Meating the Social: Sharing *atiku-euiash* in Sheshatshiu, Labrador

By

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Abstract

This work examines *atiku-euiash* (caribou meat) sharing practices in Sheshatshiu, Newfoundland and Labrador, and aims to elucidate an overarching question: how do sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu 'social'? The 'social' is understood in this work as a descriptor that refers to the emergent properties of the Innu collective. The thesis is that sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social and enact its boundaries. Inside these boundaries, *atiku-euiash* is more than simply a food resource: by realizing Innu values of generosity, respect and autonomy, sharing implicates the associations of human, animal, and animal masters that constitute the Innu world. Sharing is connected with the enskilment of the younger generations by their elders, and thus with the reproduction of Innu values through time. The ways of sharing are relevant because changes in such practices affect the constitution of the Innu social. Given Euro-Canadian colonization, the Innu are in a fraught social space in which sharing is interrupted by colonization practices and values. Understanding sharing is necessary to develop policies that do not interrupt the reproduction of the Innu world

This work uses several research methods: participant observation, sharing surveys, and interviews. It also uses network analysis as sharing practices leave traces of giving and receiving actions and these traces can be represented as a network of givers, receivers and circulating caribou meat. There are two main ways in which caribou is hunted and shared: *household-based* hunts and *community-based* hunts. The household-based hunts are organized by the hunters themselves, who are able and willing to hunt. Community-based hunts are completely organized and funded by the SIFN or the Innu Nation. In order to understand the differences in the distribution of the two hunt types, the categories of centrality and clustering are used to show how the flow of *atiku*-eiuash and its associated realization of values and enskilment correlate with different degrees of centralization inside the sharing clusters.

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Living, being in the world, was a much greater and stranger thing than she had ever dreamed.

LeGuin

1. Introduction: "You give all kinds of caribou meat to anybody"

Into my second year of fieldwork in the Innu settlement of Sheshatshiu, in the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador, I visited Ponas, an elderly man in his late seventies, for an interview. I had become acquainted with him while I was working at the Innu Nation offices where he occasionally visited. I had also visited him and helped to get his bush camp ready for the summer months, cleaning and bear-proofing the tent frames. I arrived at his Sheshatshiu house along with my wife and fellow researcher. It was close to noon and Ponas was seated on a sofa near a window overlooking Lake Melville, from where the beauty of *Nitassinan*, the Innu land as the Innu call it, could certainly be appreciated. I started the interview by mentioning the beauty of the view from his home. He complained that his aching body no longer allowed him to appreciate Nitassinan's beauty. When I asked about what has changed since his youth, besides the aches of age, he looked back to the window. It was a bright winter day. He seemed to suddenly become trapped in a web of nostalgia, his voice sounded softer, melancholic, and wor-

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ried. It was a look of worry that I had already noticed several times in other community members during the previous months I had spent in Sheshatshiu. He then answered:

> *Sharing caribou… That is not done now, that was before. Long time ago you will give to the elders first. But now you give all kind of caribou meat to anybody, like people from Happy Valley. It does not matter too much, you can share with anybody. But in the past, you would only share with Innu people. … You have enough meat for yourself and your family, maybe for your daughter, your father, and grandfather. You cannot have for everybody.*

I was surprised by the answer. In effect, I had come to learn that the Innu of Sheshatshiu consider generosity to be one of the most important values that should be upheld by an individual who is successful in hunting. As a result, in most circumstances, meat is shared with 'anybody' who asks for it, particularly during visits and friendly interactions. In fact, I have seen Ponas himself offer *atiku-euiash* ('caribou meat' in the Innu-*aimun*, the Innu language) to Euro-Canadian bush flight pilots when he was coming back from a successful hunt. Anybody can have caribou; everybody deserves it. This is generosity plain and simple. Why, then, was Ponas worried about sharing caribou meat with anybody, even the people from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, a town 40 km away (the largest in the area) inhabited mostly by white settlers?[1]

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[1] This is not just a nearby town, but a town created as part of the American and Canadian military expansion during the Second World War, which currently represents the Euro-Canadian colonial power. It is where an important unit of de NATO air force resides. The base was the main site of a series of protests by the Innu in the 1980s. I will address the point in the next chapter.

Through the research that grounds this dissertation I have become persuaded that Ponas was worried about the changing ways of sharing because changes in such practices affect the constitution of *the social* in the Innu world. While I will explicate the term and its implications more fully in Chapter 2 and 3, for the moment it should suffice to say that 'the social' is a descriptor that refers to the emergent properties of an assemblage of human and non-humans which are collected or associated together (Latour, 2005). Among the Innu, sharing is one of the practices by which humans, animals, and animal masters are brought together to coexist and co-constitute a social assemblage which I call 'the Innu social'. These practices have two important features: interconnection and persistence. Thus, the social emerges from many interconnected practices rather than being a distinctive attribute of human relationships that is already solidified when such practices are performed. In this sense, I am not simply arguing that sharing practices participate in an already solidified "social organization" but rather that sharing practices –certainly among many other practices– bring into being the Innu social organized in a certain way and not in another. Of course, practices persist, and their re-iteration leaves traces that are the foundation of their temporality. Yet unlike a (presumed) solidified 'society', the particular traces left by some practices do not offer themselves to be used as the parameter to evaluate the value of other practices or to establish causal relationships between them. For example, the traces left by family group practices in the form of a kinship network are neither the cause of the sharing practices nor the parameter to evaluate whether these are working or not. What these traces do offer is a way to examine the interconnections between practices and the emergent attributes that define the specificity of the social in

each particular case. Put bluntly, if such interconnections and emergent attributes were different, the social would be different, too.

In focusing on the specificity of practices, I am inspired, on the one hand, by the works of proponents of the Actor Network Theory (Latour, 1997; Latour, 2005; Latour, 2008; Law & Hassard, 1999; Law & Singleton, 2005; Law, 2007; Mol & Law, 1994) that foregrounded the idea that non-humans are inherent to what we call 'society.' On the other hand, I am inspired by works that have foregrounded that modern ontological categories of human and non-humans do not encompass all the possible entities that might exist (P. Descola, 2006; P. Descola & Palsson, 1996; Ingold, 2000; Viveiros de Castro, 2004; Viveiros de Castro, 2011). This approach implies freeing the analysis of many of the modern ontological assumptions about the entities that inhabit the worlds of our interlocutors and how such entities relate to each other. Thus, specificity refers both to ontological specificity, as I seek to grasp what entities and relationships are co-constituted by sharing practices according to Innu specific ontological assumptions, and to the specific configuration of the social that emerge from practices. With such specificity in sight, this dissertation aims to elucidate an overarching question: how do *atiku-euiash* sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social nowadays? The worry expressed by Ponas about changes in these practices is the thread I follow to grapple with this question.

The thesis of this dissertation is that sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social by realizing a series of values (generosity, respect and autonomy) that are enskilled in younger generations by their elders. I will later expand on each of these

values and the concept of enskilment (Ingold, 2000), but, for the moment, let me advance that when Ponas says that giving to everybody is not quite sharing, he is implying that something is lost in giving indiscriminately. I argue here that this something that is lost is the configuration of sharing relationships that lay between "You can give to *anybody*" and "you cannot give to *everybody*." Individuals have the option of choosing with whom the *atiku-euiash* is shared. Through such choices they insert themselves among those others with whom value is realized and with whom they become part of the Innu social specificity. As they insert themselves among others, a particular configuration that characterizes the Innu social starts to take shape.

At the basis of Ponas' comment lies a key contention of my analysis: through the mobilization of *atiku-euiash*, sharing practices participate in the materialization of the associations that constitute the Innu social. Thus, let me preemptively indicate that the sharing of *atiku-euiash* is not the only mechanism through which the Innu social is constituted, nor is it the only entry point through which such emergence can be documented. As I trace *atiku-euiash* sharing practices, I find that they are indeed connected with other practices. First of all, they are connected with particular ways of relating with animal beings and their masters who are also part of the associations that make up the Innu social. Second, they are connected with the acquisition of skills. Skills are propagated through relationships, such as parent-child, uncle-nephew, that overlap with those of sharing to a

large extent. Third, sharing is done in a fraught social space[2] in which colonization practices performed by the Euro-Canadian authorities and population realize values that sometimes are at odds with those realized by the sharing of *atiku-euiash*. Fourth, sharing practices are connected with grouping practices. All in all, given the sustained importance of *atiku* (caribou in Innu-*aimun*) to the Innu, the study of *atiku-euiash* sharing practices appears as a very pertinent entry point at which to grapple with what is at stake in Ponas' concern, while acknowledging that there are other avenues through which to explore it. From that entry point, and as I trace the networks delineated by sharing and other interconnected practices, the main finding of this dissertation is that sharing *atiku* eiuash is intimately connected to the practices that transmit the skills needed to generate, dwell in, and perceive a world where people, animals and other beings co-exist.

The fundamental idea I am building on is that the social is neither a context within which practices take place nor their ultimate explanation, but rather it is the emergent consequence of such practices. If the practices change, the social changes, too. The specificity of such changes become relevant in understanding the value of what is at stake when Innu like Ponas worry about the way in which sharing *atiku-euiash* is happening

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[2] The term "social space" is used by Henri Lefebvre (1991) to refer to the socially produced space. I follow his concept of space in that the Innu land (Nitassinan) has to be thought of as a deployment of the Innu relationships with the land and its dwellers. This is a space that relationship-making practices make social. However, I do not analyze in this dissertation the space production in Nitassinan. For that, I refer to the work of Mailhot (Mailhot, 1986b) in structured mobility, which can be considered pointing in that direction as she shows how the Innu transit the social-geographical space at the same time.

today. Consequently, while the social might be permanently under transformation there is a concern (implicit in Ponas' commentary) regarding how much of this change and its direction will remain under Innu control. This dissertation offers some elements for a discussion of such concerns.

As I mentioned above, I was originally surprised by Ponas' answer. In part, this was because of what I have learned (or understood) about generosity, but also because of the concerns I had brought to 'the field.' The layout of the project that brought me to Nitassinan was mainly focused on the harvesting and sharing of caribou meat. Specifically, I wanted to look into the different strategies of distributing meat and how they impacted the wellbeing of the Innu. My research in the field was initially informed by the concerns of two bodies of literature on sharing practices among subsistence-based peoples. One set focuses on the tension between the market economy and local subsistence and related practices, often called the 'social economy'. The core idea in this set is that local subsistence and related practices are intermingled with social relationships in such a way that practices related to livelihood and subsistence also foster social relationships. Gombay (2005; 2006), Wenzel (1991; 2000), and Bodenhorn (2000), for example, describe situations across the Canadian North where individuals belonging to diverse cultural backgrounds develop similar strategies to maintain the practices that sustain the social relationships implied by local subsistence while at the same time the northern communities where they live are affected by the processes of the market economy.

Among the Innu, the precursor of this type of analysis is Henriksen (1973), who worked in the area in the sixties and seventies right after the Innu's initial settlement in

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permanent towns. Henriksen's approach has been useful to make sense of the differences found between life in the bush and life in the settlement during the latest part of the colonization process. He develops the concepts of the 'world of the hunter' and the 'world of the settlement,' representing the two realms in which the Innu live. Each of these worlds has its own features that explain practices performed in it. Henriksen is, thus, a good example of how 'the social' is defined as a preexisting realm with cultural, geographical, and historical attributes already defined that are used to explain practices. A more recent example is the study by Bodenhorn (2000) about sharing among the Inuit. There, Inuit hunters share meat and sell tusks, and the explanation assumes that the social realm of the preexisting "local Inuit" and the social realm of "regional tusks markets" are already established and provide the core of the explanation. An individual, then, can share in one realm but sell in the other. The realms of these approaches are distinct entities and have different mechanisms by which sharing or selling actions put things into circulation. Bodenhorn's line of questioning is satisfied because she wants to show the differences between the practices in which Inuit distribute the animals they hunt. The specificity of the paths of circulating things, on the other hand, is of little relevance in her analysis. For example, whether the meat is given to an uncle or another is not relevant. Instead, the relevant aspect of sharing is whether giving acts match a predefined pattern: the recipient is part of the giver's social network and no cash is involved in the transaction.

Looked through Henriksen or Bodenhorn approaches, Ponas' concern about giving to people of Happy Valley-Goose Bay would imply a concern with the transfer of caribou meat from a social economy to the market economy. In effect, the people from Happy

Valley-Goose Bay could represent the market economy, the Euro-Canadian colonizing society, and the western world in general. However, Ponas occasionally gives to people of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, as other participants of this research do, which might imply an expanded social economy. At the same time, close relatives of hunters who participated in this research, as will be shown, did not receive meat during the surveyed period. Thus, even when a solidified version of the social might provide some general reasons as to why one might give to one group of people and not to another –or the reasons behind giving to this other group–, it becomes difficult to find the specificity of sharing that lays, precisely, on the exceptions to such general reasons. This specificity can be found as one traces the associations among the somebodies who, by being chosen as recipients, become part of the assemblage that make up the social. In effect, within Henriksen's and Bodenhorn's approaches, giving to kin or friends instead of selling is the relevant fact, while giving to this friend or that uncle is not. The social economy defined in such terms is good when accounting for sharing by virtue of the general characteristics of the population groups or by virtue of the kind of ways in which goods circulate (v.g., commodities vs gifts), but not by virtue of its specificity. Unveiling such specificity is, precisely, the main focus of this dissertation and this is why I have chosen to tread a different theoretical path.

The other body of literature that informed my initial forays into the field is the evolutionary ecology approach. According to this approach, acts of cooperation respond to 'cognitive algorithms' that can be elicited and described as models of cooperation (Gurven et al., 2001; Gurven, 2006; 2009; K. Hawkes et al., 2001; K. Hawkes et al.,

1993; K. Hawkes et al., 2010). These models are all based on different forms of optimization that imply that sharing behaviors can be explained by natural selection. According to this approach, the sharing of caribou meat would improve reproduction fitness and the key would be to find a connection between different meat sharing practices and their impact on the reproductive fitness of the individuals who practice them. However, this approach does not explain why Ponas is worried. Would sharing with more cooperative partners not actually improve survival and wellbeing prospects? Would people from Happy Valley-Goose Bay not improve Ponas' reproductive fitness according to this perspective? They probably would, but Ponas would still be worried.

The older versions of models of cooperation proposed by this perspective have already been criticized (for example Ingold, 2000), as they neither account for the actors' decision-making process nor for the social milieu in which they act. Newer versions of the models try to overcome these problems by creating concepts such as signaling (K. Hawkes et al., 1993; K. Hawkes et al., 2010) and breadth and depth (Gurven et al., 2001), and by including gender issues (Gurven & Hill, 2009; Hill et al., 1993) in their analyses. While these expansions can help these models overcome some of the criticism, they still cannot account for the specificity of the social fabric created by cooperative actions from the community members' perspective. Even if what is produced does implicate fitness optimization, there could be other reasons worth knowing why Ponas wants to keep sharing *atiku-euiash* in a specific way.

I consider that the social is continually emerging through the practices that form associations involving humans and non-humans. As such, I do not presume the existence of a

certain universal rationality by which sharing actions make sense, but I suggest that sharing is motivated by the existence of values that are at the same time produced by and driven by the actions of sharing. In the case of the Innu, the values I allude to are generosity, respect, and autonomy. These values constitute a type of economy in the sense given to the term by Tarde (Latour & Lépinay, 2009): a pursuit of passionate interests that drive human action towards different forms of value that are not limited to wealth, livelihood or fitness. I also relay in Graeber's (2001) concept of value as being intimately linked to action: value can be seen as an emergent aspect of human actions. Sharing practices in Sheshatshiu can be seen as a passionate pursuit of generosity, respect, and autonomy. Thus, the implications of changes in sharing practices are met with passion, too, provoking Ponas' worries, melancholy, and nostalgia.

As I have mentioned above, sharing relationships are intimately linked to practices in which skills are transferred, a process which from now on I will call *enskilment*. I define enskilment following Tim Ingold (2000): it is the process through which an apprentice acquires the skills needed to perform an action or practice. This is not limited to active actions such as hunting and butchering, but also includes passive ones such as perceiving. Actually, Ingold characterizes perception as a skill that develops along with the practices in which individuals interact with their surroundings. For example, my first *uapineu* (white ptarmigan, *Lagopus muta*) hunts were characterized by my inability to distinguish the white birds from the white, snow-covered background, let alone hunt them. To the amusement of my Innu companions, they suggested I could not see a bird unless I stepped over one or it flew in my face. In reality, I could only see the birds after they

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were shot, when either the red of a bird's blood contrasted with the white of the snow or when a flock flew away from the noise of the guns and showed some of the grey feathers under their tails. It could be said that this is just a question of adapting the sensorial apparatus to distinguish two slightly different hues of white. However, it was not until I started to learn how the birds behave, where they eat, where they like to stay in different weather, and where they gather in groups that I could start to perceive them. I learned these things by hunting alongside my amused companions. I was enskilled into perceiving and killing *uapineu* at the same time.

In the same way that one cannot give to everybody, I suggest that one cannot enskil everybody either. Enskilment requires intimacy between the instructor and the apprentice. This underscores the need to trace actual relationships in which enskilment has been performed rather than simply finding out if they match a kinship or generational pattern (e.g., uncles enskilling nephews, elders enskilling teenagers, and so on). As *atiku-euiash* is shared, traces emerge and delineate a space of associations that can be uncovered and its configuration can be known. This space of associations –or social space for short– is a trace of the social constituted by sharing practices. This space has properties that are crucial to grasp the ways in which values are realized and enskilment is practiced: differences in the way that groups of households share are connected with different ways in which values and enskilment come into being.

Hunting and sharing practices in Sheshatshiu

Today, there are two main ways in which caribou is hunted and shared: *household-based* hunts and *community-based* hunts. The household-based hunts are organized by the hunters themselves, who are able and willing to hunt. When they kill enough caribou, hunters share among themselves and their families. For example, during my first trip to the Trans Labrador Highway (TLH) I participated in a hunt in which three hunters and I got one caribou. The TLH runs across Labrador East-West and caribou sometimes stay nearby and can be hunted (in these cases the hunter's truck is usually left parked on the road). The hunt took place in late October in a year that was not particularly good for hunting due to low numbers, but we shared the hunted animal among the four of us. One of the hunters, however, gave most of his share to his elderly in-laws. This was common for him and in other circumstances I noticed that he also gave most of what he got to his grown-up children or his sisters.

Community-based hunts are completely organized and funded by the SIFN or the Innu Nation. The SIFN is the band council, the local government whose jurisdiction is Sheshatshiu; the Innu Nation is the organization formed by the two Innu settlements in Newfoundland and Labrador, Sheshatshiu and Natuashish. The meat procured is thus distributed among the community, regardless of kinship or other links. For example, on one occasion, the SIFN had hired several hunters to get caribou for the community. We went to the same area as on the previous hunt during the start of the winter in the last couple of

weeks of December. The trip lasted a week and resulted in us getting two caribou. After we all took small pieces, the rest went to two elders in the community.

The tendency to give to elderly kin is an important feature of sharing, regardless of the type of hunt (household or community-based), particularly keeping in mind that elders are those who enskil or have enskilled in the past those hunting and sharing today. In the cases mentioned above, elders got part of or the entire carcasses. In one hunt organized by the Innu Nation that yielded almost a hundred animals, the meat was shared with most of the households of the community. However, the list of households that received meat started with households with elders. Only after they were provided, did other households receive any meat. During this hunting trip a lot of caribou was consumed at the camp, both in everyday meals and at the *mukushan* –the Innu feast of bone marrow which was conducted by one of the elders present at the camp. As I show in the next chapter, this is also an important moment of enskilment that shows the prominent place elders occupy in these practices.

Both types of hunts show the importance of giving to the elders, but, in the case of the community-based hunt, it is an organization that shares, whereas in the household-hunt it is a relative or friend who does it. The difference is that enskilment can happen in person to person relationships but cannot happen in organization to person relationships. Thus, sharing practices are alienated from enskilment practices in the case of the community-based hunt. When hunters gather to hunt for the community, participants of the endeavor share time together and there are opportunities to teach and learn, but, when the caribou is distributed, there are not. Conversely, in person to person relationships, when someone

gives or receives, there is an implicit visit either to receiver or to the giver; sharing *atiku-euiash* is sharing time, too. Enskilment is possible only through sharing time.

During my two-year long fieldwork in Sheshatshiu, I observed that caribou hunting and sharing practices bring many opportunities for enskilment to take place while people share time together. During my first trip to a hunting camp, barely two weeks after my family and I had arrived at Nitassinan, I had the opportunity to participate in a hunt in which caribou were transported back to the community to be shared. One morning, some caribou were crossing the lake a couple of kilometers away from the shoreline camp. Using a motor boat, the Innu hunters intercepted the caribou when the animals were reaching the camp's opposite shore. They shot four caribou and brought them back to the camp, where we butchered the carcasses. During this activity, children gathered around the animals to play with them, while the *ustshimau* (first man or main hunter) [3] told the story about the otter that killed the caribou. As the story goes, the otter wanted to defeat the caribou, but the latter was more powerful, so the otter planned to kill the caribou by secretly entering his body. The otter, then, entered the caribou's body through his anus. According to the narrative, the otter left its tracks on the aorta while inside the animal; these tracks can only be seen if the aorta is taken inside out and thereby the inner surface can be seen, as the *ustshimau* did. Telling this story not only requires the storyteller to

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[3] The Innu did not have a hierarchized political structure but a rather informal form of leadership in which a ustchimau, or first man, would lead a hunting endeavour.

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remember a chain of events, an oral text, a story, it also requires that the storyteller has been enskilled in the hunting and butchering of an *atiku*. Since young people were present, including children, the enskilment was evident: those present learned the story, but also were exposed to practices about handling the animal carcass properly, including how to read the stories inscribed on the animal's body, and how to dispose of the unused parts. Thus, before the meat is put into plastic boxes for transport to be shared, enskilment has taken place.

The intermingling of sharing, enskilment and values can also be seen in the simple act of visiting a household. One of the first Innu households I stepped into was an elderly couple's, grandparents of my local research assistant. Among the goals of my visit was to talk about how different parts of the caribou are distributed. When I entered the house, salmon was being pan fried on one range burner while a pot of caribou stew was boiling on another. While I was there, some of the grandchildren served themselves, along with some of their friends who were visiting. At one point, my research assistant told me that, if I was hungry, I should help myself as he just did, indicating that whoever happens to be around can serve themselves. I had to observe what he was doing to be enskilled in how to share food at the house of his elders. Sharing prepared food in this way is widespread both in the settlement and the hunting camps. While we were talking, my assistant's grandfather, the husband of the house, also gave me a piece of frozen meat so my family could eat it later. He took the piece of meat from his well-stocked deep freezer. Giving a piece of meat to a visiting friend or relative is a way to share at home. As I found out later, after several months of living in Nitassinan, freezers are well-stocked with caribou

meat in Sheshatshiu, even if, at times, the meat appears to be freezer burnt. Why give most of the *atiku-euiash* to others who, in some cases, might not consume the meat and leave it to get freezer burnt? I argue here that, when flowing through close kin and friend relationships, the value of *atiku*-eiuash can be analytically distinguished from its value when it is consumed because *atiku*-eiuash is not merely meat: in sharing, values are realized.

These different cases of sharing also show that, once in the community, *atiku-euiash* is shared with a certain level of selectiveness. There is an attempt to provide for the elders first and to then offer meat to people with whom the hunter has a special relationship. When I started to examine sharing acts, I found that they do not exactly follow the filiation subgroups that might exist in the community but rather the family groups formed by some of the closer relatives. In addition to the fact that the balance of giving tilts towards the elders, many of these relationships can be categorized as enskilment in which a younger hunter provides meat to older relatives with whom he hunts or has hunted in the past. They are younger folks eager to provide to their elder kin from whom they have learned, among many other things, how to treat the animals by sharing their meat. In other cases, it is the older relative who provides to his younger children or nephews and nieces. Within these cases, I found older adults in the twilight of their hunting career eager to teach the younger generation. The relationships in which enskilment to hunt and share happen are largely traceable if one follows the circulation of *atiku-euiash*. I found that many households that share meat also spend time in the country together when they have the opportunity. I joined such outings several times and could observe that each

wildlife sighting, each kill, each shared meal is an opportunity for the sharing of stories, for practical teaching and learning, for providing and receiving subtle clues about morality and values; in short, for enskilling new generations to bring into being this particular 'social.' In this sense, *atiku-euiash* practices are deeply implicated in the emergence and sustainment of Sheshatshiu as a particular community: sharing *atiku-euiash,* the caribou meat, is an important practice that contributes to materialize Sheshatshiu as a social entity.

In order to analyze how *atiku-euiash* sharing co-constitutes the emergent characteristics of the Innu social, I follow the traces left by *atiku-euiash* sharing and show how such practices give specificity to the social in a space characterized by the power imbalance and profound differences between the Innu and their Euro-Canadian colonizers. Thus, while people from Happy Valley-Goose Bay and other communities may be incorporated into the sharing network, this cannot be done without consequences to the emergent characteristics of the social thereby produced. Has sharing been extended to include too many individuals or groups that are too large for enskilment? Or is it that people who are integrated into sharing are not circulating the same thing, for example, "caribou meat" as opposed to *atiku-euiash*? Small changes in sharing practices, such as adding a group of people with different understandings about the *atiku-euiash* and its associated practices would be propagated to the web of associated beings implicated in sharing. The values realized by sharing –or being transferred through it– could also change.

It is convenient that I state upfront what the scope of this thesis is. The scope of this research is determined by two factors. The first factor is my decision to trace *atiku-euiash*

sharing. This decision relies on the importance the Innu give to *atiku* sharing among the practices that they say are central to being Innu, or in my terms, those that participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social. Thus, some other important practices are left outside of this work, notably the sharing of other things (including other meats). The second factor is the places to where the tracing of sharing practices took me. This also means that practices I initially did not consider relevant, such as enskilment, ended up being a central point within the scope of this work. Tracing, however, has to be stopped at some point before data become unmanageable. As argued in Chapter 3, practices can establish their own boundaries beyond which traces transform into other things. No doubt, giving *atiku-euiash* to people of Happy Valley-Goose Bay implies a transformation in which *atiku-euiash* becomes caribou meat. Sharing practices set the boundary between somebodies and everybody beyond which the traces of enskilment and values fade.

Methods

Five research methods were used in this research. First, participant observation was the main method used to answer questions related to the sharing act. Why does someone choose to give to some kin and not others? What does it mean to give meat? What do individuals expect to happen as a result of giving meat? Furthermore, by participating in country and settlement activities, other types of questions can be answered as well: how do individuals engage in enskilment relationships? The account of diet, activities, and general daily routine in *nutshimit*, ("in the country" in Innu-*aimun*) was obtained using

participant observation. This was done during the fieldwork period, which started in October 2007 and finished in December 2009 while I was residing in nearby North West River and Happy Valley-Goose Bay. During that period, I resided in and visited several camps along the road and in remote locations for seven weeks in total. Relying mostly on participant observation about the activities being done, detailed notes were taken about cooked meals, camp maintenance activities, and game harvesting and distribution. In the case of activities in *nutshimit*, since there were frequent flights back and forth from Sheshatshiu, the notes included information about passengers coming and going and, to some extent, about the movement of some of the supplies that the camp residents brought with them or had relatives send from Sheshatshiu. While not as comprehensive and statistically generalizable as a more traditional random survey of a larger number of households, this method brings multiple types and sources of data to document the mixed consumption pattern in the camp, where not all the food consumed is wild and not all the harvested wild food is consumed at the camp. Each hunter sends part of the wild food acquired during camp to Sheshatshiu for those who are willing and eager to eat wild food, but for a variety of reasons do not come to the camp.

