning techniques of wildlife management, land use regulations and the assessment of the environmental and social impacts of development. Effective use of this type of consultative mechanism requires, of course, active participation of the native party in order to maintain an open line of communication, and this in practice often proves to be an obligation which requires the frequent and extensive use of legal advisers and consultants as a basis of technical support. Both at the level of the joint venture and consultative body, the Agreement creates an additional administrative and bureaucratic responsibility. It is in this respect that some observers begin to perceive the emergence of a dual class structure in the Cree communities, with the hunters and trappers on one hand continuing their harvesting pursuits with the aid of transfer payments and a measure of legal and administrative protection for their activities, and, on the other hand, a substantial civil service engaged to a considerable extent in maintaining the administrative apparatus necessary to provide this form of protection to the subsistence-oriented component of the community economy.