Participant observation offers the opportunity to interact with different individuals, some with whom I spent hundreds of hours. My exchanges with them were unstructured but shaped my understanding of many issues of life in Sheshatshiu. Through many encounters during different activities, I had the opportunity to explain my research in great detail, so while working in the Innu Nation office, driving by the TLH or simply sharing time in *nutshimit*, I learned many aspects of Innu everyday life. With some individuals I

established closer relationships. These individuals provided me with very valuable information on caribou sharing and on the proper way to behave in different situations.

These interactions were another important source of knowledge as I had many informal talks, which sometimes extended for hours, that led me to deeper understanding about the issues than the survey and the formal interviewing that I describe below. During the two years of fieldwork, I spoke with many people in a wide range of circumstances, such as in the office, while visiting friends and while they visited me. Some of these interactions happened in *nutshimit*, or during the long hours spent driving from one place to another. In some cases, I was simply introduced to someone I did not know and had a half an hour chat while drinking some tea. In other cases, I spoke with whom I consider among the greatest teachers I have ever had, actually establishing close bonds that might last a lifetime. Even with such a level of heterogeneity, these exchanges are perhaps the backbone of all I have learned while in Nitassinan.

Third, formal interviews were intended to elicit deeper questions regarding the connections among sharing, other practices as well as other aspects of Innu life. Why is it good to give? Why is someone generous with the elders? When are people enskilled in sharing practices? To answer these questions, five formal interviews were done with seven people of different genders and ages. These interviews were done using the guide of an interview schedule shown in Appendix A. This schedule was the main guide for these interviews, but I always tried to pick up whatever leads the interviewee was giving. For example, the interviewee in interview 1, which was done in the initial period of the fieldwork, soon wound up discussing the accuracy of my survey questions (Appendix A),

while I was invited to eat some salmon (the caribou was frozen, so I had to take it home). In other interviews, the questions surrounding sharing led the conversation to other topics of interest. In one case, the interview started with the interviewee telling me that my topic of research was irrelevant, and that I needed to study something different. Ultimately, I abandoned the interview schedule to focus in the interactions described above.

Fourth, during the first months of fieldwork, I conducted a survey with the help of a research assistant. This survey asked about caribou meat distribution, about aspects of traditional land usage and about basic household demographic information. The basic questions I tried to answer are: Who gives meat to whom? Where do they get the meat? Do they go to the country frequently? This is important to my argument because it provides the basis of the tracing of the sharing data through relationships. Thus, in addition to information on household composition, the survey's questions sought information on participation in subsistence activities, wage employment, and caribou meat harvesting and sharing. I visited an initial sample of 24 of the approximately 230 households of the Sheshatshiu community. After that initial sample, 22 more households were added using snowball sampling, whose criterion was the caribou meat flow: those households referred to as giving or receiving caribou meat were asked to participate in the survey. In total, 46 household surveys were conducted, covering 262 household members. A summary of the information on household harvesting and distribution obtained through the survey is found in Table 1 of Appendix A on page 167, along with the total number of household members, adults, and elders.

The survey allowed me a fifth method to complement the others: network analysis. The network analysis is perhaps an unorthodox way to approach sharing. However, as I argued above, as sharing practices co-constitute the social, they leave traces of giving and receiving actions. These traces can be represented as a network of givers, receivers and circulating *atiku-euiash*. In this representation, each of the households that give or receive is a node in this network. Each node is connected to other nodes by *atiku-euiash* sharing actions that are represented with an arrow that shows the direction in which *atiku-euiash* circulated. I call this graphical representation a distribution network. The distribution network that I have produced after a set of surveys in Sheshatshiu is represented in Figure 1.
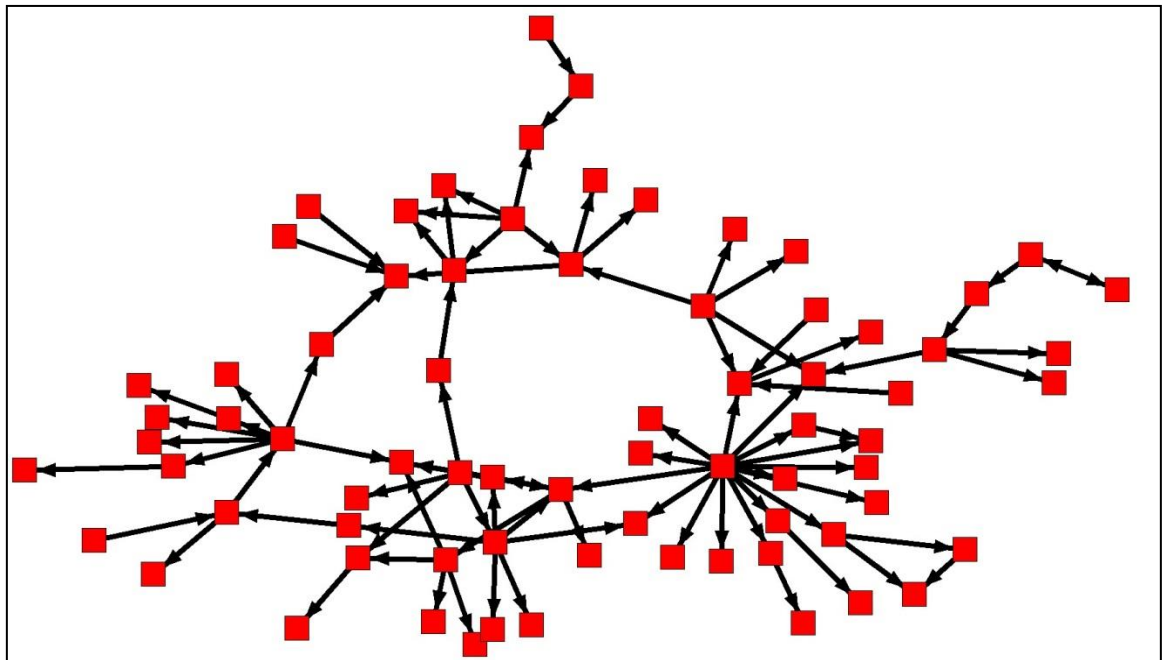
Figure 1: This network graph represents a distribution network based on surveys done in Sheshatshiu. Squares represent households giving or receiving caribou meat. The arrows indicate the direction the meat gift travelled from giver to receiver. Physical distances between households are not considered in any of the graphs shown in this work distance between households was set to make the graph intelligible and they rep-

The distribution network displays different circulation patterns of *atiku-euiash*. For example, some successful hunters gave to several other households, while other successful hunters gave only to a few. Furthermore, several households received from the Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation (SIFN), the band council. These differences can be traced in the distribution network in which different sharing configurations are denoted by the network's properties. Since the way *atiku-euiash* is shared is different in the quantity of givers per receivers, it affects a property in particular that characterizes distributions in terms of how concentrated the flow is. This is called 'centrality' and in Figure 2 below I have drawn two abstract representations of networks with different centrality levels, a highly centralized network and a highly balanced network:
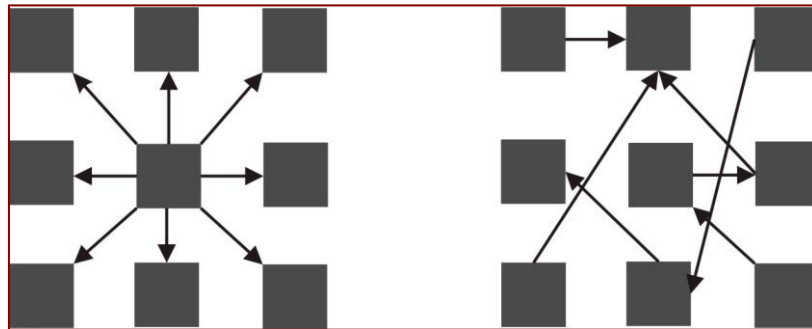
Figure 2: These graphs show two types of network topologies using the same number of nodes and connections. The graph on the left is highly centralized, with all the connections coming from one node, and the other graph has all the connections distributed with no nodes with more than two connections. If the connections marked meat sharing, the network on the left would be a highly centralized network with one hunter giving to the rest and the network on the right would have many hunters sharing their meat.

To the naked eye Figure 1 above appears to have groups of households receiving from a single giver while others receive from more givers. Thus, the network can be subdivided into four or five clusters of households which are either receiving from the same giver or sharing among themselves more than with the households in other clusters. Thus, another observable property of the network is clusterization which means that even when all the households are connected in a continuous network, there are groups of households that share among themselves more than they share with the rest of the network. To help represent the clusters, I used a method developed by Girvan and Newman (Girvan & Newman, 2002) to calculate the clusters. This is a straightforward way to heuristically calculate clusters based on the idea that when a node (a household in this case) stands in between other nodes and the rest of the network, it also separates the network into groups or clusters[4]. It is a heuristic method because a target number of clusters have to be provided for the algorithm to find the clusters. The results are shown in Figure 3, which uses a different color for each cluster.[5]

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[4] For a more detailed explanation of the method, please refer to Appendix B.

[5] For a more detailed explanation of this method, please refer to Appendix B.
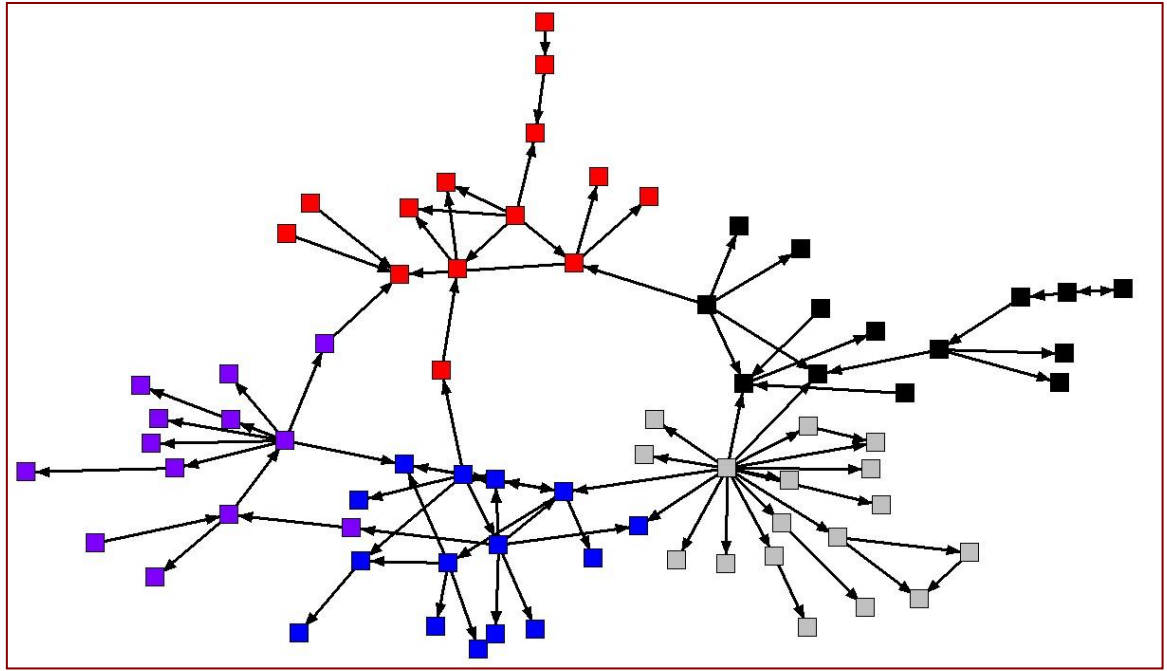
Figure 3 shows the distribution network, but uses different colors to represent the groups of households or clusters that share more among themselves than with the rest of the network.

Figure 3 captures a combination of clusterization and centrality, showing the different degrees of centrality that characterize each cluster. For example, on the right hand side of the graph, 16 households are receiving from the same sharer and thus form a cluster that I colored in grey. On the left of this cluster, there is another cluster colored in blue whose sharing is more distributed among all its households. On its left, a cluster colored in purple also shows a higher level of centrality. I will revisit these clusters in Chapter 5.

The properties of centrality and clusterization that characterize this distribution network cannot provide an explanation for sharing practices since they emerge from those very sharing practices. However, precisely because these properties emerge from such practices and are traces of their specificity, these properties add to the specificity of the

social. In other words, these properties of the network can be used to characterize the social co-constituted by sharing. Following Jansen (2006), I call these properties topological, since they refer to the shape of the space that the network defines. I argue that the topological properties of the sharing network tell us the way and degree that sharing practices realize values and enskilment.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is comprised of six chapters including this introduction, Chapter 1. Chapter 2 analyzes the ontological foundation of the Innu social and how sharing realizes values grounded in it. This chapter starts giving some necessary context about the Innu, Sheshatshiu, and the surrounding area. After that, a brief history of Innu studies helps to position this research in the academic literature about the Innu and in relation to anthropological debates about how to address ontological differences between colonized and colonizer.

Using the framework of a sociology of associations, Chapter 3 examines the role of sharing and other practices in the co-constitution of the Innu social. I contrast this approach with the one used by Herinksen (1973) to describe the differences between Innu life in the settlement and in *nutshimit*. While Henriksen's focused on the generalities represented in these two worlds, my approach focuses on the specificity of sharing practices. In contrast to Henriksen that postulate a stark distinction between the worlds of the settlement and the hunter I will argue that the Innu social is constituted in a fraught space

where the Innu and Euro-Canadian collectives coexist. This social is co-constituted by sharing and other practices at the same time that younger generations are enskilled in how to perceive, perform and appreciate what is realized by such practices.

Chapter 4 discusses in-depth the relationship between sharing practices and the realization of values. The starting point of this discussion is two themes that have been part of studies of sharing in no-market societies for most of the twentieth century: the value of sharing goods and the patterns in which shared goods are distributed. In this chapter I focus on the first theme. Sharing practices mobilize *atiku-euiash*, while at the same time realize the values of generosity, respect and autonomy. To conceptualize value, I use two frameworks whose genealogies point to different roots: the idea of value implied in Tarde's (Latour & Lépinay, 2009) economy of passionate interests and Graeber's (2001) principle of unity of action and value. This chapter shows that, by realizing heterogeneous forms of value, sharing actions enact the associations that co-constitute the social.

Chapter 5 further discusses the second of these two themes: sharing patterns. Patterns have been used for their explanatory power. Henriksen, for example, used the concept of 'common sharing' to explain the Innu practice in which everybody shares with everybody. However, as I show in this chapter, even when everybody can have a piece of *atiku-euiash*, a single hunter giving to everybody is never the case. Hunters have to choose with whom to share. These particularities of giving and not giving cannot be represented by patterns. Thus, rather than explain practices with patterns, I do the opposite: I use such practices to explain the resulting configuration of sharing relationships from which patterns are abstracted. This configuration, a trace left by sharing in the form of a

distribution network, shows with whom –and without whom– values are realized and en-skilment deployed. While applying this approach, I found that not all of the hunting and sharing that I observed distributed in the same way and that these differences also signal differences in the realization of value and the deployment of enskilment.

Chapter 6, the conclusion of this work, discusses the findings and summarizes the ar-gument. This chapter also attempts to situate this dissertation in current discussions and examines how one can build research that can give accounts of practices without leaning on preconceived ideas of what is being mobilized in such practices. I also reflect on how what was learned through the research illuminate issues of policymaking. Finally, I end by laying out some of the new research avenues that this project traces into the future.

2. The Innu social

What is the Innu social? In this chapter I start to address this question. Drawing on the works of Descola (1996), Ingold (2000) and Latour (1993; 2005) I conceive the social as the emergent result of the practices performed by a collective that is not only made of humans but also of animals and animal masters. I also argue that three values underpin the emergence of the Innu social: generosity, respect and autonomy. In order to proceed with my argument, the first section of this chapter contains a brief description of the main physical features of the Innu homeland, such as preponderant tree species and the general patchy configuration of the land. In this section, I also provide some basic demographics of the time when I started fieldwork in the area.

The second section contains a brief review of literature on the Innu. This review is structured around the main themes of the literature on the Innu up to this point. This literature starts with the first Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century and continues with explorers, travellers and naturalists up to the onset of the twentieth century. Ethnographic studies start in the twentieth century with the works of Speck (1977 [1935]). The initial focus of these studies was on topics such as territoriality and spirituality. With the settlement of the Innu in permanent towns in the 1950s and 1960s the focus shifts towards the impact of colonization.

In the third and fourth sections I develop my argument on the conformation of the Innu social as an emergent outcome of practices performed by a collective of humans, ani-

mals and animal masters. Sharing is thus not only performed by humans but also by animals and masters, who are seen as those who show humans how to share. However, animals and masters do not submit to humans but are autonomous beings that have to be respected, as they can stop being generous with hunters who would not be able to hunt them. In this way, sharing practices enact the associations among the human, animal and animal master collective by realizing three values: generosity, respect and autonomy. These values drive sharing practices and become an important element in explaining how sharing participates in the co-constitution of the Innu social.

Nitassinan

The Innu are Algonquian-speaking aboriginal people who live on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula in thirteen different settlements, two of which, Natuashish and Sheshatshiu, are located in Labrador, as appreciated in Map 1. The Innu call their homeland Nitassinan, which means "our land[6]" in Innu-*aimun*. Nitassinan is located almost completely in the subarctic forest. With the exception of the barren lands in the north – where the tundra becomes more predominant– forests of black spruce, balsam fir, and

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[6] In Innu-*aimun* verbs have two first-person plurals. In most Indo-European languages there is only one, such as *we*, *our*, *us*. These two persons are different in terms of whether they include the interlocutor or not. In the expression *nitassinan*, the form used excludes the interlocutor. It means, the land is ours but not yours.

birch interspersed with bog and granite outcroppings dominate the landscape. Although this type of forest has less biodiversity than ones further south (Winterhalder, 1983b), the presence of several mountain ranges and watersheds makes Labrador an environmentally diverse land (Lopoukhine et al., 1977; Rowe & Halliday, 1977). I was able to especially appreciate this diversity in one of the camp locations I visited several times: to the north of the camp one could walk into a higher, more open area where black spruce is the predominant type of tree, but also one encounters many patches of even more open areas of lichen and moss along the way. In poorly drained sections, muskeg and bog are predominant. At the highest altitude, around 600m over sea level and a few hours trek from that camp, a more barren landscape predominates. Around the camp, black spruce are prevalent, but crossing the short river at whose mouth we were camping, balsam fir and birch are more common and the forest is somehow more dense and difficult to traverse. This patchy configuration, along with the closeness of an *ashkui,* is the main characteristic of a prime location to engage in *nutshimit*-related[7] activities. *Ashkui* are places where the streaming water of rivers, brooks, or lakes rarely freezes (Howell et al., 2003). Given the availability of liquid water, these places have been frequently visited by generations of Innu who develop an emotional link with them (Michel, 2003; Sable, 2003).

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[7] As it was previously mentioned, nutshimit is the word used to denote the hinterland or interior of the Nitassinan. This term derives from *nutshim*, which means bush. *Nutshim*, along with *mishtukuat* (trees) and other plants, are part of *ashtshi nte kanitautshiht*, the things that grow on *ashtshi*, the land (Clément, 1990).
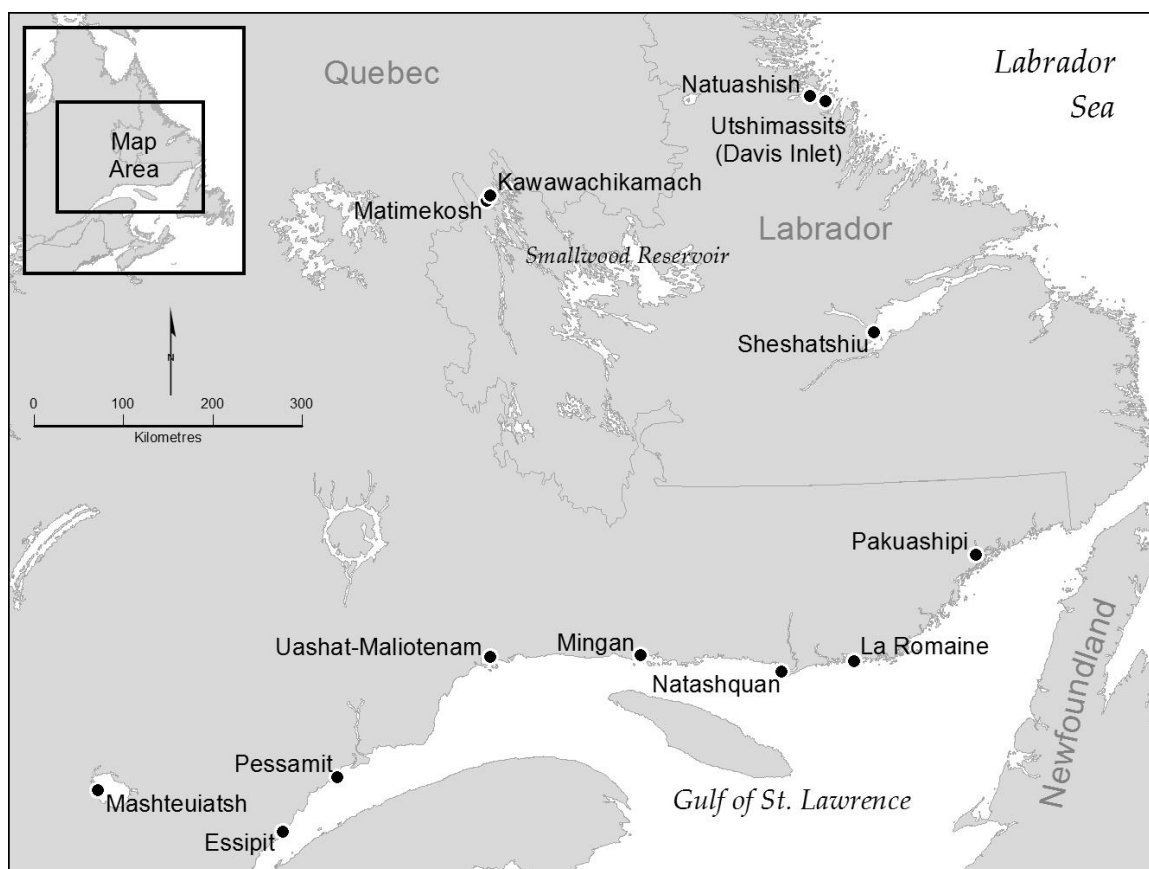
Map 1: Innu settlements in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula

Along with Natuashish, which is located farther north, Sheshatshiu is one of the two Innu settlements in the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Sheshatshiu, whose Innu-*aimun* etymology relates to the expression "where the river narrows" (Mailhot, 1997), is located on the short river that links Lake Melville with Little Lake, as can be seen in Map 2. Little Lake serves as a connection with Grand Lake into which several important rivers flow, including the Naskapi, Red Wine, and Beaver, thus providing wa-

ter or ice access to much of the rest of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. Innu can paddle through Grand Lake and the Naskapi River all the way to the barrens of the northern tip of the Quebec-Labrador[8], the Ungava peninsula. Lake Melville serves as a connection to both the ocean and western Labrador through Mista Shipu, the big river that is now commonly known as the Churchill River.
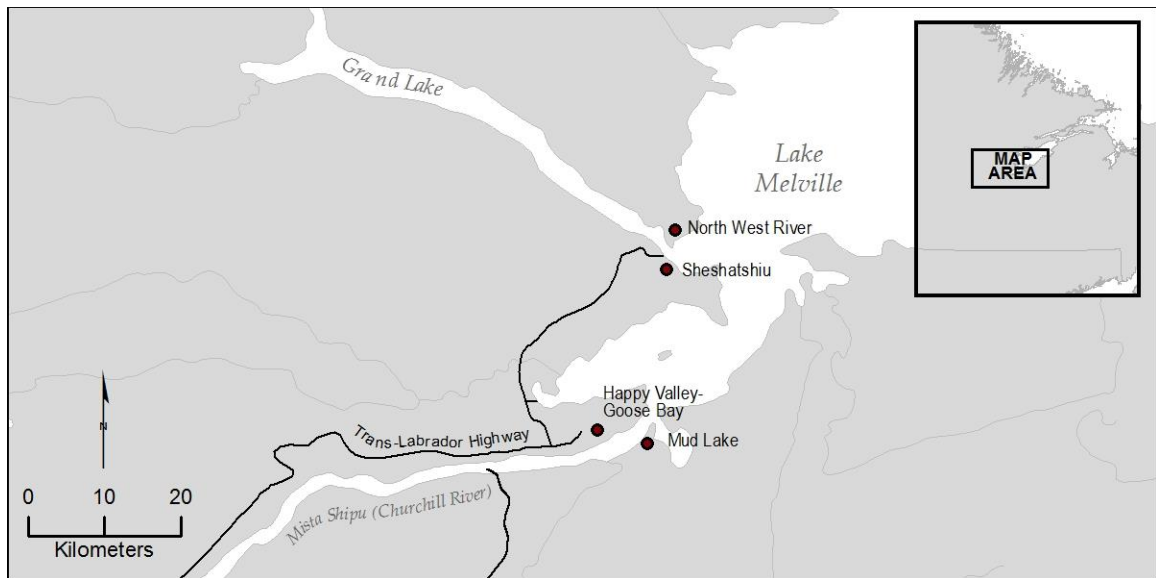
Map 2: Sheshatshiu and the surrounding area

As can be seen in Map 3, most of the Sheshatshiu settlement is concentrated right across the bridge from North West River, a town populated by Inuit, white and Métis that

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[8] In the nineteenth century, for example, an Innu guide helped the adventurer A.P. Low on a trip through Nitassinan (Finkelstein & Stone, 2004), something that for the Innu must have been a normal trip. That was also the trip that Leonidas Hubbard attempted in 1903 (Hubbard & Hubbard, 2009 [1908]). A mistake he made on the river he took after leaving Grand Lake ultimately ended with Hubbard starving to death.

was built around a trading post established by the end of the eighteenth century. However, Sheshatshiu was growing fast while I was there and new developments are now expanding towards the south and the west. According to the 2011 Census (Statistics Canada, 2012), Sheshatshiu has 1314 inhabitants and is growing much faster than the rest of the province[9]. This difference in population growth translates to a younger population and households with more members. In many cases, households are composed of multiple generations and are multifamily households[10].

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[9] Sheshatshiu has grown 24.7% since the previous census in 2006 when the population was 1054. This contrasts with the Labrador portion of the Province, which only grew 1.7%.

[10] Sheshatshiu's total private dwellings went from 206 in 2006 to 291 in 2011. According to the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2007a), Sheshatshiu also had a relatively young population, as 45% of its residents are 19 or younger compared to the provincial figure of 22%. This implies that there were more children and families were larger. The average family size in Sheshatshiu was 4 compared to the provincial mean size of 2.9. The average household size is 5.6 in Sheshatshiu compared with 2.5 in the Province.
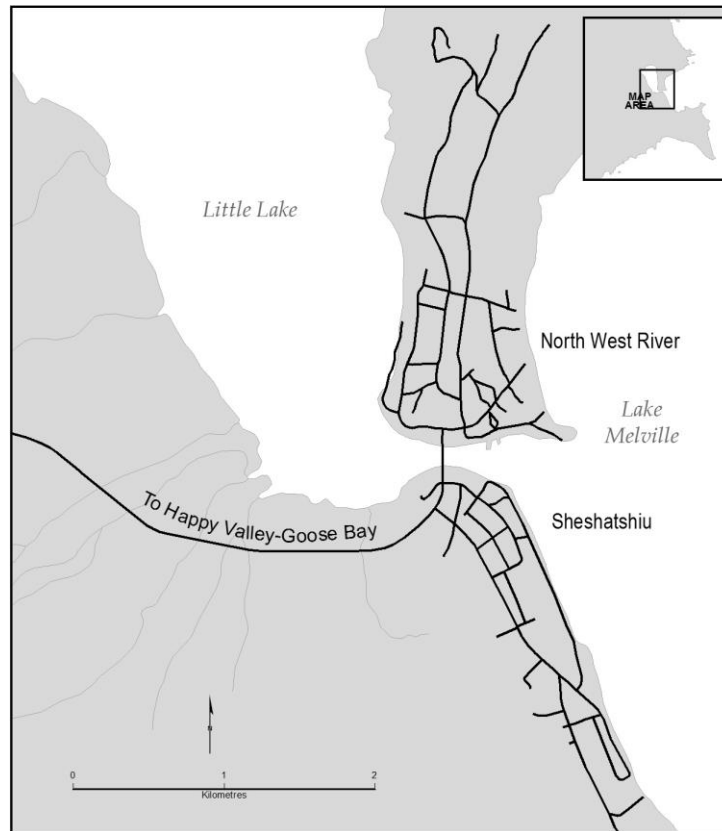
Map 3: Sheshatshiu and North West River

The level of employment in Sheshatshiu was lower than in the Province and in Canada. Such a low level of employment is offset by the availability of money transfers, IBAs (Impact Benefit Agreements) linked to resource developments, and other sources of cash income[11]. Given the fact that many multi-family households exist, the Sheshatshiu

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[11] Money transfers are set by the federal government as part of the land claim negotiations and other provisions. The main source of IBA is Voicey's Bay. Its nickel extraction development results in cash distribution to families of about $2,000 per adult every year.

household median income is larger than the Province's.[12] However, households in Sheshatshiu have reduced costs in many respects, as they do not pay for electricity or housing. The employment opportunities found in Sheshatshiu are those within Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation (henceforth, SIFN), or band council, the Innu Nation, the treatment centre, the health centre, and the school. The SIFN is the local authority that is in charge of housing, garbage collection, and infrastructure; as with any First Nations in Canada, this authority is democratically elected under the rules of the Federal Government. The Innu Nation, on the other hand, is funded by the Federal Government while the land claim is being settled. Its role is more political, but it has an Environment Office that is in charge of issues related to land usage and land monitoring that requires local staff. The treatment and health centre managed by the Labrador Health authority also offers some employment opportunities. The school used to belong to the Labrador School District, but was passed to a local Innu school district in 2009. In addition, there are a grocery store and police station in town. North West River has also a gas bar, grocery store, school, and the Labrador Interpretation Centre. The latter is a museum where permanent exhibits of Labrador cultures are hosted. It also has a large auditorium where different community meetings take place.

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[12] The family median income in 2006 was $34,790, while the province's was $49,645. The median household income in Sheshatshiu is $53,632 and in the Province it is $44,136. Keep in mind that many households are multifamily homes with two or three families residing in them.

Happy Valley-Goose Bay, with a population of 7572 (Statistics Canada, 2007b), is 40 kilometres away or a 45-minute car ride from Sheshatshiu and offers work opportunities and several services. On the left hand of Map 3, the road traversing to Happy-Valley and Goose Bay can be seen. This road was the only one paved north of Red Bay on Labrador's southern shore, and it is plowed after each snowfall. Certain portions of the Trans Labrador Highway (TLH) between Happy Valley-Goose Bay and Labrador City to the west were paved in 2015. Employment available to the Innu in Goose Bay includes staff positions at the office of the SIFN and the Innu Development Corporation. Also, the Voisey's Bay mine, located about 400 km north, offers jobs in two-week shifts. Workers fly to the mine from Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

Previous Scholarship on the Innu

Before settling in permanent towns, the Innu livelihood was primarily based on hunting, gathering, and trading. Caribou was an important resource, particularly for those living in the northern area of their homeland. *Atiku-euiash* was at the centre of sharing practices that were a key part of the Innu world. This can be traced back to the beginning of European colonization. The Innu world captured the interest of Europeans, such as missionaries and traders, who wrote on the Innu way of life. By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Quebec-Labrador peninsula still attracted naturalists and travellers as one of the last frontiers of North America. In both Jesuit relations and in frontier travellers' accounts, the Innu were described as primitive and the

Quebec-Labrador peninsula as wilderness. This primitiveness is in contrast with an ideal of industriousness of the Euro-Canadian colonizers who, thus, morally justify appropriating Innu land and resources. For example, Father Le Jeune, who was among the first Jesuit missionaries that arrived in the seventeenth century, could not understand why the Innu consumed all the proceeds of their hunts and did not keep anything in storage for the winter. Le Jeune affirmed that "[t]he Savages have always been gluttons" (2004 [1632]: 249) and they "eat their food as long as they had any, and then they would come and eat ours" (2004 [1632]: 257). At the same time, he highlighted many times through his writings how the French cultivated the land in the fortifications and missions. He thought the Innu should acquire the Europeans' habit of prevision and the Jesuit missionaries had a moral responsibility to help the Innu in acquiring such a habit. Two and a half centuries later, Lucien Turner (2001 [1894]), who visited the northernmost tip of the peninsula in the early 1880s, portrayed the Innu in a similar way, pointing out that the Innu were inclined to, in his own words, "gluttony" but not to planning. A similar characterization can also be found in A. P. Low, who visited the area in the late nineteenth century and who argued that the Innu were "so improvident that they never lay in a stock of fish in the autumn" (Low, 1896: 128). The accounts of the ill-fated expedition of Hubbard also follow a similar line of characterization. Wallace (Wallace, 1990 [1905]), Hubbard's assistant, states that the Innu are the "most primitive on the North American continent". A few years later, William Cabot characterized the large caribou hunts and subsequent consumption as "a savage feast, alike for Indian, wolf, and raven" (Cabot, 1920: 243) and according to H. Hesketh Prichard (1911) for whom Labrador was "trackless", as if the

Innu did not leave tracks when they walk the land, the Innu of the North "gorged and starved alternatively" (Prichard, 1911: 197). The same line of European thought was followed by Väinö Tanner (1947), a geologist who headed an inland expedition to Labrador in the late 1930s. Though his expedition was mainly geological, he nevertheless interviewed three different groups of Innu, the Montagnais, the Naskapi, and the Davis Inlet people. He asserts that "the Labrador Indian is something of a philosophical paradox […] mentally he seems to have stopped in the forecourts of civilization at the stage reached by a Northern boy of at most 14" (V. Tanner, 1947: 605).

The first anthropologist to write about the Innu was Frank Speck. During his time, the Innu were still referred to as Montagnais and Naskapi. In his book "*Naskapi: the Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*" (Speck, 1977 [1935]), he included 26 'bands' of Innu, from Waswanipi in the west to Utshimassits (also known as Davis Inlet, shown in Map 1 on page 33) in the east[13]. Although Speck maintained the same prejudice regarding the simplicity and crudeness of the Innu culture that characterized his contemporaries, his interest in learning about Innu culture, particularly spirituality and territoriality, led him to examine the complexities of the relationships between the Innu, their land and its animal dwellers. His work on the territoriality of the Innu showed the complex interaction between Innu families with regard to the exploitation of animal resources. He asserted that Innu live completely off what they hunt. According to his findings, the basic Innu

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[13] Some of the bands included by Speck are now part of the Cree First Nations.

social unit was the family group who has access to the family hunting territory, a land delimited by rivers, lakes or other geographical landmarks.

Speck maintained that the Innu lived in groups of a few related families and lacked formal government or other political institutions. However, he also mentioned that in the summer, many family groups converged at the same place. These gatherings, in which hundreds of people met, are the basis of the 'band' concept that Speck advocated. This concept was also used by Leacock (1954), though she challenged Speck's ideas on territoriality (more on this below). These gatherings were still occurring a few decades later, as McGee (1961) shows after doing fieldwork in the Sheshatshiu area. McGee also emphasized the seasonality of the Innu way of life. In winter months after spending the holiday season at the "base camp" where Sheshatshiu is today, the Innu hunted caribou in smaller groups of a few families, something McGee attributed to the size of the herds around Lake Melville during those days, whose dwindling numbers are very well documented (Bergerud et al., 2008). Periodically, the Innu came back to the base camp at Sheshathsiu. In the spring months, right before travel by ice became impossible, many families left for the country, also in small groups, until the end of spring. By the end of the spring black flies and mosquitoes brought people back to Sheshatshiu, where again the whole community gathered together until August, when berry picking drove smaller groups to places around the Lake Melville area, perhaps no farther than forty or fifty miles (McGee, 1961). By October, groups of a few families started their hunting trips that lasted until mid-December.

The seasonal pattern of land usage is also found in the archeological record. William Fitzhugh is perhaps the founding father of the archeological work in the area. This author suggested that as early as 5000 BP the occupants of the Lake Melville area had developed a summer adaptation oriented to marine resources and a winter one oriented to land resources such as caribou (Fitzhugh, 1972). He also argued that the Lake Melville presented a more maritime environment where, for example, marine mammals such as seals were more abundant than today. This pattern only changed slightly in the following two millennia. About 4000 BP summer settlements grew in size and appeared farther east. About 2500 BP, Fitzhugh found what could be the most similar seasonal adaptation to that of the Innu of the times of contact. Despite some fluctuations he found in the next millennium (e.g., about 2000 BP a large settlement focused on fishing was found in the area) this adaptation of interior winter hunting and coastal summer fishing was what he found in the last five hundred years. Stephen Loring, an archeologist who still works in the area, emphasized that the peoples of Lake Melville adapted their seasonal pattern to different environmental and social changes through the centuries (Loring, 1992). For example, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the European and Inuit expansions forced the Innu out of the coastal areas and farther into the Labrador Interior.

The seasonal pattern of land usage was also found during the European colonization, with European practices in full deployment in the area at least as early as the nineteenth century. For example, Frenette (1986) examined the Hudson Bay Company's records, which showed how the Innu of Mingan in the nineteenth century continued to perform a seasonal pattern of hunting and gathering, visiting trading posts with the yield of their fur

to exchange for supplies. These records included exchanges of fur –and seal oil to a lesser extent–, with notes of company officials regarding the number of the parties and their activities. The work of Frenette was interesting because it compared data from 1834 and 1850-60. Despite the fact that records from the 1840s were lost, comparing these years showed a trend towards spending less time in the country during every season and visiting the trading post more frequently. This was due, in part, to the pressure of the company to align the Innu to the "économie du travail", an economy based on the commercial goals of the company. In other words, Frenette's work showed how the colonization practices at work were affecting the seasonal pattern in the nineteenth century.

After the 1960s, the changes brought about by colonization practices became more evident, further altering the seasonal pattern of land usage. The work of Henriksen (Henriksen, 1973) based on fieldwork conducted in Utshimassits during the 1960s showed an increasing dependency on the Euro-Canadian world. For example, while McGee (1961), who did fieldwork in Sheshatshiu a decade earlier than Henriksen, showed how most of the year the Innu would spend time in *nutshimit*, Henriksen showed how the Innu increasingly stayed along the coast, where permanent dwellings had been built by the government. In the world of the settlement, as Henriksen called it, the Innu depended on scarce wage employment as they remained far from the hunting grounds. This not only shortened the seasonal pattern, but hindered hunting incursions that now require water transportation most of the year just to get out of the Davis Inlet where the Innu were settled. This situation was exacerbated by the development of industrial projects in the area in the sixties and seventies, such as the Upper Churchill Hydroelectric project. These projects

interrupted Innu land usage and showed yet another consequence of the increasing impact of colonization practices aimed to develop the Innu land and assimilate the Innu. These colonization practices were met with protests and there were a number of conflicts involving the Innu regarding who should use the land and how. Perhaps the best example of this type of conflict that happened in the eighties was the expansion of training operations in the NATO base located in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. This expansion increased NATO low-level training flights, which led to a crisis in which the Innu tried to stop such disrupting military exercises on their land (Charest, 1986; Wadden, 1991; Weiler, 1992).

During these decades of increasingly rapid change, a large part of the literature about the Innu attempted to compile narratives comprising both mythical (*atanukana*) and personal (*tshipashimuna*) accounts. Among the mythical narratives, Remi Savard, for example, wrote several books that described Innu myths such as the one about *kuekutsheu*, the wolverine and also the trickster (Savard, 1971). Madeleine Lefebvre published a volume that discussed myths about Tshakapesh, an Innu hero whose travails are full of humor and moral teachings. Among the personal narratives, Mestokosho (1977) wrote about his life as a hunter. The Mark family, helped by anthropologists Jauvin and Clement (Mark et al., 1993) wrote a volume on their life that is full of personal accounts and mythical narratives of the different beings of the Innu world, such as Atiku-napeu, the caribou master (more on this below). Horwood (1981) edited a short volume with stories told by different elders from Labrador's two Innu communities, including also the story of the caribou master. In the same vein were the books "*I Dreamed the Animals*" (Kaneuketat & Henriksen, 2009) and "*Giant's Dream*" (Antane, 2010). The latter book is particularly inter-

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esting. In it, Nikashant Antane narrated the works of Giant Antane, his nephew, who walked across the Innu land, first alone and later with other young Innu. The first walk starts with a dream in which an ancestor tells him to walk. The walk ended up being done with the official goal of raising awareness about and funds toward a cure for diabetes. However, these walks had deeper connotations as they also promoted a relationship with the land and with the ancestors that for the Innu is the source of a healthier lifestyle. In other words, it was not just walking as a healthier physical activity, but a way to deploy the Innu world, including the dream that led Giant to walk, all the places he visited, and the people he connected with as he walked.

Literature on the Innu during the nineties also included the works of Innu intellectuals such as Daniel Ashini (1989; 1995; 1999), Ben Andrew (1984) and Napes Ashini (1992). Daniel Ashini was the Innu Nation president during the 1990s and was actively involved in Innu politics throughout his adult life. He was concerned about the deteriorating situation of his people and how the provincial and federal governments ignored Innu rights. For example, in one of his works (D. Ashini, 1995), he offered two examples on the struggle of the Innu against the "Europeans" who through the Euro-Canadian government exploit the Innu land without Innu consent. The examples given are the Upper Churchill Hydroelectric Project and the Voisey's Bay nickel mine. These struggles ultimately led to compensation for the Innu, but only after decades of different forms of resistance. Ben Andrew (1984) emphasized the impact of colonization practices on Innu wellbeing and how the loss of Innu independence ultimately led to diseases that are common today among the Innu such as obesity, diabetes and alcoholism. Napes Ashini (1992) described

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the impact of the NATO training flights from the standpoint of those on the land, empha-

sizing the fact that the Innu never gave permission for them to be done and narrating the

protest that followed. I also include among these Innu voices the volume Gathering Voic-

es, edited by Camille Fouillard (1995) in which several Innu people told their personal

stories of struggle to adapt to the new reality of settlement and colonization.

Non-Innu scholars also produced works on the Innu either to record various aspects of

Innu culture or to show how the Innu were affected by colonization practices. Armitage

(1991; 1992) examined what he calls "religious ideology". He also did extensive work on

Innu stories, place names and traditional knowledge (Armitage, 2007; Armitage &

Penashue, 2008) as a way to preserve such components of Innu culture for future genera-

tions. He developed a website, www.innuplaces.ca, in which information on place names

and their history were made available. Evelyn Plaice (1986) examined the Innu from the

point of view of the settlers of mixed white-Inuit origin that ultimately would form part

of the Labrador-Metis Nation (Kennedy, 1995), and later would become Nunatukavut.

Henriksen (1993a) analyzed the changes that happened to the Innu in the eighties, how

the Innu could gain self-government and what the role of provincial and federal govern-

ments could be. Hedda Schurmann (1996) wrote her master's thesis on the conflict be-

tween the Innu and the Province of Newfoundland on the control of the school, then un-

der the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic School Board. Eventually, the school came

under Innu control, but only 20 years after Schurmann's work. Michael Clugston (1998)

discussed the initial impact of the Lower Churchill Hydroelectric project, already in the

works in the 1990s. Mailhot, who produced an extensive work on Innu-*aimun* issues also

contributed on Innu territorial mobility (Mailhot, 1986b), Innu ethnonymy (Mailhot, 1986a) and with her book "*The People of Sheshatshiu*" (Mailhot, 1997) in which she narrated different experiences of travelling the Innu land told by Innu elders. Lacasse (2004) showed how the different Innu groups were affected to different degrees by the colonization process and thus developed different ideas of Nitassinan.

During the nineties, a combination of the louder Innu voice, industrial projects that further threatened the Innu and the Canadian constitutional reform of 1982 created the need to assess the impact of such projects. It is important to emphasize that the Innu were neither covered by the Indian Act nor recognized as a First Nation. When Newfoundland joined the Canadian confederation, the politicians of the time thought that granting full citizenship to the aboriginal peoples of the province would benefit them by adding such peoples to the mainstream society (A. Tanner, 1998), as if colonialism can be eliminated by an act of law. It was only in 2004 that the Innu obtained aboriginal status. In order to assess the environmental impact of industrial projects to the Innu and the land they claimed, several reports were written, many of them by the scholars that had been studying the area since the beginning of the settlement. These reports varied in terms of their focus. Henriksen (1997) provided some guidelines to the authorities of the Voisey's Bay project to assess the possible impact on the Mushuanu Innu that lived nearby. Fletcher (2000) prepared a report on the impact of the NATO training flights on *ashkui* sites, which are places where the water rarely freezes and thus are prime locations for camps. Armitage conducted several reports for the Lower Churchill Hydroelectric project

(Armitage, 2006; Armitage, 2007; Armitage, 2010; Armitage, 2011) and for the construction of the Trans Labrador Highway along with Marianne Stopp (2003).

Other reports targeted social issues. For example, the report led by Inglis, which is co-authored by the previously mentioned Tanner and Kennedy, was aimed at finding what type of governance can be implemented for the aboriginal people in the area (Inglis et al., 1994). David Philpott and his colleagues (2004) conducted an education profile proposing changes that should be implemented once the schools change jurisdiction and are given to the local Innu government. The report sponsored by Survival International (Samson et al., 1999) was eloquent in showing how the systematic encroachment of land and promotion of acculturating policies led to a situation of social anomie and dispossession. These policies are based, as the report argued, on the fact that, for Canada, aboriginal peoples are not independent political entities but groups of individuals who should not have different rights than any other citizens. The gravity of the situation was confirmed in 2002 by a report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (Backhouse & McRae, 2002). There, the authors emphasize that governments have not complied with a previous report from 1993, particularly the recommendation regarding self-government. Related negotiations had been halted by 2002. Ultimately, the degradation of the autonomous Innu way of life into dependency on the Euro-Canadian colonizers was the norm upon my arrival. As Samson (2003) argued, this situation includes the consequences of many years of policies that purposely or neglectfully alienated the Innu from their land and its related practices. By the time I arrived, only 30 percent of the population participated in *nut-shimit*-related activities, as a survey done in my research shows. This participation only

lasts a few weeks, with the exception of a handful of people who stay in *nutshimit* for one or two months.

The latest publication about the Innu is Gerald Sider's book "*Skin for Skin*" (Sider, 2014). This book agrees to a large extent with Samson's argument about the effects that colonial power and domination have had over the Innu, such as the epidemics of substance abuse. Sider also emphasizes that the Innu traditional way of life is actually a construction like any other tradition. The contents of the Innu tradition, he argues, were developed in the nineteenth century while the colonizers were performing destructive practices that caused an array of deadly consequences[14]. Thus, according to him, the Innu traditions that enlightened Innu resistance during the eighties and nineties are developed from the post-colonization experiences of disease and starvation. There is no doubt about the impact of the European invasion on the Innu, which as Loring (1992) shows, happened earlier than the nineteenth century. Furthermore, as Loring also shows, the European invasion was not the only one that the Innu suffered, as conflicts with the Inuit had already produced displacement of the Innu population. Thus, the Innu have been in contact and conflict with other ethnic groups before the nineteenth century. Yet, Sider's version of the Innu world apparently consists only of practices mostly developed in the nineteenth century. Additionally, as many authors show (Clément, 1990; Clément, 1995;

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[14] One notorious example he provides is the HBC refusing to sell ammunition to the Innu (the Innu would focus on trapping for fur rather than hunting caribou) and thereby dooming a large part of the Innu population to death by starvation.

Mailhot, 1986b; Mailhot, 1997), while always changing, Innu culture is distinctive in various ways, for example, language, botanic knowledge, as well as relation to the land, and values, one of the foci of this dissertation. Distinctiveness is but the aggregate trace of the Innu collective's agency, but in Sider's account this agency fails to appear. In this sense, Sider's and my approach sit at opposing ends. As stated in the Introduction, I am inspired by works that remain attentive to the specificity of ontological assumptions and I seek to address how sharing practices participate in the constitution of the Innu social, precisely, in terms of ontologically-specific Innu forms of value even if these are deployed in a social space characterized by colonization practices –a fraught space as it is called in the next chapter. In addressing sharing practices in such a way, I follow Viveiros de Castro's (2011) call for taking aboriginal worlds seriously. I want to address sharing practices in their ontological specificity, taking seriously the entities that dwell in the Innu world.

The Innu social as a heterogeneous collective

Sharing practices are connected with the particular ways in which the Innu relate with animal beings and their masters who are also part of the associations that make up the Innu social. The relationship between Innu and these non-human beings is originated in assumptions about the constitution of the world. These assumptions, however, are not the same as those held by most of their Euro-Canadians colonizers, particularly in terms of the existence of separate social and natural domains to which humans and animals belong respectively. Actually, it is a well-established point in ethnographic literature that the di-

vision between the natural and social domains is not universal and many cultures around the world do not recognize humans, animals and plants as belonging to different realms (P. Descola & Palsson, 1996). The division between Nature and Society is a western invention based on the assumption that the capacity for reason separates humans from nature. Although there has existed, since the eighteenth century, an animal rights movement that has considered animals as sentient beings (Hancocks, 2001), this movement never reached the core of science and policy making. Thus, the division between the natural and social domains, in turn, separates western cultures, whose knowledge is based on (reason-based) science, from indigenous cultures, whose knowledge is based on beliefs (Ingold, 2000:15). As Descola (2006) argues, the division between Nature and Society[15] is only one of the possible ways of distributing what exists and conceiving their mutual relations. Thus, while the European colonizers have a dominant intellectual tradition which assumes a clear division between nature and culture, there is no such a tradition in the Amerindian world. Entities that the European intellectual tradition takes for granted and are the basis for scientific research and policymaking are not necessarily present (in the same way) in Indigenous contexts such as that of the Innu.

The difference in the ways things that exist are distributed is exemplified by the fact that for most Algonquian peoples (including the Innu), animacy is an attribute of things

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[15] Latour argues that Nature and Society have no more existence than East and West: they are just reference points developed by European modernity to differentiate between intermediaries of causal processes, some of which are called social while others are called natural (Latour, 1993:89).

that, according to western modern ontological assumptions, are clearly inanimate. In fact, according to western linguists, words in Algonquian languages can be *animate* and *inanimate* in the same way that words in romance languages can be feminine or masculine. The words employed to refer to, for example, people, animals, many plants, some stones and thunders are animate. A. Irving Hallowell, who extensively studied the Anishinabe (Algonquian people from central Canada) ontology in the first half of the twentieth century, was aware of the problems that this linguistic divide carries, acknowledging that they were imposed by a western conception of animacy (Hallowell, 1976:361-363). Despite this, Hallowell notices that the things that are referred to with "animate" morphological features seem to share certain potentiality related to "responsiveness to outer stimulation" or to affect or being affected by other beings or things by "sentience, mobility, self-movement, or even reproduction" (Hallowell, 1976:361). What is most interesting is that Hallowell finds that beings referred to as "animate" are not always animated. When he asked the question, "Are all the stones we see about us here alive?" one elder answers him "Not! But some are", giving the example of his father, a powerful man who had a rock following him through the camp. In other words, some stones are animate, *as they engage in relationships with* others, in this case a powerful human. Animacy, as Ingold points out, is not a property of certain objects but a "condition of being" in relation to others (Ingold, 2000:97). Animals that dwell on the land, stones that move, trees that grow are all animate in relation to other beings and their animacy is determined by this relationship.

In relation to this, the ethnographic literature indicates that for Algonquian peoples, animals are not only animate but also 'persons' with whom humans engage in social relationships. For example, Tanner (1979) and Brightman (1993) both conclude that among the Cree –who are closely related to the Innu– friendship, sexuality, and competition are apt terms to describe relationships with animals and both authors use relationship descriptors most suitable for peers.[16] It is in these friendly, social relationships that animals offer themselves to hunters. Since animals participate in the human world in such a way, a categorical distinction between society and nature is far from evident; thus, the utilization of terms such as 'society', which usually imply only relations among humans, is problematic. Following Latour (1993; 2005), I prefer to use the term 'collective', which in contrast to 'society' refers to associations between humans and non-humans. The collective, thus, has no implication of what type of beings can form part of it, as it is composed by entities that normally –in a world divided between Society and Nature– are considered to be outside of what is called social. With these points in mind, animals are considered in this work as beings that co-constitute the Innu 'social' along with humans.

Animals and their deeds are present in Innu stories and legends and in the myths of origins. In the Innu collective, interactions with animals assume that they have feelings. For

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[16] These two authors do not work with the Innu but with the Cree. However, the Cree are closely related to the Innu, linguistically and culturally. Actually, their languages are mutually intelligible, at least between the Innu and the east Cree. The complex social characteristics of animals can also be seen in other parts of the Innu-Cree world (eg. Scott, 1989).

example, when someone had killed a bear in one of the camps that I participated in, one of the hunters went to say sorry to him: "*Apu nstutatan, nimushum*", "sorry, grandfather" (the way bears are referred to). Animals also are considered to have a will. For example, during the first winter of my fieldwork all caribou hunting east of the Metchin River (see Map 4 on page 102) was prohibited. This is the area where the Red Wine caribou herd dwells and whose numbers have been dwindling to the point that its viability as a herd has been put in doubt by the biologists and wildlife managers staffing governmental agencies: it is believed that they number less than one hundred. Although hunting the migratory George River herd was then allowed, when this herd was in Red Wine area, hunting it was also illegal. In order to monitor the Red Wine herd, scientists of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador use GPS-tracking collars. The collar information can be used to examine caribou's migratory patterns in relation to other factors. A study by Boulet et al. (2007) about the relation between migratory patterns and caribou herds is an example of this type of research. Thus, they are able to know where they are and whether they are alive or not. One day, while I was in the Innu Nation office, a very experienced hunter who had been recently charged with illegal hunting came to the office where I was working and told me "they found a Red Wine collar close to lake Kamistastin; see, caribou *wants* to go there". Lake Kamistastin is located about 400 kilometers north of Sheshatshiu, very far from the Red Wine mountains caribou range, and right in the migration area of George River herd. This information, as he and other Innu argue, shows that the Red Wine woodland caribou herd and the George River migratory caribou herd intermingle. Therefore, there is no point in declaring the hunt illegal on the basis of

the assumption upheld by government scientists that the herds are different: for the Innu, there is only one *atiku*. Furthermore, the words of this hunter obliquely indicate differences in how the collar information is used. The government uses it to obtain the information the scientists need to learn about caribou behavior, such as their whereabouts, while the Innu use this information to show *what atiku wants*. In other words, while the government administers the collars to satisfy its will to learn, the Innu use it to learn the will of *atiku*. Like human beings, *atiku* have will.

The difference in how the information conveyed by the collars was interpreted is the tip of the iceberg of deeper differences. This is not only a difference between practices (wildlife management and hunting); it is also a difference between *atiku*, a being that is fully agentive, with its own desires and volition, and caribou, a being with a much more limited and quasi-mechanical agency. This intimates an ontological difference that goes all the way to the roots of the understanding of what it means to be human and/or animal. This, in turn, implies that, within this context, defining what is social –for example, what is a social relationship– cannot take for granted these categories, particularly the assumption that 'the social' proper pertains only to humans. If caribou has will, dealing with it becomes a question of negotiating between what the hunter wants and what the caribou wants. In this negotiation, caribou is not an object of human agency but a subject with whom hunters have to establish a bond in order to understand what it wants. Thus, in order to understand the subtleties of caribou-Innu interactions and how they participate to shape the Innu social, we must begin by questioning the 'naturalness' of the boundaries

that stem from the nature/culture divide, including also the divide between the natural and the supernatural.

The spiritual role the animals have for the Innu has been studied in depth by Armitage (1992), who argues that animal masters and other spirits still have an important role in Innu life. He also argues that these beings coexist with Christian beliefs imposed since colonisation, in a dualistic belief system. However, he argues, while Christian beliefs are learned in the settlement, most of the knowledge concerning animal masters has to be learned in *nutshimit* where animals live. Animal masters are beings that control animals and their relationships with humans. Most land animals have a master; this is also the case with caribou. The caribou master is known by different names: Papakashtshishk, used mostly in the south, Kanipinimitautsh and Kanipinikassikueu used in the north. The word master is commonly used when translated to English because "*katipenitak*" means the one who controls. The animal master is also commonly referred to as the "caribou man" or Atiku-napeu. I choose to use this name because it is the one that refers to the fact that he is related to people and caribou at the same time and that his spirit experiences both caribou and human worlds. According to Helene and William-Mathieu Mark, two Innu elders from the Northern shore of the Saint Lawrence River who co-wrote a book with Innu stories and legends, the story about the Atiku-napeu says that

> *A clever Innu came across a herd of caribou. His only equipment was a bow and some arrows. He went up to the herd and shot the caribou, one after the oth-er, except for two, a male and a female. When there were only two arrows left, the Innu returned home to make some more. The next day he set off in search of the two caribou. They were still in the same place. The female, it turned out, was the*

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daughter of the male. The Innu went to them and sat down. The father caribou said to his daughter, "Go to him and live with him." So the female went up to the Innu, who prepared to shoot her, but she said to him, "Don't shoot me. Let's unite and live together! Let's survive! My father suggested I live with you. We'd get along well. Take off your clothes and mount me." The Innu took some time to decide, so the female spoke again, "You will be like us. You'll have four legs like us." And finally, he accepted her proposition. The female came close to him and he mounted her. He was immediately transformed into a caribou. (Mark et al., 1993)

Atiku-napeu lives in the caribou house with the other animal masters and can, thus, control the caribou in virtue of being powerful and in virtue of having relationships with animals such as those that humans have among themselves. Humans, in turn, can communicate with him in the shaking tent, in dreams, with the assistance of a drum and scapulimancy[17]. The shaking tent is set up to communicate with animals and animal masters. This communication can be helped by Mistapeu ("big man"), a type of being that is like humans but larger and more powerful. Mistapeu can go to the shaking tent and help convince Atiku-napeu to give the location of the caribou.

Most of the time, Atiku-napeu is a generous being.[18] For example, an Innu elder mentions that, when entering the shaking tent, "with great generosity the master of the cari-

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[17] This refers to the ability to read the marks and cracks in the scapula bone after it is burnt in a fire.

[18] Atiku-napeu can sometimes be greedy. One time, according to a story an elder told me, Atiku-napeu did not want to give caribou to the Innu. Innu had to ask the help of Matshishkapeu, the fart man who constipated Atiku-napeu, until he accepted to give caribou to the Innu.

bou told us where to find caribou" (Mark et al., 1993). Once caribou is found, the animals freeze in their places waiting for the hunter to shoot because Atiku-napeu tells them to give themselves to the hunter. For example, one of my companions told me that when he was a child, he went to camp with his family. One of his brothers woke up early and told him he had dreamt about caribou crossing a lake. They were reluctant to believe that this was true, but they decided to go outside and check. They did so and saw caribou crossing the lake, the shore of which they were camping at. He told me that Atiku-napeu had told his brother in this dream that caribou were nearby.

Hunters, in turn, have to be respectful of the caribou. One of the ways in which this respect translates is through the treatment of the caribou carcass. The carcass has to be consumed completely –nothing should go to waste. Large bones are used for the *mukushan*, a feast in which the Atiku-napeu is honoured. The *mukushan* takes place after successful hunts and consists of the consumption of fat and marrow by the men of the camp. It is directed by one elders who makes a speech and instructs the order in which the marrow is consumed, usually elders first. The *mukushan* that I observed started with the cleaning of the leg bones. These bones have to be stripped of any remaining flesh, including remnants of ligaments and tendons. Each bone took several minutes for the skillful man to strip; the whole task took about three hours. The next step is to crush the tip of the bones, which are boiled separately. The bone tips are crushed with a hammer over a stone base. Slightly inclined forward, a man hammers the bones on the tips. When the bones break, small pieces of bone and fat can be sent several feet away. Since all has to be consumed, it is important to cover the area with a tarp and to fetch any part of the bone back to the

pot where it will be boiled. The bone tips were crushed into small pieces, which were later boiled to melt the fat and separate it from the bone solids. The bones were open at the tips, and by further cracking the bone lengthways, large pieces of marrow were carefully extracted. Every bit of the fat and marrow preparation, along with every bit of the broth made by boiling the crushed tips of caribou leg bones, has to be consumed. The elder that was conducting the *mukushan* said, "All the elders respect all the animals they depend on, that is how they treated them, with respect; that is all I have to say, it is the truth: respect the animals as I tell you."

After we drank the broth, we all went to the biggest of the four tent frames that were in the camp located at Shipiskan Lake's shore. Once all the men were there, the elder conducting the *mukushan* of the camp gave the following speech:

> *There are people praying for us in Sheshatshiu, for the success of this hunt. I am going to say a special prayer, too. We have to consume everything; nothing should be wasted or left on the ground. Atiku skins should be saved, stored in a good place. Treat the antlers with respect, too, same then with the skins, they are very important to the Innu people. In the old days, everything was put on the trees; antlers were put on the trees out of respect for the atiku. The atiku master is a very powerful being that look at every Innu hunter and people and look how they treat the atiku. He can see how we treat the atiku. He is very big and powerful. Long ago there wasn't any religion to say any prayer. Only the old men, the old people told stories from the animal masters. And now we are going to pray.*

After that, he read The Lord's prayer and started to distribute the marrow mixture according to age, elders first. We ate most of it. After being full and sleepy while digesting all that fat, I was kindly offered to throw out the little piece of fat and bread I was reluc-

tantly holding to the fire, if I was not going to eat it. Socializing with the Atiku-napeu consists of learning from his generosity, and one shows that they have learned from him by respecting him and *atiku* through proper protocol.

Generosity, respect and autonomy

Generosity appears as an important value that, learned from animals and animal masters, permeates the entire Innu collective. Once *atiku* gives itself, this act of generosity replicates itself among the Innu: "If an Innu was lucky, there was no jealousy. On the contrary, people shared; they'd give readily to anyone in need. That's how animals act; they help each other, as the Innu did" (Mark et al., 1993). Generosity as a value is also transmitted through example by the deeds of the animal masters which are then retold in the stories, but are also experienced directly through events in the life of the hunters. One hunter told me that once he was camping with his wife and having success hunting and fishing in the area. Other family members who were camping there did not have much luck. He offered them some meat and, to his surprise, they took everything! He told me he understood why they were unlucky –they were stingy! The animals' sharing of themselves sets the tone and example for how Innu should share with each other.

The importance of generosity among the Innu was recognized by the Europeans since the early encounters. Paul Le Jeune (Le Jeune, 2004 [1632]) notices that the Innu he finds on the shore of the St Lawrence River

aid and relieve each other very generously, because they expect the return of the favor. If this expectation fails, they respect the person no longer, whoever he may be. (Le Jeune, 2004 [1632]) , 105). [19]

He later writes that Innu are linked as brothers and sisters by sharing everything they have with one another. Le Jeune also noted that the Innu shared meat within the community without much concern for feeding themselves in the future.

Besides generosity, two other values arise from the practices generated by the Innu hunting way of life and the particular relationships between humans and animals thereby fostered: autonomy and respect. In order to fully understand what these values entail it is useful to trace the contrasts between modern European and indigenous notions of autonomy. The western notion of autonomy is entrenched in certain themes that have characterized western ontological assumptions about human personhood: i)humans possess free will and are the originators of their own actions for which they are morally responsible; ii)humans are atomized, discrete individuals which under some circumstances are able to exercise their will over other individuals and things using force but, most importantly, using reason; and iii) non-humans possess neither reason nor freedom and, thus, human dominance over them is justified by rational and moral superiority. The notion of auton-

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[19] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French, headed by Samuel de Champlain established the first European settlement in Nitassinan. Champlain (1880) himself recorded his encounter with an Innu *ustshimau* during the summer of 1603, when he met with Begourat leading a group of Innu to a war with their Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) neighbours. However, this mention is very brief and incomplete. The first European is then Pere Le Jeune, who uses the ethnonym "Montagnais" that was still in use in the 1970s.

omy is constructed upon these assumptions and results in an understanding of human existence as self-governed, self-contained, and free. This notion also applies to the aggregation of individuals and entities that form autonomous groupings such as nations that are – or claim to be– not only self-governed, but also separated one from the other. This notion of autonomy is also reflected in the ability of autonomous individuals – and the collectives they constitute– to do and say according to their own will regardless of how their actions affect anybody else.

In contrast, many aboriginal groups have a notion of autonomy that is relational. In fact, for most indigenous peoples of the Americas relationality is the primary ontological assumption. This means that entities exist in the world as a consequence of the relationships that bind and constitute them. As was shown above, these entities can be non-human beings that also have animacy and personhood and this does not rely on their intrinsic properties but on the circumstances of being in relation to others. These circumstances are defined by the positioning of a person in a "field of relationships" (Ingold, 2000), as in the case of stones among the Anishinabe mentioned above. Relational autonomy is, thus, when persons make their own choices knowing that such choices affect other persons that are related to them, and that through the intermediation of those persons the consequences of the actions come back to the self. Hence, the exercise of autonomy is always tied to a careful consideration of the effects actions will have in the complex relational web the self is always enmeshed in. It goes without saying that, in such understanding, others are expected to act in a similarly careful way.

The value of this type of autonomy has been identified in the Algonquian world since the works of Hallowell (1955) among the Anishinabe who this author characterizes as having high level of personal autonomy at the same time that cooperation, laughter, harmony, patience, and self-control characterize interpersonal relationships. Black (1977), who worked with the Anishinabe a few decades after Hallowell, suggests that for them interfering with the self-determination of living things has to be avoided since it may have unpleasant consequences. According to the Anishinabe's idea of power-control, Black argues, all living things have power whose amount can never be known for certain and, thus, all living things, even the lowly lice, have to be respected. Thus, while European individual autonomy is based on a form of individualism that starts from the inside –as in Descartes' 'cogito ergo sum'− and moves to the outside, relational autonomy starts from the outside, from the web of relationships among all the human and non-human persons that dwell in the world, and then moves to the inside (Blaser et al., 2010). In a relational autonomy, individuals are autonomous by acting along with others rather than in competition with others (Mackey, 2011).

Relational autonomy is consistent with practices that keep leaders from consolidating in positions of authority that could undermine followers' autonomy. These practices have been analyzed by Clastres (1987), who emphasizes that leaders maintain their positions by constantly reaffirming their dependence on followers' self-determination. According to Clastres, speeches, acts of generosity, and acts of support in times of scarcity, form part of these practices by which the leader reaffirms the allegiance of the followers. These practices realize values that are culturally meaningful for leader and followers. In

other words, leadership develops in a relational way: the leader's power depends on how his actions affect the followers related to him. Henriksen (1973) shows among the Innu a leadership dynamic consistent with Clastres ideas. Among the Innu, in order to be a leader or first man (*ustshimau* in Innu-*aimun*), an individual can only rely on a limited influence over peers, which is based on his prowess as a hunter. In exchange for the safety of being with someone successful and experienced, other hunters willingly follow a leader, but only as long as they freely evaluate that the safety the leader provides is worthy[20]. Henriksen (1973) shows that leaders' influence is rather unstable and can be challenged at any time: hunters with less prestige are always eager to jump in and lead hunting endeavours. Decisions regarding who leads whom are based on a lengthy negotiation involving interested hunters. Followers have to be convinced by the leader that following him is good for them. In these negotiations, the Innu hunter goes to the dwelling of a possible follower to test whether he would follow or not. In some cases, he even resorts to "spying", that is, sending someone else to the would-be-follower's dwelling to find out if he would follow before openly asking (Henriksen, 1973:46-49). In one case during my

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[20] Both Clastress's ideas and Henriksen's ethnographic work downplay the importance of women's leadership. However, Henriksen acknowledges that, in the world of the settlement, women become the providers of food. My own perception, also biased by my relative lack of access to the women's world, closed to me by local customs and my own prejudices, is that women permanently contest for leadership positions and many times they win. For example, during my fieldwork the band council was run by a woman, there were women leading hunting endeavours, and it was a woman who was the most outspoken elder on traditional culture issues.

fieldwork, it took weeks for a hunter to become the *ustshimau* of a hunt that he planned during late fall. During this period, he made numerous attempts through phone calls and discussions. The other hunters were not convinced for different reasons, including weather, personal issues, and disagreements on which part of the Trans-Labrador Highway the hunt should begin. The position of the leader brings respect attached to it, but others will follow only if they want to do so. If they choose to leave and join another camp, the *ustshimau* will respect their decision. The respect, thus, is mutual.

Respect is another important value for the Innu that manifests itself in relationships with humans, animals and animal masters alike. This is clearly shown by Peter Armitage (Armitage, 1992). He argues that in order to maintain their material and spiritual wellbeing, the Innu have to foster good relationships with the other beings that dwell on the land, the animals and the animal masters. These good relationships imply showing respect in different ways: the animal masters are honored (vg. Atiku-napeu is honored in the *mukushan*), hunters put animal carcasses out of the way of dogs, bears are addressed as *nimushum* or *nukum* ('my grandfather' or 'my grandmother'), fur-bearers are not left in the traps, and –most importantly for my argument– respect is manifested by sharing. All these actions impact the relationships with the animal masters, who can share –or not– the animals they control. Armitage argues that respect is also manifested with elders. For example, he mentions that young people call elders not by name, but using *nimushum* or *nukum*. Elders have to be provided with meat, especially the choicest cuts that they might be longing to eat. Among the reasons for this, Armitage mentions that elders can

communicate and understand animals and animal masters better since they have developed their relationship with them through the years.

Respect is closely associated with autonomy. As was discussed above, the Innu recognize that animals have autonomous will, including the will to offer themselves to the hunters. It can be argued that protocols such as the treatment of *atiku* carcasses constitute ways of formally respecting and recognizing such autonomy. While I was in Sheshatshiu, many elders complained that many young Innu do not know how to cure and prepare the skin. These are critical skills since, if they do not know how to treat them, the skins will go to waste. As respect is linked to the idea of using everything and not wasting, skills related to the use of *atiku* parts are very important to maintain respectful relationships. Atiku-napeu is always watching and can stop disclosing the location of caribou or tell caribou to stop giving themselves to hunters. As Helene and William-Mathieu Mark (1993) mention, Atiku-napeu even has two helpers that are watching what humans do. In addition, the Innu think that white people treat caribou without respect, even if they do not realize it, as they do not know about Atiku-napeu. For example, when government seizes caribou from the hunters, it keeps the carcasses during court proceedings. Adding insult to injury, after a legal period that can last years, the provincial Department of Natural Resources throws the carcasses in the landfill. Prote Poker, the Innu Nation Grand Chief, said on public radio that throwing the carcasses in the landfill is disrespectful, mentioning specifically that the skin, the antlers, and leg bones are important parts to the Innu (White, 2013).

During a trip along the TLH, I had the opportunity to perceive this respect first hand. My companion found a fox that a road construction truck (that section of the TLH was still close to other vehicles) had crushed to death under its wheels. My companion stopped, and moved the animal to the side of the road. He told me that truck drivers were disrespectful and they should not have left the animal like that. He also said that, "in the end, we Innu have to answer for [the animals]." In a relational world, persons have to answer for other persons that are related to them. The respectful treatment of carcasses, which should be consumed without wasting and disposed of properly, positively affects future events, such as the outcomes of hunting endeavours and general luck in the course of life.

The values of generosity, autonomy and respect are intimately connected and reinforce each other. The connection among these values clearly appears in practices such as *atiku* hunting and *atiku-euiash* sharing. Relational autonomy can be taken as the basic interpretive key that makes an animal's act of giving themselves to hunters a 'generous' act. One has to be autonomous or able to freely choose to be generous. As was mentioned in the Introduction, one can give to anybody but one does not have enough to give to everybody. One thus chooses to whom one gives, keeping in mind that whoever is the destination of a generous act –and whoever is not– will have an impact on one's relationships. As acts of giving are expressions of free will, givers are respected. By exercising their power to choose, they have contributed to the wellbeing of other persons. Thus, respect is not only shown to those who generously give meat, but also to those who are generous in other aspects of life, such as sharing their knowledge about the animals and the animal

masters, entertaining with stories and jokes that often have animals as the main characters, and helping others with everyday chores.

By realizing generosity, respect and autonomy, sharing practices implicate a social in which humans, animal and animal masters form part of a network of associations. In order to understand how the social emerges in its specificity, it is necessary to approach it from a perspective that does not predefine who/what forms part of this network of associations and takes seriously the Innu world. From such perspective, I attempt to understand Innu sharing with their own assumptions in mind. Such perspective involves a sociology where the social is not predefined by stabilized concepts but emerges from the practices that co-constitute the social. To this perspective about the social I turn next.

3. The Innu social in a sociology of associations

The Innu people have been under the rule of colonial powers since the seventeenth century. Even though the European empires of the past have since retreated, their Canadian heirs, the federal, Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador governments, have continued most of their colonization practices. These practices are based on policies of assimilation and the appropriation of resources and have taken a toll on human life through epidemics of gas sniffing, diabetes and alcoholism (Samson, 2003). Colonization practices and attitudes have changed little since early contact. However, the Innu have developed, with different degrees of success, their own niches of recalcitrance to the colonial powers where the Innu collective can be deployed. Atiku-related practices have often been at the center of such niches. The density of associations that *atiku* brings into being are sources of inspiration to endure. However, practices performed in such contested niches are in permanent danger of colonial interference. Colonization practices continuously deploy and impose values and conceptions –e.g., industriousness, accumulation of wealth, planning, animals as objects– that differ from those held by the Innu, particularly those that sustain a close relationship with the land –e.g., generosity, respect, autonomy and animals as sentient beings. The space where *atiku*-related practices encounter conflicting Euro-Canadian values and conceptions is, thus, a fraught space. In this chapter I

seek to characterize in which sense I affirm that the Innu social 'emerges' in this fraught space. To do this I first discuss Henriksen's argument, which provides a contrast to foreground the theoretical framework I use in the dissertation, the 'sociology of associations.' Then, I introduce some basic premises of this 'sociology of associations' and discuss how it will help to analyse the Innu social as an emergent result of specific sharing practices. Lastly, I discuss how enskilment practices are connected to the re-enactment of the social generation after generation.

Henriksen's two worlds of the Innu and the constitution of a fraught space

Since the beginning of colonization Europeans sought to subordinate Innu values to their own. While acknowledging the importance that generosity and respect had for the Innu, in light of their own primary values, the first Europeans also saw them as poor and wasteful. For example, in Le Jeune's report previously mentioned, while Innu generosity is recognized, Innu are referred as "savages" who are "poor" as they do not know luxuries and are "ignorant" as they do not know god. This view was openly maintained into the second half of the twentieth century –and in more veiled ways still continues to inform Euro-Canadian attitudes towards the Innu. These views were held to be true especially with regards to those Innu living beyond the 'frontier', that is, the reach of Euro-Canadian control and interference. When the Innu were settled in permanent towns these frontier ideas were replaced by ideas of development. This is when Georg Henriksen

(1973), who did fieldwork in Davis Inlet during the sixties, developed his argument of the Innu living in two worlds: the world of the hunter and the world of the settlement.

Henriksen defines the world of the hunter by practices in *nutshimit* and characterizes it, in his terms, by hard-work activities, pride, happiness, and close relationships with animals and their masters. According to him, the world of the hunter is where the Innu's values of generosity and autonomy are better realized. In contrast, the world of the settlement, where Euro-Canadian authorities decided the Innu should live, is characterized, in Henriksen's terms, by gossip, idleness, a stored-food-based diet, and practices initially alien to the Innu, such as cod fishing, wage employment, and Christianity. In the world of the settlement, Euro-Canadian values become more visible and pressing and Innu have no choice but to pay attention to and accommodate them.

Henriksen did fieldwork right after the wave of development that emerged when Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation. During the mid-1950s, when the policies to settle the aboriginal peoples of Labrador in permanent towns were being established, the promotion of Euro-Canadian values and practices became more stringent. Since the initial contact during the seventeenth century, the process of establishing trading posts and missions throughout the area slowly put the Innu in contact with European values. By the end of the eighteenth century there was already a permanent trading post in the Lake Melville area (Zimmerly, 1973). This post changed hands to the Hudson Bay Company in the nineteenth century. Even if not all Innu groups participated in the trade to the same extent (Leacock, 1954), the influence of European values was certainly felt. For example,

by the beginning of the twentieth century, Christianity was already established among the Innu (Speck, 1977 [1935]).

The intensification of the imposition of other values during the 1950s is attested by the 1955 memorandum of Walter Rockwood, the director of the Division of Labrador and Northern Affairs in the province of Newfoundland, who endeavoured to solve the "problem" of Labrador's aboriginal population who "have wrested from the meagre resources a precarious existence" (Rockwood, 1955). He later added:

> *"For the fourteen or fifteen hundred Eskimos, Indians and Half Breeds of Northern Labrador the days of the primitive hunting economy are numbered, and they are [...] already far along in the transition stage, must be prepared to put over into the industrial society now ready to burst upon them." (Rockwood, 1955)*

This wave towards development also included provincial policies of resettling many Newfoundland outports. It is not a coincidence that these policies were accelerated after Newfoundland joined confederation: both were based on the argument that delivering new federal government services was easier in larger communities. Further, there was a presumption that industrial development such as hydropower production, mineral extraction, and forest products would sustain this newly settled population (Burke, 2003). However, this presumption did not materialize exactly as expected and, when it did, it did not provide the jobs needed to sustain the settled populations, as the high unemployment rate of these communities show. Nevertheless, by the late fifties, the shift towards an increasing pressure on the Innu had started and Innu families did not spend entire winters in

nutshimit as often as before, since they retreated to more permanent communities during the coldest months. This is the case of Napaen, an older man I interviewed:

> *I was born in the country, close to Mechikamau Lake. It is now underwater from the Smallwood Reservoir. We were camping there through Christmas and we stayed there until January, then we took a bush flight and I was baptized in Quebec.*

The birth of this person exemplifies how the Innu are caught in a fraught space that is actually formed by elements of Henriksen's two worlds: notice that the narrative of his birth does not end at being born in the land, but at being baptized in the settlement. Or put in another way, Innu birth-related practices traverse a single space where ontological assumptions coexist. By 'fraught space' I mean a space in which different and sometimes mutually contradictory ontological assumptions (with their concomitant values and expectations) intermingle with each other, sometimes interrupting each other, sometimes complementing each other. Notably, the best example of these contradictory assumptions is that while caribou is an animal (e.g., an organism ruled by instinct and so on) for the Euro-Canadians, *atiku* is a sentient, social non-human person for the Innu. The crucial point is that this intermingling and mutual interruption happens in a single 'space' and is constitutive of the contemporary Innu social. This is different from assuming the existence of two discrete worlds that the Innu traverse as they move from the settlement to *nutshimit* and back. Let me explain.

During the fifties and sixties, the process of settlement started and the provincial government consolidated the Labrador Innu in Sheshatshiu and Utshimassits. Because these

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policies have had such a big impact on livelihood, the ethnographic record from that point in time describes the process of re-adaption of these practices to this new situation. As the time spent in the settlement increased, new practices such as wage employment started to take precedence there. These practices, however, are associated with different values than those related to a hunting way of life. In effect, while there is a place for hunting practices, they increasingly became subordinated to practices associated with the realization of Euro-Canadian values. For instance, children have to go to school to learn content which, designed mostly in mainland Canada, promotes competition, acquisitiveness, and individualism. Money is needed for groceries that replace country food, which is hard to obtain living in the settlement since the surrounding area has rapidly become depleted and the most productive hunting grounds are increasingly harder to reach. Actually, the school calendar is not adapted to allow kids to spend time in *nutshimit* during the best part of the year for caribou hunting (the fall and the spring) and thus increasingly more families find it difficult to do it. Wage employment does not allow missing days to spend time in *nutshimit*. Of all the organizations that offer jobs in the area, only the Innu Nation office grants cultural leaves to spend time in the country.

Hunting is more expensive in the settlement, since expensive transportation is required to go to places where animals are found. All the skills that life in *nutshimit* implies are useless in the settlement and elders feel that if they do not pass on these skills and knowledge, which also includes the values that have been acquired from living of the animals and the stories of their masters, the animals will be disrespected. Catholic and Pen-

tecostal churches in turn deride the values of Innu stories as a source of knowledge and spirituality, and the Innu have to make missionary stories coexist with theirs.

The tension between the values learned through a hunting way of life and those embedded in colonization practices and institutions are felt deeply by most Innu who would narrate it in terms of a contrast between life in *nutshimit* and life in the settlement. Napaen, who is in his fifties, was born in the country, as was mentioned, during the settlement's beginnings. He was successful in navigating the school system and even went to college. He narrated this contrast thus:

The Innu have relied on caribou for the last 10,000 years and they [the Canadian government] tell us you have to stay here [in Sheshatshiu], to stay in the settlement where there is no jobs, living from welfare. That is what we were doing for the last 47 years or more since we have been here. We were outside the welfare system before, but it is different now. The Innu people would be the richest people or nation in the world but now we are the poorest as I see it. Ninety percent of us are unemployed. There is so much crime, alcohol, drugs, suicide. [...] It is totally different if you go to remote areas where there is no contact with the outside world. If you know how to survive there you do not have to worry about anything. You live happy, you live in peace. No one knocks in your door worrying you, or asking to call to the RCMP, asking money for beer or something.

Everything seems to be clear in the country. I am not saying that there is no hard work, but that is part of the culture, how they lived in the past and how you live out there in the woods. I am not saying that is very easy. If you see right now it is very cold out there and there is nothing to do. But this is not what is like. If you go to the country now you can do a lot of things, you can go hunting, fishing. It's to survive. If you don't, you would die. If you are lazy you cannot survive in the country. You survive by keep on doing something. Here in the settlement is

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very, very different. You do not do anything. You watch the TV, or be sitting all day waiting for the jobs. Imagine that for 90 percent of the people is that way, expecting for someone or the Innu nation to create employment or stuff like that. That is what people is thinking. That is the different situation affected by all of this. You just give up. There is no hope. There is a lot of weight in your line[21].

Life in *nutshimit* contrasts with life in the settlement in that, while supposedly promoting Euro-Canadian values of individual self-reliance and entrepreneurship, the settlement is characterized by paternalistic policies, dependency on welfare and scarce jobs, a situation so grave it was characterized as "Canada's Tibet" by Samson et al (Samson et al., 1999), who argue that it is leading to the annihilation of Innu as a distinct people (Samson et al., 1999; 2003). At the same time, hunting opportunities and thus the possibility of relating with caribou and more generally with Nitassinan have become more constrained, making values associated with such activity harder to be realized. It is in this sense that these values are subordinated –it is not that they are less important for the Innu; it is that the conditions for their realization have become highly impacted by the practices needed to realize the values promoted by the colonial collective. Thus, despite all the benefits that it brings, life in *nutshimit* becomes harder to practice since it conflicts with the re-

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[21] The idea of 'weight in the line' refers directly to the fraught space. In the settlement it can be appreciated how colonizer's values (i.e. money) is put as a measure of wellbeing, but at the same time, value-making (i.e. wage employment) practices are not widespread. Innu nutshimit-related practices cut the line and free the weight.

quirements of the life in the settlement, such as wage employment, school attendance, and so on.

As life in the settlement becomes the norm, hunting endeavours get more difficult. Thus, a number of strategies have been generated at the level of the band council and Innu nation to sustain hunting practices. For example, the Outpost Program helps to take family groups to remote locations in *nutshimit*. I will discuss in more depth these programs later but for the purposes of this discussion it is worth indicating that financial resources from Impact Benefit Agreements and negotiations with federal and provincial governments are utilized to harness material resources (planes, fuel, skidoos, ammunition and so on) for hunting purposes. According to the survey I administered, a sizeable portion of the population, about a third, participates in these trips. Since these flights take people and gear hundreds of miles, it cost thousands of dollars each time they go. In some camps in which I participated, flights came several times a week. Therefore, a camp of five weeks cost several tens of thousands of dollars for transportation only. This is on top of other expenses that the band council incurs, such as for gear and supplies. The point is that the Innu put a tremendous effort into going to the country despite other priorities of the settlement that put pressure on spending these resources elsewhere.

What these accounts show is precisely the importance that realizing the values associated with the hunting way of life has for the Innu. But additionally they also show how in the present circumstances their realization is intrinsically tied to the conditions offered by what Henriksen calls the world of the settlement. Thus, while for Henriksen the world of the hunter and the world of the settlement appear as definite realms in which differing

practices make sense, my examples indicate that the boundaries between the realms are not that clear. In a way, I will argue, Henriksen's assumption of clearly delimited realms span from his deployment of what Latour (2005) calls the sociology of the social as different from a sociology of associations.

A sociology of associations

Sociology of associations is the label Latour (2005) has given to a theoretical corpus that emerged from Actor-Network Theory. Three basic and intrinsically connected notions from this corpus underpin Latour's sociology of associations: relational materiality, performativity, and network.

Relational materiality means that entities are produced in relations. This notion actually comes from a semiotic principle through which symbols acquire their form and meaning in relation to other symbols (Law & Hassard, 1999). According to this notion, entities exist in a network where they define one another. Thus, the sociology of associations is a material semiotic approach that "describes the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors" (Law, 2007). These actors, such as humans, animals and animal masters, exist materially and discursively because the relationships they have with one another and with other actors and entities.

Performativity: relationships that enact entities have to be performed or, as Law argues, "relations do not hold fast by themselves, they have to be re-enacted"

(Law & Hassard, 1999: 4). Practices, therefore, occupy an important role in the constitution of the entities: practises enact the relationships that constitute entities. Thus, performativity is the basis of relational materiality and the seeming solidification or stability of entities. If any entity –or a property thereof– can be described as stable it is because there are practices that perform the relationship that constitute it. Durability, therefore, is the product of relationships rather than a property of things in themselves (Law & Mol, 1995). Law and Mol (1995) exemplifies this by how social hierarchies are maintained among humans and among baboons. Dominant baboon males do not have many tools for maintaining their dominance and rely on their physical presence; however, as soon as they turn their backs, their dominance can be challenged. Thus, they have to sustain their dominance through bodily interaction. As Law and Mol argue, if humans were to rely only on bodily interactions, their hierarchies would not last very long, much like the baboon ones. Humans, however, have institutions, such as police and jails, and technologies, such as guns and mass media, which help them to stabilize hierarchies. Stability, thus, relies on a material heterogeneity that can give the illusion of structures that are solid by themselves. However, this seeming stability has to be constantly performed into being: buildings have to be maintained, troops' morale has to be boosted, guns have to be cleaned and oiled, snipers have to practice, and news has to be written. In consequence, a social conceived according to this notion of performativity cannot explain the practices from which it is constituted but rather is explained by the performance of such practices (Latour, 2005).

Network: as Latour argues, "societies cannot be described without recognizing them as having a fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, capillary character that is never captured by the notions of levels, layers, territories, spheres, categories, structure, systems" (Latour, 1997: 2). This is because concepts that emphasise fixed forms of spatiality are obstacles to understanding the interconnectedness that emerges from practices that enact relationships: the notion of network better grasps the topological characteristics of a world where nothing can exist outside relationships. The social, then, becomes a descriptor of a network of associations that exist in virtue of a relational materiality that is continually performed into being.

The social consistent with these three notions does not exist in "a single spatial type", but rather "performs" topologically different forms of space (Mol & Law, 1994). First, there are "regions" in which boundaries are clearly drawn. Second, there are "networks" in which the space is relational, as it is a function of the relationship between entities. But the backbone of these different forms of space is a "fluid space" with neither boundaries nor relationships that last long enough to become fixed as a structure. In a fluid space, "boundaries come and go, allow leakage or disappear altogether, while relationships transform themselves without fracture" (Mol & Law, 1994). Law & Singleton (2005) use the term fluidity to convey the idea of social reality's 'messiness', where no relationships are stable enough to fix a material order.

But then, how do boundaries come into being and become (relatively) stable? The idea of practices establishing boundaries on fluid spaces is not new. For example, Strathern

(1996) argues that practices surrounding kinship networks –and general human relationship networks– have the capacity to initiate and stop flows of people and things in different ways. Stopping flows sets the contours of entities. For example, she shows that some inventions are the product of an extensive network of collaboration among scientists. However, patents are granted to a rather small group of collaborators who then own the invention. In other words, ownership practices set the contours of the invention, cut it from the network of collaboration and set the boundaries that separate the inventors who profit from the invention from the wider network of scientific collaboration. She also shows that in patri/matrilineal societies, the marital exchanges of people (women) for things are the cutting point in which the individual changes connection from one kinship group to another. This can be also seen as a change from one network *cluster* to another, while things travel in the opposite direction of people. Furthermore, as Lapawsky and Mather (2011) show, when things cross boundaries they can be transformed into something else. These authors analyze how electronic garbage is transformed into an array of materials, such as plastic and metal, when it travels from North America to South Asia and crosses the boundaries of areas characterized by different consumer practices. In the same way, *atiku-euiash* is transformed into something else, caribou meat, when it leaves the Innu social and reaches the people of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. In summary, practices can stabilize boundaries, cut fluidity and set the contours of entities that come into being in the relational space of networks.

Given the basic premises that underpin it, the sociology of associations is less comfortable than the sociology of the social, for it operates on the basis of the outcomes of

ongoing performances. Latour (2005) discusses five sources of uncertainty in the sociology of associations, three of which seem apposite for my discussion of the Innu social. First, given that fluidity is taken to be the backbone upon which boundaries are traced, there are no fixed groups (or entities more generally), but practices that make, unmake, and remake them. Second, who or what is 'doing' these practices cannot be assumed and even when 'actors' present themselves as the sole drivers of practices, the agency behind these practices are distributed through a whole actor-network. Third and connected with the second, agency is not only human since other types of beings and things are part of the agentive networks.[22] These sources of uncertainties call for a sort of 'agnostic' approach on the part of the analyst: one should not assume too much in advance about who or what is doing what but rather try to grasp how the agentive network the analyst encounters traces the contours of the entities that 'act.' In this sense, I find a resonance between the 'agnostic' attitude fostered by a sociology of associations and Viveiros de Castro's (2011) call to pay attention to the entities and categories that dwell in the world of our interlocutors, to their relationships and values, and to how humans constitute their social world along with these entities. Thus, it is important to stress that the materiality of the entities that inhabit a world cannot be established solely by the artefacts of the external observer, and one must 'follow the actors.' For example, animal masters do not exist in relation to our western-educated perception and cognition but exist in relation to other

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[22] The other two are sources of uncertainty as to the status of facts and how to write about social research. I will not discuss them here, but I refer to Latour's book.

entities and practices that constitute the Innu world. This is part of what makes the specificity of the Innu social.

With these basic notions let us return to my contrast between an analysis of the Innu social in terms of a sociology of associations and a sociology of the social. In the sociology of the social, 'the social' has been defined as an essential component of human-to-human relationships. This component is deemed to be stable enough that it can be discovered and invoked as the explanation of a variety of human phenomena. The main premise of Latour's argument is that the sociology of the social amalgamates social entities in stable constructs, hence losing sight of the constitutive associations that enable such constructs to come into being in the first place. If the social phenomena are explained by this stable social, how is the stable social explained? The explanation of the stable social can only construed by referring back to the explained phenomena. For example, the stable notion of "band" has been be used as one of the factors to explain Innu mobility behavior before the settlement (Harper, 1964; Leacock, 1954; Speck, 1915; Speck, 1977 [1935]). Bands gathered in the summer and groups of families went to the place where their band congregated. Band membership would explain Innu mobility to those locations. However, if the constitution of a band has to be explained, we have to refer back, among other factors, to the mobility patterns. Ultimately, by stabilizing the social, the sociology of the social assumes that the social is static enough to be studied as an object onto itself as if it were a type of domain whose inherent characteristics can explain social practices. Following Latour, I start from a different assumption: different practices co-constitute the social in the first place.

Henriksen conceives his two worlds of the Innu as stable enough to serve as the main components of his explanation of sharing. He argues that there is a "fundamental dilemma" (1973:39) in Innu culture: while the Innu value "sharing" with others whatever they have, they also value being successful at hunting and "having". Innu can easily solve this sharing-having dilemma in the world of the hunter. There, sharing practices are conducted without hesitation. Henriksen's explanation is that sharing is coherent with the world of the hunter, which "is marked by an internal consistency of values as the opportunity situation induces the actor to pursue a set of values" (Henriksen, 1973:102) instead of another. In the world of the hunter, sharing values does not actually constraint having: having is most of the time an inconvenience since one does not want to have more than what one can consume or share. If a family gets 20 *atiku*, how much can they consume before the meat rots? How many moccasins can they make? The more one has, the higher the risk of generating disrespectful waste and being punished by the animal masters. Henriksen's explanation is that, by being *in* the world of the hunter, behavior is consistent with the conditions and features of such a world. The inconvenience of having is a feature of the world of the hunter and explains how the having dilemma is solved by sharing.

Yet, the foundation of waste avoidance is one's relationships with the animals and their masters. These relationships are not abstract: they have to be learned and developed in *nutshimit* (Armitage, 1992). In other words, one has to be in the bush to be enskilled into sharing and avoiding waste as ways to improve relationships with animals and animal masters. Enskilment implies learning by performing the practices themselves along with the apprentices. If the practices are not performed along with the apprentices, they

would not develop the associations with the animals and masters. In other words, sharing practices help in the manifestation of respect for the animals and masters while they also are the re-enactment of the associations with them. Thus, Henriksen's world of the hunter is enacted in part by the same practices it attempts to explain. This is not a problem as long as the focus of the scholarly effort is on improving the general applicability of 'the world of the hunter' as a stable social. However, if the focus is on the specificity of the practices, we cannot start assuming that a predefined, stable social explains the very practices from which this social emerges. In other words, we cannot predefine, as Henrinksen does, the world of the hunter in which Innu live, if we want to analyze how the world of the hunter is enacted. This is what we have to find out through following the Innu through their practices and expressions. This is precisely what a sociology of associations advocates.

In the sociology of associations approach, the question for the social sciences would not be something like "What are the social aspects of hunting and sharing practices?", but how people, things and ideas are assembled together in the collectives that emerge from, among other practices, hunting and sharing.[23] Thus, the social does not explain practices, but emerges from them. Practices explain the social and not vice versa. As practices con-

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[23] Latour traces this notion of the social as emerging from associations back to the work of Gabriel Tarde. When discussing Leibniz's monads, Tarde develops the idea that everything is the product of a society of some sort; everything is an aggregate of other things (Tarde, 1893). Gabriel Tarde developed this idea as early as 1893 in his book "*Monadologie et Sociologie*".

tinually re-enact associations between persons and things, for the sociology of associations, the social is a property product of a process that binds things together rather than being a stable property of some type of phenomenon. In this way, this notion of the social reverses the relationship between the phenomenon explained and its explanation. While in the sociology of the social, the social explains practices, and in the sociology of associations, practices explain the social by describing the associative aspects of practices: the social is the emergent effect of certain types of practices that associate beings and things.

In the sociology of associations, the Innu social is not the product of the mental representation of a set of relationships that are pre-defined as 'social,' such as kinship and friendship, but as an emergent product of practices whose material, discursive, and associative aspects are indistinguishable. *Atiku-euiash* practices, for example, move meat from the animal to the people's stomachs at the same time that they materialize values such as respect and autonomy, and trace the contours of the Innu social (i.e., the group that gets 'associated' by the actions). How would it be possible to distinguish the action of sharing fat and marrow from the action of respecting Atiku-napeu and shaping the group that can carry on this meaningful action? It is not possible because the associations that these actions constitute are material and discursive at the same time. This recalls the point raised before about the first source of uncertainty in the sociology of associations: namely that there are no fixed groups (or entities more generally), but practices that make, unmake, and remake them. Sharing practices are group-formation practices. And this sheds light on the elder's worry about giving to people from Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

Let us recall that the backbone of a given form of the social is a potentially unconstrained fluid space. Sharing practices set boundaries that counterbalance that potential fluidity. By choosing somebodies out of the anybodies, sharing practices constitute a network space of sharers and at the same time an outside to it; that is, they trace a boundary. The persistent traces of sharing practices, the links created by sharing as deepened paths that connect people, actually are the visible scars on the skin of a social world that is in constant movement and could be potentially fluid without constraint. Thus, while the network diagrams shown in the Introduction (and that are examined in detail in Chapter 5) provide a static snapshot of the distribution flow, the network concept puts as much emphasis on nodes and blockages as on movement (Cooper, 2005). This implies that the association that sharing practices constitute has to be thought of always as in relation to a potentially unconstrained fluid social space. It is precisely the potential unconstrained fluidity that I believe is at the root of Ponas's concern with giving meat to anybody. In this case group-making looks risky because the resultant group, which includes people from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, may not be able to recognize and enact Innu values.

When Ponas was worried about giving to anybody, he was looking at the possibility of the social space expanding with unknown boundaries. Ponas was expressing his pessimism about moving from a socioscape, to use Appadurai's (1996) term, to another: from a socioscape of deepened paths of *atiku-euiash* through which values are realized and enskilment performed, to one formed by the frightening fluidity of the Euro-Canadian colonizing collective. Thus, Innu sharing practices establish boundaries within the fraught space the Innu inhabit, enacting sameness and otherness, cutting "somebodies" from "an-

ybodies" and "everybodies". When *atiku-euiash* reaches a boundary, when it is given to someone that might neither appreciate its realized values nor contribute to further their realization, it does not cease to leave traces. Neither is it the end of the relationships that *atiku-euiash* helped to build, including those they can build with the other (i.e., Euro-Canadians) when it leaves the Innu social space.[24] But it might imply the transformation of *atiku-euiash* into something else: simply caribou meat. Thus, if *atiku-euiash* is thought to be a vital force that is able to transform into food and value and, although it has the potentiality to flow to anybody, choosing someone with whom to share is effectively cutting such fluidity while at the same upholding *atiku-euiash* values. In short, sharing practices create a social space with boundaries outside of which values are transformed or disappear. In order to keep performing sharing practices that are meaningful (that is, that re-enact a social in which values are realized) generation after generation, enskilment is crucial, a point I will return to in the next section. Before that, two final, 'pre-emptive' clarifications about the sociology of associations are in order.

As pointed out before, the sociology of associations emerges from Actor-Network theory. This theory has been criticised from several angles such as epistemological (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Amsterdamska, 1990; Bloomfield & Vurdubakis, 1999; Collins & Yearley, 1992), ontological (Bloomfield & Vurdubakis, 1994; Grint & Woolgar,

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[24] The Sheshatshiu distribution network shows how the meat goes to places as far as, for example, Sept Iles, Quebec. Sharing also includes Euro-Canadians and Inuit who live in Sheshatshiu, North West River, and Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

1997) and political (Munir & Jones, 2004). I will not dwell here on the details of all these criticisms, which are well summarized by Whittle and Spicer (2008); rather, I want to tackle one particular critique that pertains more directly to the approach taken in this dissertation. This criticism says that ANT is ill prepared to understand the political domain and, particularly, how systems of domination can be resisted (Whittle & Spicer, 2008) because ANT collapses human and non-humans agencies. This criticism is based on the 'meaningful' character of human action: humans deserve their own ontological category that separates them from non-humans because humans possess language and other ways to generate and interpret the meaning of their actions. This separation is reflected in the ways and the reasons why humans and non-humans are enrolled in the networks of associations. Whittle and Spicer (2008) give the example of microbes and funding agencies that are enrolled in the scientific network in different ways, as microbes (and presumably other non-humans as well) do not have to be convinced. Given that only humans have to be convinced, their reasoning follows, the political domain should be limited only to humans. This research focuses on hunting and sharing practices that emphasize the associations between humans and non-humans (Innu, animal, and animal masters). Thus, according to this criticism, this research would be ill prepared to provide conceptual tools to understand how the Innu can resist Euro-Canadian domination. However, these hunting and sharing practices are often at the center of Innu resistance and they implicate non-humans. Therefore, including humans and non-humans in the Innu social provides conceptual tools to understand one of the possible ways to resist used by the Innu: to uphold Innu practices that promote Innu entities and associations. In addition, this critique as-

sumes that the categories 'human' and 'non-human' are fixed and stable. However, what being human and non-human means is different in different intellectual traditions. An eloquent example of this is Amazonian groups for whom animals and humans have the same culture and see the world in the same way (they see themselves as humans) but differ because they have different bodies (Viveiros de Castro, 2004). One of the facts of colonization is the attempt to align the colonized to the colonizer's worldview. For example, government authorities write legislation and policies assuming that the caribou is just a natural resource and not a sentient being as many Innu think. Similarly, for Whittle and Spicer, microbes and other non-humans are part of a different ontological category than humans and can only have a passive role in politics. The question is, if the political domain can only exist in terms of the ontological assumptions of the core Euro-Canadian intellectual tradition, are we not constraining the political domain in a way in which only the colonizer's ways to resist are valid? This criticism of ANT misses two important points: neither can it be assumed that the agency of resistance is only human nor that to be human and non-human is the same for all who resist. These points are particularly important if we are discussing resistance to colonization.

One last clarification must be made. We must not lose from sight that in ANT the network is fractal in nature. As Strathern argues "…one can always discover networks within networks; this is the fractal logic that renders any length a multiple of other lengths, or a link in a chain of further links" (Strathern, 1996). From wherever we stand and regardless of how much we zoom-in or zoom-out, the network of associations that emerges from practices is always complex, thus abstract, stable concepts are 'licit' only in relation

to specific purposes of the analysis (Jensen, 2007; Law & Hassard, 1999; Strathern, 1991). In other words, stable concepts that make complex phenomena manageable from a certain standpoint do not necessarily account for the complexity such phenomena may reveal from other standpoints. For example, for a judge trying a crime it might be crucial to understand the complex set of circumstances that led a person to shoot another one. From this standpoint, the technical aspects of the gun used in the crime might be irrelevant, as it is enough to 'black-box' that complexity into "there was a gun." Yet, precisely, the complex technical details and not the driving factors of the shooting (that can be black-boxed into 'X pulled the trigger') are what a forensic expert in ballistics will be interested in. Thus, when I mention, for example, 'Euro-Canadian Colonizers', I am 'black-boxing' this category. Euro-Canadian Colonizers is a complex network of peoples, tools, policies, and so on enacted by many practices performed over centuries by a diverse array of entities. However, in this work the associations black-boxed in this category are not traced, as this is not the main aim.[25] The depth and complexity of this research is set by the standpoint of an anthropologist seeking to grasp how the sharing of *atiku-euiash* participates in the constitution of the specificity of the Innu social. With these ca-

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[25] This reasoning can also be applied to other abstract, stabilized concepts such as colonialism, capitalism and class. The complexity behind these concepts can be black-boxed to focus the analysis on other phenomena. The condition is that these stabilized concepts should not close the inquiry as causes that explain the analyzed phenomena.

veats in mind, let us now turn to a crucial practice in the constitution of this specificity, enskilment.

Enskilment and the ongoing re-enactment of the Innu social

Enskilment practices, and their connections with sharing, are also crucial in the co-constitution of the Innu social since relationships with non-humans and the appreciation of value (which are the foundation of sharing) have to be learned by practice. I take the concept of enskilment from Tim Ingold. The foundation of this concept is Ingold's notion that the human being is not an entity formed by complementary parts such as body, mind and culture but as a "locus of creative growth within a continually unfolding field of relationships" (Ingold, 2000:5). The self participates along with other constituents of the environment that are part of this field of relationships. Starting with this conception of human being, Ingold defines skills not as a property of the body or the mind, but as a property of the "total field of relationships" of body, mind and environment and argues that skills are "immanent in the activity itself, in the gestural synergy of human being, tool and raw material" (Ingold, 2000:353). Consequently, learning a skill depends on sensory corrections and fine tuning of the observation of the environment and of the movements that are involved in accomplishing a task. Since learning a skill is not in the mind only, it cannot be reduced to an abstract formula, to a set of rules that are applied while performing an action and that are transmitted from generation to generation as if it were a recipe. To learn a skill, an apprentice should be able to actively observe the movements of the

instructor and imitate them by aligning herself towards the environment in the way that the instructor does. The process of acquiring skills, or enskilment, is synonymous with 'understanding in practice' in such a way that learning cannot be separated from doing. In such a process, apprentices engage the environment of which they are a part by acknowledging the things and beings that are related to them and are affected by the practices of being enskilled.

The concept of enskilment has been used in a diverse array of issues, from fishing (Pálsson, 1994), to cow breeding (Grasseni, 2004), to kayak hunting (Walls, 2012). Pálsson, who studies Icelandic fisher learning practices argues that enskilment contrast with normative learning in that while enskilment assumes that instructor and apprentice are embedded in the world they dwell and can align their bodies and senses to the learning practice, normative learning assumes that instructor and apprentice are alienated from the world and cannot address how they feel the skills they teach or learn. In this sense, Ingold also suggests that rules, instructions and plans aimed to guide a person through an activity only help in positioning such a person to perform. They are not enough to learn to perform. They are the map that initially helps one to roam in a new territory but are useless once the territory becomes familiar. Thus, rules cannot determine actions and actions cannot be reduced to a set of instructions that are repeated exactly in each performance. In this, Ingold follows Suchman's (1987) idea that artifacts such as plans do not determine action but rather help individuals position themselves in situations where they can use their embodied skills. Thus, plans are ways to reason about action but are not generative mechanisms (Suchman, 1987:39). Following this line of thought, it can be argued

that practices reflexively constitute their own meaning rather than the meaning being dependent on external or pre-existing structures because these are not fully deployed during the execution of practices. Even when part of these structures could be present as check points in the process (as one may check Google's directions before making important turns), most of the execution relies on skills that creatively react to the challenges of the environment. In contrast to what a sociology of the social would assume, then, there is no pre-existing framework that fully explains an action before it happens. Contrarily, action in itself is the explanation of any framework that can be abstracted from it. Plans and rules, useful artifacts as they might be, are not the cause of action. The following example helps to illustrate the point.

One time, the members of the camp where I was staying decided that we should spend the day hunting geese at a nearby lake. This lake is connected with the lake we were at by a river of about seven kilometres. The farther lake was at a slightly higher altitude, so on the way there we had to portage the canoe to avoid some rapids. However, on the way back, we decided to canoe these rapids. The main obstacle was two boulders along the way that had to be avoided. The "plan" consisted of going through the middle to avoid the first boulder to the left and then turning left to avoid the one on the right. However, there were many smaller rocks along the way, more than can be counted and specified in a reasonable plan, so in order for this plan to work someone had to be in the bow of the canoe looking for any smaller rocks that could damage the hull while another person had to be steering the boat to avoid these rocks. Such a plan, thus, only works for a team with an enskilled "rock finder", someone who knows how to find rocks in the rapids' white

water, and an enskilled steersman that can steer using the other's directions. This plan was complemented with some rules of thumb, such as if there are too many rocks and the waters are too fast, maybe it is better to climb down the rapids by land using the portage, but not with detailed rules that apply to every rock one might encounter. Actually, as one elder told me while deciding to go on a hunting trip, "we never plan; you never know what is going to happen in the future." It could be said that a lack of planning works as long as one is enskilled in how to handle whatever happens in the future. Plans and rules cannot fully exhaust all the contextual knowledge that action implies.

Another way to look at plans and rules is in the fact that one is not necessarily conscious while performing actions such as giving some meat to a person in need. The hunters know to whom they have to give and when without an explicit plan or a conscious rule. However, one is conscious of rules when assessing whether someone is generous or not or, more generally, when assessing the outcomes of actions. Sharing with an elder is not done with an abstract rule in mind, such as the belief that elders should be provided with caribou meat before others to increase respect. Neither is the act of sharing part of a plan to maximize generosity. I never heard such a thing during my fieldwork *while* someone was being generous. However, while assessing past deeds, Innu conveyed examples of generosity or stinginess to me and their consequences as we have shown above. Ultimately, this argument, as both Suchman and Ingold do to a certain extent, follows George Herbert Mead's (1962) philosophical pragmatism in that rationality reconstructs action rather than directs it.

According to this pragmatism, no enunciable knowledge can exhaust all the possible options for how to perceive, act, and appreciate acts; thus, enskilment is necessary to know how to perform actions, how to perceive the environment where actions are performed, and how to appreciate the value of actions. This pragmatism contrasts with an anthropological tradition that dichotomizes the material and mental components of practices, present, for example, in the work of Rappaport (1968) who separates the material in an "operational model" and the mental in a "cognized model."[26] The division of operation and cognition leads one to underappreciate value: the more practice (operation in Rappaport's terms) is separate from cognition, the less the researcher understands how values are intermingled with practice[27]. However, as Bateson argues, mind and nature are integrated by events of communication between human and non-human constituents of the

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[26] The operative model includes the material aspects of human practices such as the manipulation of resources of those activities related to livelihood (Rappaport, 1968). The cognized model is the rationality of human activity, as it is thought of by the social actors. The way these two models connect is through indicators that, as regulators based on feedback mechanisms, organize cognition and operation and allow researchers to understand the course of action. For example, in his study of the Tsembaga-Maring , Rappaport shows that an increasing number of pigs invading gardens are an indicator of an imminent uprooting of the Rumbin tree and the starting of the Kaiko ritual. For Rappaport, the ritual cycle connects cognition and operation, thought and action. However, it does not matter whether the increasing pig population is an indication that the ancestors may want some pigs sacrificed; rather, according to Rappaport, the entity of spirits and their taste for pig feasts are merely circumstantial cosmological propositions, which are intrinsically powerful as they lack a relationship with an observed reality.

[27] This involves Rappaport's paradox: the more disconnected from reality cosmological propositions are, the more adaptive and thus the more easily adopted and integrated they are with human practices (Rappaport, 1979).

environment (Bateson, 2002 [1979]). Bodies, and the actions they carry, are the primary interfaces of the mind's connection with the surroundings. Therefore, what can be conceived as different domains, such as an operational model and cognized model with independent logics, are joined together in a continuum that actions bring into existence along with values that become the expected outcomes attained from these actions. Thus, actions, values and enskilment are not different "things" existing in different domains but different ways of describing the same 'thing' so that, for analytical purposes, a particular aspect gets foregrounded. Individuals are simultaneously enskilled in performing actions and in appreciating the values realized in performing such actions. An Innu middle aged man told me that, "I grew up listening to the old people, to my parents, about how to share, how to help people. That is part of Innu culture. Old people talk about respect." Respect is at the core of the enskilment that occurs through the elder-younger relationship. The relationship resembles how respect is learned through the animal masters-hunters relationships. This is not by chance since it is the elders who teach about animals, too. As was mentioned above, Innu respect those who share and those on whom they depend. The youth depend on the elders to be introduced to the animals and their masters. This learning does not come from what the elders say, but from what they do, as a young hunter says:

> *[…] My elders learnt how to share when they were younger, but they never told me. I learn by being with them.[…] And they are the first people that I think of to give caribou. They are very happy when I give them, they say thank you.[…]*

Individuals learn in *nutshimit* how their actions affect animal persons that dwell in the forest as well as how other persons' actions affect them. They learn that they should please animal masters in order to maintain this mutual relationship which ultimately keeps the chain of giving and exchange going. This brings us to an interesting point: in a relational world, the animals and their masters are also those who enskil people on how to treat them as persons by observing what they do. That is why the elder conducting the *mukushan* described above thanks the caribou master and warns everybody that caribou should be treated with respect. As Atiku-napeu is watching how hunters and Innu treat the carcass, grandparents are watching their grandchildren share. But the direction of the attention runs the other way too, as people watch what Atiku-napeu does, young Innu watch what their elders do.

Since this enskilment has to be done in *nutshimit*, the Outpost Program is very important. This program covers the travel costs and provides $200 for supplies to each person who participates. The trips are made using several private air carriers that charter planes, usually Turbo or Twin Otters that can land and take off in short distances in the bush and are equipped to land on water, ice, and dry-land runways. The landing places are usually previously designated camps with cabins and tent frames, scaffolds, and other permanent structures. Transportable gear, such as boats or snowmobiles, is hauled by air each season or left at outposts.

Going to *nutshimit* is imperative to enskil. Many places are named after people that frequented such places and thus were intimately connected to them (Armitage & Penashue, 2008). The importance of human relationships in Innu mobility through the

land has already been shown by Mailhot. For this author, Innu peoples' territorial distribution is determined by their social relations: "someone hunts in a particular area because of connections with others who hunt there" (Mailhot 1986b:102). These movements between places can be seen as movements between relationships. Mailhot suggests that there is a very close link between territorial movement and kin relationships. For her, Sheshatshiu Innu's movements across the landscape are actually structured by these relationships, which have then an important role in subsistence activities. An individual well-connected through kin and marriage can have plenty of places to hunt, but "[i]f circumstances had deprived someone of an adequate kinship network, then that person's territorial experience was correspondingly limited" (Mailhot 1997:146). I suggest that these places also offer the possibility of enacting associations, since they offer the possibility to build new or stronger relationships with other people, human and otherwise. My own experience is an example. My strongest bonds with Innu individuals were developed in *nutshimit* during the longest stay I had. These relationships, particularly with the *ustshimau* of the camp who lead several incursions for setting traps and hunting, became very strong in the following camps and in Sheshatshiu. In the camp, I became an adoptive son of sorts whose cultural age is equivalent to a child that had to be enskilled about everything from scratch. This includes all sorts of things such as how to behave in relation to animals, how to paddle a boat, and how to hike in the woods. Back in Sheshatshiu, my friend's family got closer to me. Having been in the place where their ancestors went for many generations became a topic of conversation and a reason to bond: in a way, since

my first visit, we shared that place and that made us closer. As we became closer, we started to be enskilled into appreciating their values.

Human/non-human associations also have to be enskilled from childhood in order to create lifelong bonds. On many occasions, I saw how bringing teens to the camp inspired them to practice hunting. However, these are not just opportunities to practice shooting, they are also opportunities to foster their association with hunted beings and the places they are found. In a workshop I participated in, an elder wondered "how animals would recognize the Innu if they no longer go to *nutshimit*". How can these relationships exist if they are not cultivated from childhood by coming every year to the area where animals dwell? Being in *nutshimit* engages the participants in such a way that it creates a profound momentum for the enskilment of younger participants. Such momentum can be seen in the enthusiasm of the people participating in the camp. For example, when I first arrived to one of the camps in the spring, I was surprised by how the same individuals that looked depressed and sad in their settlement homes, many of them unemployed and drunk for long periods, were so happy and enthusiastic about every one of the activities requiring hard work that keeping a camp implies. While in the settlement, they were mostly involved in quarrels, in the camp they were all laughs. When I asked some of the camp members about their feelings about being in the camp, they expressed that they not only felt happier, but also pointed out that they all lost weight, attributing this to the idleness of the settlement compared to the activity of the camp. "We all look prettier here," one of them added among laughs.

Other ways to access *nutshimit* besides the Outpost Program also exist, from quick hunting trips to cabins located along the nearby highways, to longer trips in farther places. *Meskenau,* the road in innu-*aimun*, is one of the main routes by which one can leave Sheshatshiu's settlement for *nutshimit*. Some trips along the road are taken to hunt or fish but many of them are taken just to disconnect from the settlement. Sometimes tents are put right along the road between Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay, barely a 15 or 20-minute drive from town. Users of these tents mention that often they spend a night in them just to get away from Sheshatshiu. Shorter trips can be easily taken by car or snowmobile. Hunting white ptarmigan and spruce grouse is made possible by just a two-three hour snowmobile ride or less across the frozen Grand and Melville lakes. Most of these outings are usually short and family members do not always join hunters on them. Trips along the TLH usually take two or three days. Parties are small and most of the time is spent in trucks since one must travel along Labrador's gravel roads at low speed. Although some Sheshatshiu community members have cabins along the TLH as near as 100 km from the community, most Innu cabins are farther inland, in the area of Wilson Lake and beyond – a four-hour ride from the community (see Map 4 below). These cabins are set closer to the region where the migrating George River caribou herd crosses the TLH during the last weeks of fall and winter. The most important feature of these types of trips is that younger apprentices are not always around. Thus, these gateways to *nutshimit* cannot fully develop enskilment and values in the same way as when larger groups visit *nutshimit* for a longer time and the associations with animals and their masters can be properly taught to the youth.
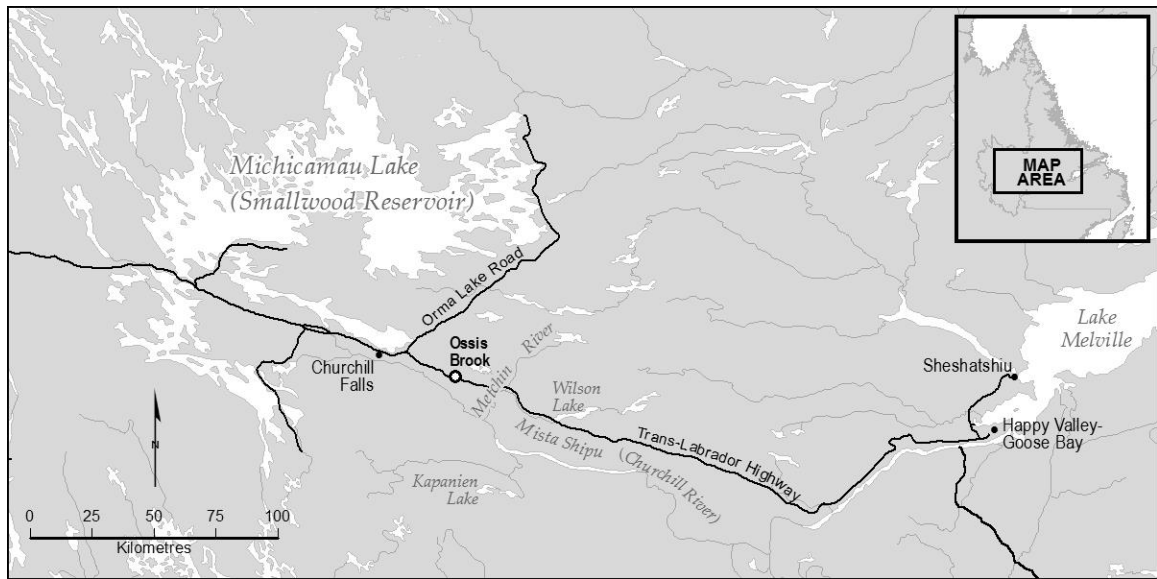
Map 4: This map shows the portion of the Trans-Labrador Highway (highway 500) west of Metchin River (in the bottom right corner) and east of Churchill Falls town (just out of the map on the right). The road in purple is the Orma Lake road. We camped in the intersection of the TLH and this road. Ossis Brook is halfway between Metchin River and Orma Lake Road.

Sometimes younger Innu are around and, certainly, they can learn a lot while riding so many hours with knowledgeable elders; they can hear many stories, but the practical knowledge about, for example, handling caribou bones and how to do the *mukushan*, cannot be taught in such a way. The quality of the enskilment is not the same, yet as one companion told me while I was complaining that we were not going to an outpost, "*nin tshitutenan meskenat, kie mak nin tshitutenan nutshimit iat*" (we go to the road, but we go to *nutshimit* too). Thus, no matter the obstacles, Innu keep on using planes and the road, going in large and small groups, to keep the practices associated with *atiku* eiauash going as well as possible. At the very least, going to the road allows hunters to get *atiku-euiash* to share. Sustaining sharing practices is central to the re-enactment of an Innu social in

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which the values of generosity, respect and autonomy are both appreciated and realized.

The next chapter addresses this.

4. Sharing Practices

At first sight, sharing appears simply as the act in which one person or group, the giver, gives something that she possesses to another person or group, the receiver. However, a closer look uncovers three points that are relevant to address sharing practices in Sheshatshiu. First, this 'something', is not necessarily or exclusively a material thing, such as meat, that circulates. As advanced in the previous chapter, *atiku*-eiuash sharing practices involve not only meat but also other 'things' such as enskilment and relations with animals. Second, sharing not only moves 'something' from one person to another but also contributes to the realization of values such as generosity, autonomy, and respect. Third, sharing is also necessary in bringing humans, animals, and masters together in the re-enactment of their mutual associations, generation after generation. In this way, sharing enables the continuance of part of the associations that constitute the Innu social. Changes in sharing practices, therefore, affect the shape of the Innu social. The worries of Ponas, the elder I mentioned in the introduction, about having to give to everybody instead of choosing 'somebodies' in the realm of 'anybody', are evidence of the unsettling effects of such changes.

The academic interest in sharing is not new to anthropology or to studies about the peoples of the Canadian North. In order to characterize non-market or subsistence economies, earlier anthropological studies focused on two main themes related to sharing practices. One is the value of sharing goods. The other is the distribution patterns pro-

duced by sharing. In this chapter, I discuss the contemporary expressions of these themes and I examine how such themes can be articulated with my own findings about the relevance of sharing and its participation in the co-constitution of the Innu social. Understanding the role of sharing practices sets up an indispensable premise to evaluate in the next chapter how changes to them affect enskilment and the realization of value. In turn, such changes affect how sharing practices participates in the co-constitution of the social. Thus, the main goal of this chapter is to tease out how sharing is crucial to the realization of value in the interactions sustained among the persons (human and non-human) that constitute the Innu relational world.

The Value of sharing and distribution patterns

Since the beginning of the study of non-market societies, anthropologists have recognized the need to assess the economic implications of goods' circulation, the value/s generated in sharing. Since there is no market to establish a relative value of things, sharing practices were valued in terms of the relationships they implicate. Early on, Mauss (1990 [1950]) developed the concept of 'gift' by which objects are inseparable from owners and acts of giving involve the receiver staying perpetually indebted to the owner. In other words, sharing implies creating a bond –or reinforcing an existing one– between persons; things stay connected between the persons involved. Thus, sharing practices are not done with the expectation that another good of the same value will be returned but with the expectation that a certain relationship between persons will be realized. Since Mauss, the

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analysis of subsistence economies has followed the idea that the value of sharing is fully realized beyond the domain of the 'economy' through their impact on social or cultural aspects that are improved by these practices. Thus, in most studies about subsistence economies, the value of sharing was 'measured' by showing how it impacted social aspects of the communities studied.

The interest in distribution patterns, in turn, built upon the notion that such patterns can help explain and compare how subsistence economies work. 'Pattern' can be defined as a distinctive model or form comprising the consistent arrangement in which shared objects circulate. The paths where goods are transferred are made of relationships: goods originate, are directed, and end up in particular types of person-to-person relationships. As Malinowski (1920; 1984 [1922]) noticed in his study of the Trobriand Islands of the South Pacific, the circulation system of necklaces and armbands, called the Kula, showed that these goods were travelling in specific directions determined by the men that carried them and their willingness to foster alliances among tribes with other men. The Kula distribution pattern was intermingled with the deployment of such partnerships. It is not just about the bracelets and armbands, but also about partnerships and alliances, or intangible things that are concurrently realized. Two decades later, Polanyi introduced the idea that, in non-market societies, the economy is actually embedded in social relationships which give sharing structurally differentiated patterns of distribution such as reciprocity and redistribution (Polanyi, 2001 [1944]). The way that shared things circulate was thus described with more defined patterns. After the contributions of Malinowski and Polanyi, the modeling of distribution patterns became more sophisticated, reflecting different

forms of sharing such as generalized, symmetrical, and negative reciprocity (Sahlins, 1972), tolerated theft (Blurton Jones, 1984), demand sharing (Ingold et al., 1988; Peterson, 1993), and delayed reciprocity (Blurton Jones, 1984; Woodburn, 1988). In summary, the studies around this theme have produced increasingly sophisticated notions to describe distribution patterns that are abstracted from observed cases.

Interest in the value of sharing and distribution patterns is reflected in the literature on the economy of Algonquian peoples up to the 1980s.[28] Much of this early work was guided by a concern with the impact of the fur trade on the Algonquian world and how the Algonquian peoples were caught in between subsistence and market economies. Precisely for that reason, many of the discussions focused on how this being caught between different economies manifested through distinctive patterns and values, particularly regarding the ownership of land. Among early ethnographic works, the research of Frank Speck stands out due to his assertion that the Algonquian peoples, among whom the Innu were his prominent example, had a land property system before Europeans arrived in the area (Speck, 1915; 1981 [1922]). According to Speck's thesis, the market economy only articulated to this pre-contact form of ownership by directing part of the animal harvest to the

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[28] Most of the studies among the Labrador Innu that examine sharing practices (Henriksen, 1973; Mailhot, 1986b; McGee, 1961) predate the contemporary wave of subsistence economies studies (Gombay, 2005; 2006; Harder, M., Wenzel,G., 2012; Wenzel & Hovelsrud-Broda, 2000). Other disciplines, such as archeology, have recently conducted studies about goods distribution and storage in Labrador but, as expected, they are concerned with prehistoric or early contact times (Fitzhugh, 1975; 1977; 1978; 1981; Loring, 1998; Loring & Ashini, 2000; McCaffrey, 1989; Stopp, 2002).

fur market, while meat or other products were shared within local communities. In other words, land was not shared freely and fur harvested in it could only be sold to the market by the owner of the land. Speck's assertions imply that a western concept of property can be applied to the Innu and other Algonquian peoples, such as the Northern Ojibwa (Dunning, 1959), and Cree (Flannery & Chambers, 1986). Speck's findings were challenged by Eleanor Leacock (1954) in a paper in which she argued that the evidence regarding the distribution of the Algonquian property system shows that it developed as the fur trade – the market economy– expanded throughout North America and was better established in areas that were closer to trading posts. Ultimately, the discussion of the value of sharing (and associated distribution patterns) in the Algonquian world was linked to the status of land as property. If the land is owned, the owner has the right to share the goods obtained in it. Thus, the value realized by sharing the goods (e.g., killed animals) depends on the rights over such goods.

Later, the discussion about whether Algonquian peoples have a form of property that resembles the Western one was sidelined and ethnographic research shifted to questions around how Algonquian society and economy worked after contact (A. Tanner, 1986). In the 1980s, Bishop (1986) argued that the fur trade strengthened an existing form of ownership which did not set the 'enclosure' of a piece of land per se but a position in an exchange network. According to Bishop, a person who has the right to trade with other groups in a certain area owns the goods to be traded in that area. According to this reasoning, the value of distributing goods is relative to the owner's position in an exchange network. This position relies on the intrinsic characteristics of such a network. Thus, ra-

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ther than having a one-way relationship between owner and land, there is a multiplicity of interconnected persons occupying distinct positions in the network of relationships, some of whom may initiate good exchanges while others may not.

After European colonization, the network of relationships that might have existed was affected by the contact with the colonizers. The network is, then, deployed in a fraught social space. In other words, any notion of property of the Algonquian peoples emerged in articulation with land encroachment that developed through the contact with Euro-Canadian society (Nadasdy, 2002). The Algonquian notion of property, thus, is not necessarily contained either in the Algonquian worldview nor in the European, but is rather the product of these two different worlds engaging in a contact process marked by differences, some of them radical: different power relations and access to markets and resources; different ontological assumptions about land; different ontological assumptions about relationships between humans and animals, and so on. As the Europeans were encroaching on Algonquian lands, people such as the Innu developed land-related practices that reflect both their ontological assumptions and their interactions with the European colonizers at the same time.

In studies examining the Algonquian world, the value of sharing and distribution has taken a second place to discussions about land ownership. However, such discussions have implications relevant to sharing and distribution. Colin Scott's (1988), for example, examines the articulation of land ownership and the network of relationships in which the Cree he studies are immersed. This network is also the social space of sharing and distribution. He argues that there is no property system as such among these neighbors of the

Innu, but their system of human-animal-land relations "entails specific criteria for inclusion within the network of human beings who practice it" (Scott, 1988:40). Being included within this network implies being immersed in two-way relations with the other constituents of the network. This immersion includes acknowledging and respecting the other beings' needs, will, and autonomy. According to Scott, the authority of the *ustshimau* (uuchimaau in Cree language) over a piece of land relies on his ability to foster correct relations among all the beings involved.

According to Scott's argument, too, this way of relating with land and its dwellers is not blinded by the unidirectional and objectivizing concept of property commonly utilized in the Euro-Canadian world. Property for Scott is part and parcel of social practices. Scott shows precisely that a Cree notion of property has to be understood in the set of relationships in which the land 'owner' is immersed. This actually resembles Bishop's idea of positioning within a network: it is not the relationships with the object 'land' which is at stake, but the multiple relationships between the involved beings, each of whom occupies a unique place in the network of relationships. I suggest that this can be applied to the two themes we are discussing here: the value of sharing and distribution patterns. First, different systems that regulate relationships between persons and things are not easily translatable into each other, less so through the use of concepts that are abstracted from a particular system or case. Thus, concepts such as 'generalized reciprocity' or 'centralized redistribution' might end up working as blinders to the particularities of the 'collective' of beings where these distribution patterns are 'observed.' Second, practices that constitute these relationships between the entities of a collective and deploy the enskil-

ment necessary to appreciate and pursue the values that such relationships engender cannot be abstracted without losing their specificity. Appreciating value –and the enskilment to do it– happens because one is immersed in this network of relationships. Thus, in the same way that notions of property abstracted from European practices cannot be used to explain 'property' practices among the Innu or other Algonquian peoples, generalizing the value of sharing or applying blanket labels to distribution patterns offers little explanatory purchase to understand the specificity of sharing practices in the particular social space where they happen.

The specificity of the social space is not accounted for because of the generalizing nature of the sociology of the social: cases are studied, generalizing abstractions are produced, and the abstractions are then redeployed in case studies that become thus explained. The cost of redeploying general abstractions is paid for by the loss of specificity. As shown in the next section, research that focuses on the 'the social economy' relies on this form of reasoning and, thus, falls short of fully accounting for the specificity of sharing practices.

The social economy

In the contemporary literature about the Canadian North, sharing has been addressed in terms of the tension between the market economy and local subsistence practices that

are referred to as the 'social economy'[29]. With or without the label, reference to the social economy in studies of the Canadian North can be found since the 1930s and has been in and out of fashion since then (Natcher, 2009). During the 1990s, social economy studies gained a new momentum based on the idea that this framework can address the integration of subsistence and monetary practices. Thus, scholars utilize this approach to answer questions about the integration of hunting and sharing practices into largely waged-livelihoods in contemporary northern aboriginal communities (Abele, 2009; Harder, M., Wenzel,G., 2012; Natcher, 2009; Wenzel & Hovelsrud-Broda, 2000). This approach has been widely used and includes researchers working all across northern North-America, from Alaska (Bodenhorn, 2000) to Labrador (Natcher, Felt et al., 2012). In relation to sharing, the best examples of this approach are in the works of Gombay, Wenzel, Bodenhorn, and Collings. Working in Nunavik, Quebec, Gombay (2005; 2006) shows how practices have been developed to allow part of the country food to be commercialized in the market while the other part is diverted to the social economy. Wild food is thus shared according to the local customs, reinforcing the social value of such food. Boden-

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[29] This tradition can be associated with the susbtantivist perspective in which the economy is studied through the practices that integrate humans and resources. Another perspective, which will not be discussed in this dissertation since its usage in the Canadian North is somehow more limited, is formalism. In this line of thought, the study of the economy is based on *homo œconomicus*, the classical approach that follows Robbins' (1935) principle of scarce means to alternative uses. One variation of it is the evolutionary ecology that in the Canadian North is represented by authors such as Winterhalder and Smith (Smith & Winterhalder, 1992; Winterhalder, 1983a), who worked in the 1980s. Evolutionary ecology has been active in the last 20 years in other areas (Gurven & Hill, 2009; K. Hawkes et al., 2010; Hill et al., 1993).

horn (2000) shows how some Alaskan Inuit communities sell animals' tusks, while the meat is still shared within the community with the same effects. Wenzel (1991; 2000) describes how, while seal pelts are exported to international markets by Eastern Canadian Inuit, seal meat is shared among kin and local allegiances. Among the Copper Inuit of Holman, Nunavut, Collings (Collings et al., 1998) and his colleagues' study show how kinship relationships have increased their importance in the sharing practices in the last decades.

These authors work with the assumption that the social and the market economies are distinct domains that give practices different meanings. In the work of Gombay mentioned above, for example, sharing has different meaning among relatives in the context of the social economy than if this is done by government organizations or businesses which appear to work under a different logic. In one case study, Gombay (2006:503) argues the Inuk entrepreneur who sells wild food in his community "epitomizes some of the profound challenges people must face as they move from a society focused on subsistence production to one functioning within the context of a market economy operating on the basis of cash exchange." Something similar can be said of the situation described by Bodenhorn, who makes a distinction between 'a share' and 'sharing': while the latter "maintains social networks among humans and fulfils the social contract between humans and animals", the former refers to individual rights to goods that can be alienated (Bodenhorn, 2000:29). The logic behind the value of, for example, meat and tusks, respectively, is determined by the domain in which they are distributed and valued. It is assumed that the existence of these distinct domains of market and subsistence economies

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implies that individuals engage in social relationships differently in each one. In addition, some authors (e.g. Bodenhorn, 2000; Harder, M., Wenzel,G., 2012) argue that peoples whose livelihood has evolved in the social economy domain have to adapt to live in the market economy domain. Thus, postulating such distinction between the social and the market economy has helped the social economy authors to account for the value of sharing and, thus, to explain how hunting and sharing practices survive even when they do not represent a large percentage of economic activities in northern areas. It has also helped to show how ill-conceived are the policies of what Kuokkanen (2011a; 2011b) calls the "war on subsistence", a process driven by development, modernization, and citizen equality. [30]

Notwithstanding the explanatory power that such distinction seems to offer, one wonders whether the actual social space where these practices develop is really that clearly divided into distinct domains, such as in Gombay's 'subsistence production' and 'market economy' –or in what Bodenhorn's 'shares' and 'sharing' indicate. For example, as I advanced in the previous chapter, in Sheshatshiu, this space is characterized by the imbrication of different sets of practices and values based on Innu or Euro Canadian ontological assumptions at the same time, a fraught space as it was called above. The Outpost Pro-

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[30] These policies have not completely eliminated the reliance on wild food, particularly in the North (Poppel, 2007). Neither have these policies eliminated practices of sharing wild food. However, practices themselves, have changed, as some social economy authors show (see the Inuit of Clyde River, Nunavut, example below).

gram is a great example. From the program beneficiaries' standpoint, it does not matter from where the resources have been obtained, whether they come from the cash economy through IBAs or from other means. It does, however, matter to them that they can use such resources to perform practices in *nutshimit*. Postulating any causal importance of these domains might blur, for example, how the Innu have modified or adapted a diverse set of strategies to keep pursuing the practices that realize the forms of value important for them.

In this regard, in literature on the Innu, Henriksen anticipates the contemporary wave of studies about the social economy. For example, the world of hunter can have a parallel in either Gombay's society based in subsistence or Bodenhorn's sharing domain. The two worlds in which Henriksen argues the Innu live have a parallel in the market and social economies. In constructing the idea of the two worlds, he follows Leacock's thesis that the northernmost Innu had not been affected by the Euro Canadian trade (ownership of land had not yet taken root in the northern Innu's subsistence practices and sharing was still at the center of the Innu economy). Actually, the distinction between practices is a central point of his idea of the two worlds as it is in the articulation of the social and market economies for contemporary authors. In the world of the hunter, Innu hunters share their proceeds more or less equally among the camp dwellers in a distribution pattern that, based in Sahlins' (1972) concept of generalized reciprocity, Henriksen calls *common sharing* (Henriksen, 1973). In the world of the settlement, food is bought in the store with the money obtained from the government or from the sparse jobs available. Things have a value in cash and they are not shared as easily, so they circulate under a different logic

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than when things are obtained in *nutshimit*. For example, I saw an Innu man putting his snowmobile in his truck –to have it close at all times– so as to prevent some of his family members from using it. This type of distinction between how things circulate in the two different worlds actually serves to differentiate between them. However, as I show next, the way that things circulate, shared or traded, is ambiguous and does not easily adjust to these abstracted patterns.

In the world of the settlement, food is bought in the store, so there is an implicit reference to the fact that goods are not gifts but commodities. The main distinction between gifts and commodities is that when goods are exchanged as gifts, relationships between people are reinforced as in the Maussian debt; when goods are exchanged as commodities, the relationships between exchanged goods are reinforced as commodities can have market prices in which their value can be mutually translatable (Gregory, 1982). However, the distinction between gifts and commodities is not always precise, particularly when we consider the actual practices these concepts attempt to explain. For example, the shift from hunting practices producing things to be shared to hunting practices producing things to be sold in the market (or as producing commoditized labor) is not clear-cut in Sheshatshiu. Hunting practices that produce things (furs, tusks, etc.) to be sold can also realize the enskilment of younger people and can reinforce relations with animal masters and so on. Similarly, there will always be room for a paid hunter to re-enact his hunting world and realize its values by sharing and enskilling while hunting for money. In other words, as Chakrabarty (2000) argues, not all real labor becomes abstract labor since part of the effort invested in paid activities is not alienated in the market. Furthermore, even

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commodity exchanges reinforce the associations underlying them: the circulation of commodities can reinforce weak links, such as in the relationship between those who initially are merely transactional partners but become close friends by perpetuating their transactional relationship (Granovetter, 1973; 1985).

The existence of the two worlds is also exemplified by Henriksen through what he sees as the dilemmas in which individuals are caught. For example, the dilemma between having and sharing is mentioned by this author as prototypical of the difference between worlds. Henriksen argues that in the world of the settlement it is more difficult to solve whether to have or to share since there is an increased value put on having and keeping by the Euro-Canadian collective. Thus, having-sharing in the world of the settlement becomes more complicated to solve as goods have a value in the market economy. This is analogous with the situation that Gombay (2006) finds in Nunavik. There, the author describes the challenges an Inuk entrepreneur faces pursuing his country food business. Selling country food to people is seen as morally wrong among those in this Inuit community. Thus, the challenge this entrepreneur faces is how to justify that he is not sharing. The reasoning behind the entrepreneur's justification is that sharing was distorted by hunting support programs in which paid hunters, fishers and trappers *give to everybody* for free. Before, he argues, sharing was done selectively with those who were unable to hunt. As the Innu elder in the Introduction mentions, sharing was not done with everybody. In this case, however, the problem emphasized is that giving to everybody in the way these programs do affects the autonomy of people who become dependent on such programs. For the Inuk entrepreneur, selling food reaffirms his independence from gov-

ernment aid; however, at the same time, he rejects sharing. He has to "turn a blind eye," as he has to be "cold hearted" to stay in business. Are these dilemmas better understood as the products of the contradiction between two distinct domains (worlds or economies) or as attempts to realize different forms of value at the same time? A similar question can be posed for Sheshatshiu. There, some people commented with disapproval that some of the most accomplished hunters were selling caribou to certain band councils in Québec. The hunters justified it as a way to finance their trips while maintaining their own autonomy. In addition, these band councils were distributing this meat to the elders, who could use the leg bones for the *mukushan*. Is this simply the transformation of *atiku* into a commodity? Or are *atiku-euiash* practices creating different forms of value concurrently? Little doubt exists in the fact that whatever is not sold is shared and, therefore, generosity and respect are not forfeited, but their realization is intermingled with the procurement of cash that allows the practices to keep going while Innu values are still realized. Gombay's Inuit hunters, Henriksen's Innu hunters in the settlement and Innu hunters in Sheshatshiu who sell meat have all decided to realize values that they believe are part of their world as they find it, regardless of how analysts value such practices in reference to different worlds or economies. The question to address, then, is how the particular sharing practices being analyzed here realize the value and the enskilment necessary for such value to be appreciated.

The key to understanding the realization of value is to understand that Henriksen's worlds and the economies (the social and market economies) are not simply pre-defined frameworks in which practices take place but also are themselves the result of practices.

The limitation with the approaches that focus on the social economy is that value is appreciated in relation to a pre-defined idea of the social. When authors talk about the social economy there is an implicit assumption that some practices (e.g., meat sharing) foster the social economy, while other practices (e.g., wage employment) foster the market economy. Practices that foster the social economy emphasize how certain types of relationships, typically with the extended family or the local community, are reaffirmed by sharing or other practices. These practices seem to have a cohesive force that keeps the collective together, while market-related practices do not. Therefore, in the two-economy argument, the value of sharing is that it fosters the cohesion of a predefined social that, at the same time, explains the ultimate nature (and purpose) of sharing.

The problem is that the social is never pre-defined but rather is always emerging and being re-defined. For example, in their study among the Copper Inuit mentioned earlier, Collings and his colleagues show how Inuit maintain several forms of sharing as described earlier by Damas (1972), among them, '*payuktuq*', a form of voluntary sharing where a household informally shares with other households. *Payuktuq*, according to the authors, has shifted to include closer relatives instead of reaching farther into the kin network. The authors also mention that, during their fieldwork, caribou was scarce as the herds moved farther away from the town of Holman. Like in Sheshatshiu, in Holman caribou is a much desired meat. In this scarcity situation, a hunter that had obtained three caribou distributed meat to 14 households, reaching well beyond his close kin network. The authors see this as an anomaly in the new sharing pattern that usually includes only the closest kin. However, although this hunter cannot give caribou to everybody, there is

no static or predefined state of the social to refer to and that makes "anomalous" some sharing acts: the social is being co-constituted by these differing practices. Value, then, is not in fostering a social that has to maintain in a certain state of cohesion, but in constituting one from the available relationships, close and distant. If the explanation is turned around and, instead of having a 'normal' distribution pattern (which is but a proxy of an assumedly 'normal' and stabilized social) as the standard through which we examine sharing practices, we put sharing practices as constituting these patterns, there are no longer any anomalies. If sharing practices delineate distribution patterns then the actions of Holman's caribou hunter are not anomalous but just the way in which the realization of values participates to co-constitute the social. What is important is to attend to what these values are.

My argument is that there is a strong linkage between actions, values and the resulting distribution patterns. In other words, sharing practices realize values of different types at the same time as they foster associations that substantiate particular distribution patterns. Following this reasoning, the different patterns we find in the field –and we can extend this to other analytical constructs such as the notions of market and subsistence economies– are not the explanation of value-creating actions but the opposite: they are their consequence. To grasp the point fully we need to turn to the concept of action-value.

Action-Value

Many authors who worked among the Innu have addressed the inherent value –or benefits– of *nutshimit* practices. Actually, Henriksen (1973) himself emphasizes many times the beneficial, healthy lifestyle of *nutshimit*. Marie Wadden (1991), who stayed with the Innu of Sheshatshiu during the eighties, accounts for the value of the Innu pride in *nutshimit* as one of the sources for Innu political capital. Samson and Pretty (2006) emphasize the value of a wild food diet and the very active routine of the Innu hunting lifestyle. In the "*Report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission on the Treatment of the Innu of Labrador by the Government of Canada*", authored by Backhouse and McRae (Backhouse & McRae, 2002), the Outpost Program is praised as valuable in healing the wrongdoings of Government policies. In all these works, the value of a practice like hunting –or the benefits, the healing power, and so on– is measured in a way that academics and policy makers can relate to their own value frameworks. In similar fashion to the social economy that measures the value of practices in relation to a pre-defined notion of the social that implies the 'value' of social cohesion, these works attempt to apply concepts such as 'health' that can be appreciated in academic discourse. Such categories refer to things that are obviously valuable in relation to western notions: we all have bodies, human and political. There is no doubt that these practices have such benefits from the western perspective and that the Innu are also able to appreciate them. Yet, is this all there is?

Rather than starting from predefined notions of wellness, wealth, or cohesion as universal forms that provide the key to understanding the value of practices, I want to under-

stand the values realized by *atiku*-euash sharing practices in their specificity. The values of generosity, respect and autonomy are not mere means to, or intermediate stages of, those assumedly universal forms of value. Innu pursue and appreciate them regardless of whether they contribute to the realization of those other values or not. This is possible to grasp in a type of "economics" that is based on other currencies besides those implied in desirable states such as emotional health, material wealth, evolutionary fitness, social co-hesion, and hunting prestige. This type of economics can be based in the notions of value similar to that proposed by Gabriel Tarde (Latour & Lépinay, 2009). For Tarde, consider-ing wealth as the only element of economic value is too narrow of an approach. Thus, he proposes to see value as heterogeneous: besides wealth there are other forms of value such as glory, truth, power, beauty and so on. Generosity, respect and autonomy can be considered such types of value categories.

The heterogeneity of value that Tarde proposes connects with his notion of capital. Tarde explains 'capital' using the idea of 'seed'. Seeds have two main components: the 'germ' that provides growth and development and the 'cotyledons,' the nutrients that ma-terialize these capabilities. Thus, the germ capital provides the knowledge about the pro-cess that enables someone to produce and the cotyledon capital provides the material components that production needs. Germ capital has a resemblance to the idea of enskil-ment, since the process by which the individual learns to perceive, appreciate and do things is what constitutes the seed of value realization. Seed capital is by definition heter-ogeneous. This is because the many potentialities of the germ parts are not translatable to one another. For example, the knowledge and skills needed to get and share *atiku-euiash*

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and to appreciate the value of doing so are not translatable to those who get and share wheat from some cultivable land. Heterogeneous enskilment practices enable heterogeneous germ capitals, which in turn translate into heterogeneous values.

Coming from a different theoretical background, Graeber (2001) takes a pragmatic notion of value out of the comparative, universalistic framework that had prevailed in anthropological studies (vg. Dumont, 1982; and Kluckhohn, 1954), arguing that "value emerges in action; it is the process by which a person's invisible potency –their capacity to act– is transformed into concrete, perceptible form" (p. 45). This transformation from potency to concrete, perceptible form is done as persons are immersed in a social space. The engine that drives the transformation is, as Graeber argues, the creative action within social relationships. The value produced by these actions is realized and appreciated by socially shared expectations put on such actions.[31] Graeber offers different examples in which the relation between value and action can be seen, but one seems to exemplify the point best. In most subsistence societies, he argues, cooked food is recognized as valuable at the same time as the effort put into processing is acknowledged, from obtaining to serving it. Thus, the value of food is not alienated from the effort that sharing food im-

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[31] He also argues that, often, the actions that give things their value are congealed in the object per se, whose value is thus fetishized to the point that the actions done for the thing to enter the social realm are not recognized any longer and the thing winds up having value in itself. That is the case of capital in capitalist societies, but it can be also extended to the idea of 'the social' fostered by the social economy. There, the social is not recognized as the extension of the actions that produce it and, instead, it seems to have life in itself.

plies. Sharing food in these societies, thus, shows the extent of the link between action, value and social relationships: creative action and its potentiality to produce value can only be realized relationally –in relation with others that acknowledge these actions.

I find, however, one limitation to Graeber's argument: he assumes that value needs a social structure in which creative action can take place. This, in a way, ignores his own assertion about the fetishization of the outcome of actions since the social is also an outcome of actions: the relationships needed for actions to deploy their creative power can be seen as also the product of the same creative power. In other words, the network of relationships, the social needed for actions' creative power to deploy is co-constituted in these same actions. Thus, I suggest, bringing Tarde's seed capital into the mix might help to better understand the interrelation of action and value, since seed capital does not call for a preexisting structure to accomplish its potentiality.

Articulating Graeber's concept of value with Tarde's seed capital we can grasp that actions have the potential to simultaneously realize value and the associations forming the social, that, in turn, enable the appreciation and pursuit of values to be realized. A value such as generosity cannot be appreciated by everybody, but only by those enskilled within practices of generosity themselves; that is, those who have learned how to appreciate those practices. For example, when animals are generous, most Euro-Canadians are not able to appreciate it: they think simply that they are dumb, or of inferior intelligence, and they miss that they are offering themselves to the hunters. Consequently, Euro Canadians tend to 'respond' to this generosity in ways that are not conducive to its sustenance. The problem, of course, is not simply about identity (being Innu or Euro-Canadian), but

about enskilment. The example I discussed before, where one hunter's stingy campmates took everything offered and later had no luck, shows how value depends on being enskilled to both do and appreciate actions. In that example, one expects that sharing actions will have the outcome of generosity. Generosity brings the respect of other persons, including the animal masters who will keep putting animals in the generous person's way. However, the stingy campers did not know how to foster these relationships and, thus, how to appreciate what is accomplished by giving.

From the perspective I am trying to articulate here, sharing practices can be addressed by a conceptual construct in which action and value converge, which I will call *action-value* for short. Since the production and the appreciation of value rely on individuals' enskilment on the relevant practices, then we have to consider values as the products of such practices: values are made by actions using the acquired skills within such practices. Sharing practices involve actions that produce values such as generosity, respect and autonomy. Thus, sharing practices implicate the enskilment necessary for the younger generations to have the potential, the germ, to realize and appreciate these values.

Considering sharing practices from an action-value framework leads me to the following arguments. First, the three values that I analyze (generosity, respect, and autonomy) are 'things' that are made; they are the product of the concrete actions that realize them. The reason why I could discuss them with the Innu interviewees is because the practices that create them have persisting traces in the form of abstract ideas about values. Following Suchman (2007), I argue that these abstractions are reflections of actions rather than explanations. These actions, moreover, are done in a relational world in which all persons

(human and otherwise) are connected and, thus, affected by actions. Second, the continuance of any of these forms of action-value depends on the enskilment imparted by those already knowledgeable in the practices. This puts the elderly kin in a prominent role of enskilment regarding the continuation and appreciation of certain action-value. And third, enskilment practices articulate with the actual conditions of the Innu social, that is, a fraught space where practices that realize other forms of action-value are also present.

Regarding the first argument that asserts that values are things that are made, it is possible to predicate the action-value nature of the three values analyzed here in a series of conditions:

a) Generosity is realized by the actions of sharing something 'valuable' with others.

The actions of giving produce generosity. The acknowledgment of generosity underscores the effort spent, the hassle suffered, and the time invested in such actions. I will illustrate this with a personal example. I noticed that in Sheshatshiu, when snowmobiles are new they are very well taken care of. An Innu friend of mine used to carry his new one in his truck all day; he did not want to leave it alone in the house. Another friend hid his snowmobile in a friend's house. As they age, however, snowmobiles are damaged by the weather and by extensive use in the Labrador subarctic forest. They break down more often and are prone to being stripped of their parts while lying silently in somebody's yard. They become junk. My snowmobile, which had already been rescued from the landfill, was in very bad shape, but it was working. One day, I decided to take it to one of the hunting camps and left it there for the next season. This was a major undertaking. The

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machine would not survive the long trip in deep snow, thus, we decided to take it by plane in one of the bush flights that was hauling equipment to the camp. Since the plane was leaving from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, I had to take it there by truck, given that there was not much snow on the ground in that time of the fall. After convincing someone to help me take it to the airport, the snowmobile was ready to take off. Even though it would have virtually no value if it was in a Sheshatshiu yard, one of the prominent leaders of the community told me one day, "You gave the snowmobile to Giant," who was still in the camp, "so you are a very generous man." At that point, I had given and loaned many things to the community for trips to *nutshimit*, some of them as valuable as an old snowmobile, such as a drums of gas, boxes of ammunition, and cash, and I was never told that I was generous. However, the machine that has no value in Sheshatshiu produces generosity when I perform the arduous actions of shipping it to the camp in *nut-shimit* where a hunter, Giant, needed it. Generosity is thus realized by such actions.

b) Respect is realized by way of concrete actions through which the needs and wishes of the other related persons are acknowledged.

Respect is also realized by way of sharing actions that underscore recognition of the effort implicit in generous acts, for instance, avoiding the waste of meat generously given by the powerful animal masters, and giving to those who have less, are weak, or are unlucky. As Armitage (1992) suggests, sharing is a way to show respect to other beings, particularly to the animal masters that can and will

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punish stinginess as a form of disrespect. Sharing brings a balance that is reflected in the idea that everybody is bettered through acts of sharing and, thus, everybody is respected. In one of my interviews with Ponas, he affirms that by sharing meat "everybody will be better, a lot better. Caribou is not trying to waste its life to anything. It's trying to make it even, and everybody can use the meat, and nothing is wasted, and everybody get something."

This sharing with others who do not have meat is also a realization of respect, as is implicated in the words of Napess:

> *When I asked my grandfather about respect, about some people being disrespectful… […] The way [to show respect] they did in the past is to give meat or fish after longing for it and that is why they enjoy it very much. That is the way I have been taught to respect and help others, help each other. Other might have taught different. When we are out hunting people distribute the caribou to other people who want it and who doesn't work, who are unemployed and they cannot go to the country, they can't hunt.*

The realization of respect does not change when the hunts are supported by external funds that obviously come from the federal government or from an IBA (usually with mining companies). This money is used in the Outpost Program. Sharing is also present in such trips with all its features, including the avoidance of waste and the possibility of using the meat to help others. Ponas concurs with this, affirming that

> *When the government send us there, you may ask why don't to leave all the caribou there. There three or four families there. If we hunt 30 or 40 caribou, that is too much anyways, why don't give it away. That is why they send the*

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plane over there, so you can send them down here to the people, trying to make it even. Everybody is eating it.

Successful hunters are those more eager to participate in these trips and are well situated to distribute the meat as they are the direct recipients of animal generosity. Once hunters are back in the community, they offer caribou to those in need:

The people who can go and hunt are the ones that are best to share. They are supposed to share. They go out, for example, to Orma road and they kill I don't know whatever number of caribou and bring them back to the community. They have to share with their families and older people that can't get caribou. They ask if they want caribou and give them caribou. This applies to any animal; you do not hunt for yourself. It is better to share with the community. It is better to share wild game because people cannot hunt by themselves and some of us have the privilege of go out and hunt. Some people do not have gun, no vehicle. The Innu thing to do is to share your kill. That is what they did long time ago, right? When they were in the country, some families have more luck and they will give to the families that had less luck.

By respecting others, such as the elder or the weaker who cannot hunt, sharing also contributes to the realization of a person's autonomy. The person who can be self-reliant and decides to share is reaffirming her autonomy. The autonomous person chooses to show respect in the same way that she chooses to be generous. Moreover, as was shown, in a relational world, actions have consequences for other persons for whom one is thus responsible. Autonomy, therefore, comes with accountability for the outcome of one's actions. Perhaps the words of Ben An-

drew are the best to characterize the autonomous and responsible spirit of the In-

nu. He states that, at the beginning of the period of transition, the Innu were a

"society that expected a high degree of initiative, self-reliance and responsibility,

and which offered in return a life of extraordinary liberty" (Andrew & Sarsfield,

1984).

c) Autonomy is exercised through the action of choosing while acknowledging that others will be affected by one's choices.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of autonomy used here is re-

lational. Autonomy, thus, is realized by the action of choosing while acknowledg-

ing the impact of the choice on others. The responsibility for others is at stake in

each choice because there is always a possibility of choosing something that nega-

tively affects others. Part of the value of an action lies in such a possibility: if the

autonomous choice acknowledges the needs of others, then it has more value. I

found evidence of this one day while I was working in the Innu Nation's Envi-

ronment Office. One of my friend's brothers stopped at the Innu Nation Office

because he needed a favor: he wanted me to write a résumé for him. I did the best

I could. While I had him listing his previous jobs for me, he constantly tried to

convince me that if he did not get any job, he would go to the country with me un-

til December (this was October). He knew that I wanted to go to the country to

continue learning and he knew that I might be affected by his choice as he was to

lead the party. In spite of that, he came to me for help with his résumé, which

could have been done by many other individuals in the office in which I was

working, most of them with better English skills than me. But I was a person negatively affected by his choice of starting to work and missing a trip to *nutshimit*. After we finished, I took him to a construction site where he wanted to find a job so he could drop off his résumé. After we did that, he said, "If I get the job, I will be sorry for you, my friend." He did not get the job and we went to *nutshimit*, but the point is that one can choose and with each choice others are affected. By coming to me, he was acknowledging that I would be affected if he were hired, as I might not find anybody with whom to go to *nutshimit*. The reason is precisely the same than the reason why one cannot give to everybody but one can give to somebody: because autonomy is exercised by the action of choosing somebody while acknowledging that others (sometimes everybody else) are also affected with one's choices.

These examples show how values are folded into each other. What makes one generous? Giving something valuable makes one generous because of the effort spent on offering it, but also choosing to give rather than not as an autonomous being and considering the needs of others such as Giant, showing respect for him. What makes the young hunter respectful? Being generous with his grandparents to whom he autonomously chooses to share. What makes my job-seeker friend autonomous? He respects those who will be affected by his decisions by sharing with them, whenever possible, his decision-making process.

Regarding the second argument, I suggest that the continuance of any of these forms of action-value depends on the enskilment and, as stated above, sharing practices are en-

skilled by the elderly kin to the younger generations. Enskilment is, thus, something of value that elders give. The elders are in prominent positions with regard to the realization of values and actions. Generosity is linked to them. This includes matching the animals' generosity of sharing their own bodies to feed humans: most of the stories and activities by which animals are understood are told by elders, as the example of the *mukushan* shown in the previous chapter. Elder people, who have cultivated relationships with other beings –human and non-humans– the longest, are best able to enskil others in sharing practices that involve such beings. For example, in one interview, Jimmy, a young adult made it clear that "My grandparents are who taught me how to share." He also gave an example of how he does now what his elders do, having learned from their doing, their actions:

> *I went hunting last week, and I went to my grandparents to offer to them, but they already have it. I did the same. We went hunting with Paul and we got three, but I said to him I don't want caribou, I already have caribou. I said 'you can give to somebody else that needs caribou'. When I went hunting with my grand-parents last week, and when I went home, I also gave caribou to my cousin.*

This logic is also perceived by older people for whom sharing practices have to be learned by participating in the actions. Hence, Innu people learn generosity from whoever raises them; if parents give, as Ponas says, "they are doing in the same way when they grow up". This is because younger people learn by watching these actions. As Napess argues, one does not teach, but encourages by doing and youngsters learn by doing while being with their instructors:

"What I do in the country, I don't teach them, they learn what I do. That is the way I learn from my grandparents and parents and other people. All Innu people learn from that. This is Innu method, the Innu education. In the non-Innu culture is very different"

The emphasis, thus, is on doing, or on actions. As in the quote in the previous chapter from one man, elders "never told me. I learn by being with them."

Regarding the third argument about the articulation of these forms of action-value (generosity, respect and autonomy) with other forms of action-value, monetary practices present opportunities to foster actions that realize generosity, respect or autonomy in the way that Innu expect rather than presenting dilemmas. Money itself is outside of the principles of sharing with families who are less lucky or unable to hunt. Money, however, still circulates and is put to work and, even if it is not something to be generous with in the same relational way as *atiku-euiash* and the action-value of giving money does not realize generosity as does giving food, it can help to get supplies to go to *nutshimit* to hunt. Monetary practices simply present other types of action-value events which can be articulated with other practices. If somebody contributes something to the hunt, it is not money that is sought, but money can be an available means to get whatever is needed. I asked Jimmy, one of my interviewees, what would happen if I bought some ammunition and shared it to help him with the hunt, and wondered what he would be inclined to give back to me. He answered:

I wouldn't give you money. I would give you part of whatever I killed. My uncle, I use his gun. It has this scope. I shot so many caribou with it. And he never asks for anything. I tell him if I get something, I give back to him.(…) Money is a

different thing, I guess. I do not think that would do that [share] with money. For example, if my father needed something, for example some food because he is little low in money, I probably give him some food from my house.

Ponas also rejected the idea of paying for *atiku-euiash* with money: "No money involved. If you ask me for a piece of caribou and I give some caribou meat, and you want give me money, I say no, the meat is not for sale". However, what would happen if money was needed to hunt caribou to share? Would that create a moral dilemma, as Gombay or Henriksen would argue? Money is put to work and can be appreciated as being intermingled with other values produced by sharing practices. This is particularly the case when money is needed to perform such practices, for example, when money is needed to go to *nutshimit*. Money here has no transactional value (e.g., to settle an account balance after buying meat) but is a way to enable meat sharing and generosity with other people who, by putting some money in the pot, they can have "a piece of caribou":

One time, there were very few caribou close to Sheshatshiu. We went far away and we got 40 caribou. But I do not have enough money to get back in a plane. How I got in the air? I get it from the people, family. $25 for the airplane money, $25 for one caribou. I asked to the people to put $25 each. I was working for the government that time, and the people that were coming and going, the wildlife people asked me, are you selling caribou? I said 'No, I didn't sell no caribou'. They said "but they give you money". Yes, $25, that is not too bad, $25 one caribou. That is what I mean, it is not too bad. We needed the money for the hunt.

Sharing practices involve different types of events of action-value, but there is always an autonomous choice involved. I could have sold my snowmobile before coming back from fieldwork instead of giving it away. Jimmy could have decided to keep the meat out

of the hands of his grandparents and give it to someone else but the act of taking the carcass and dropping it in the elders' home produces generosity. In addition, sharing also realizes respect because by sharing, the entire carcass can be consumed and respect can be shown to the animal masters, the animals, the elders and other people in need. Elders, however, are primarily the targets of respectful actions. As shown above, Jimmy is a successful hunter who has a job and resources to buy what he needs to hunt. He gives most of whatever he hunts to his elders and other relatives. This is precisely the point when his autonomy is underscored because, while everybody deserves a share, it is up to him with whom he chooses to share. However, he is not autonomous because he does not need anybody else to get meat, as a western notion of autonomy would imply. He is autonomous because he chooses while acknowledging his relationships with others. To put it a simpler way, one can be autonomous as long as one acknowledges one's place in the web of relationships that make up the world. In spite of being unable to hunt, elders are generous in their own way, too. They are the ones who have enskilled –and continue to enskil– their relatives in different practices, particularly sharing. They choose to enskil. This is also why it is problematic to present the challenges and conflicts that arise where money is involved as dilemmas. If money is needed to go to *nutshimit* (and get meat, be enskilled, show respect for other beings, etc.), there is no dilemma. Let's get money! Indeed, one might be in the situation of having to decide whether to hunt or to work on any given day. However, as Ponas and Jimmy have shown, money is articulated with generosity, respect and autonomy as a helpful tool to go to *nutshimit* (and get *atiku-euiash*) in Sheshatshiu's fraught social space.

Conclusion

By realizing heterogeneous, specific forms of value such as generosity, respect and autonomy, sharing practices also enact the social. As argued above, sharing practices associate humans and animals in events of action-value. This is how sharing practices participate in the becoming of the Innu collective. I have also argued above that distribution patterns do not explain sharing practices but, contrarily, are explained by them. However, distribution data that can be abstracted from a specific set of observed practices do convey some implications. Distribution data can represent, in the form of distribution network graphs, certain regularities. I call the graphic representation generated from following the flow of meat and enskilment through households, a distribution network. A distribution network is an analytical artifact that represents specific distribution configurations, including the patterns proposed through the years, such as 'generalized reciprocity' and 'redistribution.' Distribution networks can also represent more sophisticated characteristics of sharing, such as the topological properties of the distribution's configuration that sharing deploys.

There has been some analysis of distribution networks in the literature about the social economy in Northern Canada (e.g. Harder, M., Wenzel,G., 2012; Natcher et al., 2012). However, they do not address one of their defining characteristics, their different topology and their relationship to other aspects of sharing practices. Different topological properties describe the material order enacted by practices and, in the case of *atiku* eiuash sharing, they can operate as indexes of how enskilment and values are realized. In effect,

as part of the enactment of the social, sharing practices trace different configurations of distribution networks that enable the realization of values and enskilment in different ways as well. The distribution networks are, therefore, an index of whether, how and to what degree values are realized and enskilment performed. In other words, distribution networks show the impact of the differences in how and to whom meat is distributed.

5. The distribution network

Succinctly, this chapter argues that the way and degree that sharing practices realize values and enskilment are reflected in the topology of the distribution network. The topological properties of the network ultimately show how sharing practices are also boundary-making practices that counterbalance the fluidity of sharing with anybody. As an analytical artifact, a distribution network allows the intricacies of sharing to be described with more specificity than prototypical patterns, such as 'generalized reciprocity', 'centralized distribution', or 'common sharing'. For example, according to Henriksen (1973) the way in which the Innu shared meat in the camp shaped a pattern, 'common sharing'. As an analytical representation, common sharing attempted to summarize the many acts of sharing into a generalized behavioral pattern that represents them by identifying what they have in common. Henriksen noticed that anyone in the camp that has meat shares it with some of those who have no meat. Thus, some hunt and share meat and everybody consumes it. Then, the idea of 'common sharing' is a good general representation of the fact that nobody is left outside of the acts of sharing, and sharing is common to all. However, in the attempt to find generalities certain subtle differences get lost. In this chapter I seek to tease out some of these differences through an analysis of the topology of the distribution network associated with *atiku*-eiuash sharing. I begin with a brief discussion of the benefits of a distribution network analysis in the context of this research, particularly regarding the importance of the network's topological properties. I continue with an ex-

amination of the two types of hunt, household-based and community-based, showing how they produce distributions with different topological properties. Then, I show how the clusters produced by sharing are similar to the groups produced by grouping practices that gather families for seasonal hunting activities. Subsequently, I discuss the place elders have in the distributions and how its topological properties indicate the realization of values and enskilment.

As Ponas, the elder quoted in the Introduction, shows, even if anybody can potentially have meat, there is always someone left outside of the acts of sharing of each particular hunter because no single hunter can give to everybody. In contrast to the pattern of common sharing, the distribution network is able to represent the different subgroups formed by acts of sharing in which a giver chooses whom to give to and whom not to. In the distribution network graph this appears as clusters of households gathered together by one fact: these households share with themselves more than with households outside the cluster. In other words, the network represents the effects of both giving and not-giving: the partitioning of a social space that otherwise would be a randomly amorphous one where anybody would give to anybody. In addition, as in the same graph all the sharing relationships are represented, it is possible to visualize its characteristics as a whole. Common sharing could be among these characteristics but other characteristics emerge as distinctive marks, for example, the mentioned partitioning of the social space in clusters. The distribution network is an attempt to represent something distinctive from each action of sharing, such as the fact that some recipients were chosen while others were not.

Visualizing the specific topology of the distribution network that emerges from *atiku-eiuash* sharing practices in Sheshatshiu helps to understand why Ponas is concerned about the possibility of giving to everybody. Since nobody has enough to give to everybody, giving to anybody puts the distribution network in an uncertain terrain where the way and degree of the realization of values and the performance of enskilment might be compromised. The point is that sharing can contribute to the realization of value aned enskilment within a limited set of relationships; individuals have to carefully choose the somebodies out of the anybodies for values to be realized. The distribution network, a product of individuals' sharing choices, can represent such a set of relationships. Distribution network graphs can provide insights into some of the distinctive features of sharing that other ways of conceptualizing cannot and, therefore, as I intend to show here, can unveil some unassessed properties of sharing practices. As I will argue below, topological 'properties' (such as centralization and clusterization) observable through the distribution network are associated with different outcomes in terms of the performance of enskilment and the realization of values. In other words, differences (or changes) in these properties of the distribution networks correlate with varying degrees and forms in which enskilment takes place and values are realized.

Network topology can be defined as a schematic description of the 'shape' or 'arrangement' of the network. A topological property, then, is a feature that is part of such a description. There have been analyses of topological properties that resonate with the sociology of the social. This is the case of Janssen and his concern about the structure of relationships in socio-ecosystems that he approaches with a network topology perspec-

tive. Briefly, according to Janssen (2006), the principle governing the continuity of network flows is that the topological properties of the network determine the ability of the network to resume its flow after disruptions. In other words, different network topologies affect how agents can circulate things, particularly when network connections are disrupted. Jansen's interest in network topology is connected to the role it might play in resilience theory. Resilience theory defines the identity of a socio-ecosystem as a state of equilibrium. If resilient, such socio-ecosystem attains the state of equilibrium after crises or processes of change (Gunderson & Pritchard, 2002; Holling, 1986). For example, in a centralized food distribution network, if the central source of food disappears, the system is resilient only if another central food source replaces it. In a more balanced network with several food sources, the system can tolerate the elimination of some of those sources and, thus, would be more resilient than the centralized one. Simply put, network resilience is related to the ability of a given network flow to withstand changes. Like Janssen, I am also using topological properties to analyze the different ways that meat circulates among households. However, my approach differs from Janssen's: rather than looking into how different topological properties affect flow, I look into how different sharing practices produce differences in topological properties. In other words, while resilience theory would have topological properties explaining the resilience of practices, my approach has practices explaining the topological properties.

During my fieldwork I conducted a survey upon which I base a series of distribution network graphs that I use in this section. All the survey's households that shared and all the recipients are represented with their distinctive, unique network location and the di-

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rection in which the meat was shared. The higher representational capabilities of the distribution network allow me to look into three different situations that emerge from tracing the circulation of *atiku-euiash*. Two of them emerge from the contrast between two types of hunt, the household-based and the community-based. Briefly, the household-based is organized, conducted and distributed by the hunters themselves and the community-based is organized, conducted and distributed by the community organizations. To bolster the conclusions I draw from comparing the network associated with each type of hunt, I look to a third case which, while involving a cluster associated with the household-based hunt, presents a distribution network with properties similar to the one associated with the community-based hunt.

Household-based and community-based hunts

In order to understand the differences in the distribution of the two hunt types, two other categories that I use need to be briefly discussed: centrality and connectivity. Jansen shows that centrality is among the main attributes that can be used to predict the continuity of the network flow. My attention is on how the flow of *atiku* eiuash and its associated realization of values and enskilment correlate with different degrees of centralization. According to Janssen, another important property to consider is connectivity. Connectivity is how connected are network 'nodes' (households in this work) and is calculated by comparing the number of all possible links (e.g., everybody is sharing with everybody) with the actual links that the network presents (e.g., some are sharing with particular peo-

ple). The closer the quantity of actual links is to the quantity of all possible links, the more connected the network is. I am using connectivity in this work by way of clustering: a cluster can be defined as a set of households which have more connectivity among them than with the rest of the network.

To contextualize the topological analysis of the distribution network, I start with an ethnographic description of the different types of hunts: the household-based and the community-based. All the hunts I participated in involved a related group of hunters – either by blood, affinity or acquaintanceship– under a hunting chief, the *ustshimau* or first man. There are, however, some variations that substantiate the separation between the two types. In the household-based hunt, the Innu went *atiku* hunting in smaller groups of a few hunters that acted autonomously. The meat was distributed by each hunter among his kin and friends. On the other hand, the 'community-based' hunts take place when the Innu Nation or the band council (Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation or SIFN) organize a hunt intended to distribute *atiku-euiash* to those in need and unable to hunt. Distribution in this case would reach beyond the boundaries of the closer network of the hunter's kin and friends: the meat was distributed within the community, regardless of kinship. Thus, household-based sharing, between a few families, produces a distribution network that differs from the one produced by community-based sharing among all the families from the community.

Several hunts I observed can be categorized as household-based. As mentioned above, the characteristic that separates these types of hunts from the community-based hunts is that they are not primarily organized by the SIFN or the Innu Nation. They are autono-

mous hunts. Although in many cases hunters did use support from the community to get to the outposts, these trips cannot be considered communal, and no organization had any say in how to distribute the kill.[32] This contrasts with other cases in the Canadian North where community organizations impact household-based distributions (for example, see McMillian, 2012). Most of the Innu see these activities as a right rather than a benefit that has to be somehow repaid. My first outing to *nutshimit* was to a camp located close to Kamistastin Lake during late October, which I visited with my family for five days. When we arrived a group of people had just returned to Natuashish. Several caribou had been killed and there was plenty of meat to consume in the camp. We shared a cabin with four other researchers, one of whom had married into the community several decades ago and was there with his Innu granddaughter. Our cabin also served as the kitchen for some of the cooking for the other two cabins where one Innu family, led by the most experienced hunter, an adult male, and several related younger males were staying. By the end of the trip, all the camp members, us included, received a piece of smoked caribou. The

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[32] It is important to mention that the self-organized household-based hunt is sometimes supported by the SIFN, which contributes to the Outpost Program, and with other resources such as a large cabin (a tent-frame with wooden walls and canvas roof) in Ossis Brook (see Map 4 on page 102), about a five-hour drive from Sheshatshiu, where hunters can stay overnight during hunts. The SIFN also contributes other provisions, such as stoves and tents, and it is involved in many hunt-related activities, such as caribou skin processing and sewing. However, the fact that the SIFN contributes does not mean that hunters have to redirect any of the hunt proceeds to satisfy communal needs.

rest was taken to Natuashish to distribute to other family members that did not come on the hunt.

Distributing the meat back to the settlement was also the case in another camp I visited both in the spring and in the fall. This camp is located at the shore of Kapanien Lake that is to the south of the Mista Shipu (see Map 4 on page 102). It has four tent frames which can accommodate several families. In one of the spring camps five families camped there while in the fall only one and several adult relatives did so. In the spring, although there was not really much success in hunting, two beavers were trapped. One of them was cooked in the camp, while the other was shared with kin back in Sheshatshiu. In the fall, a large number of *Inineu* (spruce grouse), very abundant that year, were hunted, consumed and the remainder of the animals distributed among the camp members in order to be taken back to the community more or less according to family size.

Two important features of the household-based hunt have to be underscored. The first is the autonomous nature of the household-based hunting and sharing. This often leads to a decentralized distribution. As seen above, hunters assemble together, often following an *ustshimau* who leads the hunt based on his prowess and experience. The initial distribution is among the hunters themselves after the hunt when the hunters distribute it among the members of the party. After that, each hunter later gives caribou to whomever he pleases. This autonomy, however, has to be interpreted within its relationality. Hunters' sharing choices are made as they are immersed in a web of relationships. They have parents, aunts and uncles, siblings, friends, and so on. When they share in one of these relationships, they are reinforcing it, while at the same time other relationships are weaken-

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ing. Hunters' choices affect how their relationship network builds up through putting some people closer to themselves than others. Furthermore, relationships with specific individuals such as elders and other relatives in need in turn affect hunters' decisions to share. The second important feature that has to be underscored is the personal nature of the household-based sharing. As argued above, the animal masters and the animals are persons. When the hunters hunt, the animals and masters are persons that share with them. Thus, hunters have to follow rules about treating animal persons and their remains; they have to behave properly when they hunt them in order to show respect. They also have to share like the animals do and this sharing is done in the context of person-to-person relationships with elders and other persons in need that are related to the hunter. These features have to be underscored because, as I show below, they contrast with the community-based hunt.

The community-based hunts are organized by the SIFN and the Innu Nation. Organizing these hunts includes offering salaries to hunters, as well as providing trucks, snowmobiles, and all other essential supplies needed for the trip, including gas, food, and ammunition. Hunters become paid workers instead of hunting for themselves and their immediate kin and friends. The SIFN distributes the meat first to people who are not able to hunt for various reasons, such as those who live in households with no hunting-age adults, widows, and the elderly. Some community-based hunts were organized by the Innu Nation. These hunts were larger in terms of the quantities obtained and in terms of the participation of more paid hunters. These hunts, however, have a political side that the SIFN ones do not seem to have. Even when they are organized to obtain caribou for −and

share with− the community in the same way as the SIFN community-based hunts, they are done during conflicts with the Government, usually including, but not limited to, conflicts over the rights of the Innu to hunt *atiku* in Nitassinan. I am not going to dwell further on these politically motivated hunts and rather concentrate on two examples of community-based hunts conducted by the SIFN.

The first community-based hunt I observed was during the winter of 2007/2008. We left Sheshatshiu in the afternoon after putting our snowmobiles and other equipment in a garbage truck that would take us to the cabin and camp in Ossis Brook. Another truck also left Sheshatshiu with some supplies, though it had an accident on the slippery highway. There were no personal injuries, but many supplies were lost. We used the SIFN cabin, which had a double bed and three bunks that could accommodate two people each. This was our base camp on the TLH. Given the size and octagonal shape of the tent frame, there was enough room on the floor to accommodate three or four more sleeping bags. The hunt *ustshimau* had set his own tent where he lived with part of his family most of the time, with the exception of one night when he allowed my family to sleep there for privacy. We paid a high price for such privacy, since my wife and I were the only ones in charge of feeding the stove every hour, and we came back to the communal tent the next night. The *ustshimau* brought with him his wife, one daughter, and two grandchildren. Besides his family and mine, there were six workers paid by the SIFN to help with the hunt.

The area we covered was vast since the TLH, which runs west-east, allows access to several hundreds of kilometers of the zone where caribou migrate, and provides an easy

travel link to take a hunting party in a truck. However, hunting is restricted in certain areas due to the non-migratory caribou herd that inhabits the nearby Red Wine Mountains and whose numbers have been dwindling, thought to be below 100. The area restricted for hunting is located between Happy Valley-Goose Bay and the West Mitchun River, which cross the TLH about half an hour before getting to Ossis Brook (see Map 4 on page 102). The Innu do not necessarily obey this restriction and the area is in permanent conflict. Once all the lakes and slow-moving waters are frozen, it is then possible, using snowmobiles, to cover a vast area where the caribou migrate. This can be done by either riding through deep snow or by using secondary roads, such as Eskert or Orma Lake Road. By using Orma Lake Road (traced in Map 4 on page 102), which starts from the TLH about 30 minutes from the place where we were staying, it was possible to reach several lakes and areas around the Smallwood reservoir using regular snowmobiles.

The second example is based on a hunting trip in early December, when four men and I camped at the intersection of the Orma Lake Road and the TLH. Although technically not winter yet, the ground was covered with snow, and it was moderately cold by Labrador standards. The ease of access allowed the driver to go back home after dropping us off. We slept in a tent that belonged to the SIFN. We had two snowmobiles, but one broke down and we could not use it. The first day, one party went to Orma Road to see if they could get caribou, while two of us stayed behind and tried, unsuccessfully, to fix the broken snowmobile. Over the next couple of days, activities consisted of fetching wood along the road with one truck, hunting with the snowmobile and one komotik, and going to the town of Churchill Falls to get groceries. The product of the hunt was two caribou,

and the SIFN officer gave one leg to each hunter and the rest to four elders back in Sheshatshiu.

There is one important fact from the community-based hunt that affects the realization of value: while in the household-based hunt sharing is done person-to-person, in the community-based hunt, sharing is done organization-to-person. However, sharing practices start with animal master and animals who are persons: the sharing logic is based on a chain of sharing events among persons. My survey's respondents know that the SIFN officer making the delivery is not the one being generous. Moreover, when goods are centrally distributed by a different type of entity (not a person), such as the SIFN or the Innu Nation, the way that somebody is chosen from the pool of anybody changes. When the way of choosing someone changes, so does the realization of value. As discussed in previous chapters, one of the principles of Innu autonomous individuals is that, as choices affect others, sharers have to carefully consider with whom they are sharing. An organization and its officials, on the other hand, can give to anybody, elders first of course. Thus, they do not choose to whom to give out of personal respect or generosity, but they do so by applying a general abstract rule that says that the elders have to be provided for first. One could assume that kinship is very important in this type of sharing hunt but, actually, while some of the members of the receiving households are related to some elected authorities, most are not. Some other members of the receiving households are actually former elected officials and could be running against the current authorities during the next election. Giving is less of a choice and more of a duty from the official in charge of the hunt and the distribution. The fundamental criteria for 'sharing' here is that communi-

ty members have rights over the meat that hunters working for the SIFN get. In one of the SFIN trips mentioned below, for example, only two caribou were obtained. After the hunters had their share, the remaining meat was given to four elders in the community. Among these elders, the *ustshimau* in-laws or other needy members of his family were not included, while in his previous household-based hunts they were included.

The distribution of *atiku-euiash* by community-based and household-based hunts results in several distribution events throughout the hunting season that lasts from October through April. I surveyed how much meat each household gave and received and from whom during the previous year (2007) and this resulted in a distribution network formed by several clusters shown in Figure 4 below. The clusters have been calculated using a method developed by Girvan and Newman (2002), which I applied to the data obtained in the survey.[33] As was mentioned in the introduction, this is a straightforward way to calculate clusters. It is based on the idea that when a node (a household) is located in between other nodes and the rest of the network, it also separates the network into clusters[34]. The grey cluster corresponds to the community-based hunt. The other clusters correspond to the household-based hunt. The most striking aspect that emerges from tracing the clusters associated with different types of hunts is the variable degree of centralization. In effect, the grey cluster in Figure 4 below has a higher degree of centralization than, for example,

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[33] See Appendix A for details on the survey.

[34] For a more detailed explanation of the method, please refer to Appendix B.

the blue cluster located to its right. This higher degree exists because, while in the grey cluster one sharer is giving to 12 households, in the blue cluster, the sharer that gives to the most households only gives to five.[35] The purple cluster on the left is also a highly centralized cluster, since one hunter is giving to seven households, while the other sharers only give to 1 each. In other words, in the grey cluster that corresponds to the community-based hunt, centralization is extreme. Among the other clusters, centralization is also present in the purple cluster.
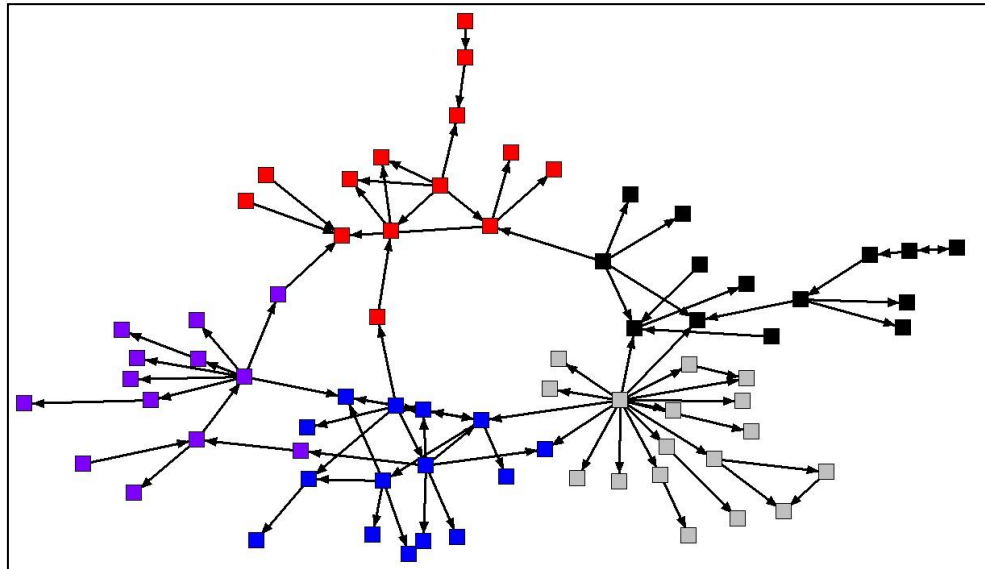
Figure 4: Distribution network with clusters represented in different colors

The fact that the community-based and household-based hunts produce distribution networks differing in their degree of centrality is not a surprise because of the presence of

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[35] All sharing data is in Appendix A.

a central sharer, the SIFN. In a good year, a community hunt can produce a hundred animals. Once distributed, if the recipients do not receive from anyone else, they will most likely fall into the same cluster in which the SIFN is the central point. Contrarily, a household-based hunt in which three or four related hunters that kill four or five animals each would most likely produce a balanced cluster where the sharing connections are more evenly distributed among the households that form the cluster. However, if one household has a very successful hunter who provides to several non-hunting households, a similar distribution to a community-based hunt is produced: a central point of distribution that serves to several recipients. Thus, the data shows three different topological distributions, as the following examples demonstrate. Figure 5 represents the community-based cluster. Figure 6 represents a household-based cluster that is not centralized (several households either hunt and distribute, or receive and redistribute). Figure 7 represents a household-based cluster that is centralized, as one household distributes to most households in the cluster.
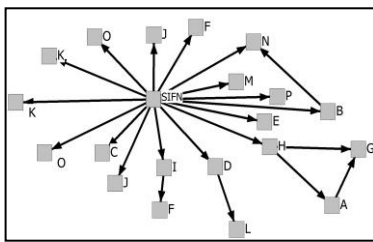
Figure 5: The grey cluster is community-based. Household letters are used for reference in the text.
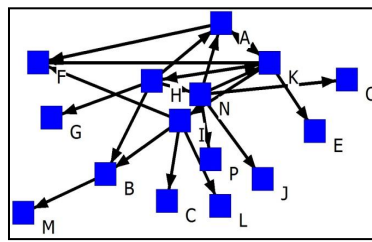
Figure 6: The blue cluster reflects the balanced household-based hunt.
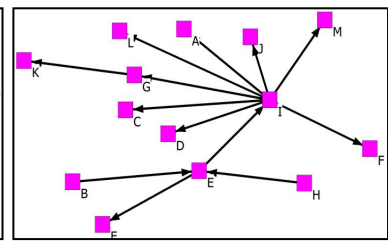
Figure 7: This cluster represents a household-based hunt with a high level of centrality.

In the graphs above, households are represented with squares and the giving-receiving relationships of each household are represented with an arrow that signals the direction in which *atiku-euiash* was shared. The letters identify each of the households. In the case of the community-based distribution (Figure 5 above), the Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation (the band council) is represented by the letters SIFN. The SIFN is at the center and at the giving end of most of the sharing of this cluster. At the other end are many households that received meat from the SIFN. The meat distribution is independent of family or political affiliations and follows general rules such as the elders and those unable to hunt should be provided for first. All this results in the community-based hunt having the more centralized distribution.[36] The household-based distribution is represented by the clusters of Figure 6 and Figure 7. The cluster in Figure 6 is a household-based cluster with a low degree of centrality. This cluster has three main household-based hunters that distribute to the rest and several redistributors. Conversely, in the cluster of Figure 7, there is only one big provider that shares with most of the households in the cluster, which is, thus, more centralized. This centralization results in fewer sharers per household. This cluster is held together by the broad distribution of households that distribute to most of the households that belong to the cluster.

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[36] In Appendix B, several measurements of centrality are calculated and, as expected, all of them show the high level of centralization of the community-based hunt.

In summary, there are two parameters in which the differences in the distribution of *atiku-euiash* can affect the realization of value and the performance of enskilment. The first parameter is the type of relationships. While in the community-based hunt, sharing is organization-to-person, in the household-based hunt it is person-to-person. The second parameter is the topological property of centrality. While the grey of Figure 5 and the purple of Figure 7 are both centralized, the more balanced household-based cluster analyzed above (Figure 6) is not since nearly half of the households are givers. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, my approach to network topological properties differs from the resilience theory. For the latter's standpoint, centralized clusters cannot be sustained if the only central distributor is disrupted. The question to ask from the resilience perspective is whether the flow can continue or not. Can the central distributor be replaced? However, from the resilience perspective, it would be difficult to answer what happens if there are other things-to-be-realized in the action of sharing meat, things such as values. What happens if these values are intrinsically connected with the relationships that they enable and foster rather than with the 'thing' that flows through them? Thus, the focus now goes to the co-constitution of the set of relationships that underlay the clusters and that are related to the realization of values.

As I pointed out in the Introduction, sharing co-constitutes with other practices the Innu social. The clusters, as traces of the connections between people, can be used to represent the interconnection between practices, particularly those related to the pool of people one chooses to share with, which is affected by other practices in which relationships between persons are also established. Among the many practices that can be interconnected

with sharing in a way that affects the somebodies the giver chooses, grouping practices have a strong connection with sharing. As with other connections between practices, the connection between grouping and sharing is not a one-way causal relationship: I am not arguing that grouping determines sharing nor that sharing determines grouping. I am arguing that these two sets of practices work together, affecting one another as both of them leave durable traces that work as paths that can be reenacted by the other practice (or by any other practice for that matter). Hence, grouping and sharing participate together in the co-constitution of the social.

Sharing and grouping practices

I call grouping practices those practices that group people together by defining boundaries (implicit or explicit) between those who belong to the group and those who do not. Two main grouping practices have been recognized among the Innu: the practices that result in the constitution of the family group and those that result in the band. A priori, the clusters examined in this section can be thought as the result of the two basic grouping practices that the Innu are said to have had by most, if not all, the ethnographic record. The household-based clusters can be the product of family group practices and the community-based cluster as the product of band practices.

The family group has been documented from the onset of the European invasion as the basic subsistence and dwelling unit. The first European accounts of the Innu give hints about the family groups in which the Innu spent the coldest part of the year. For example,

the Jesuit missionary Le Jeune spent the 1633-4 winter with 19 Innu from a group of three brothers and their families that were travelling along with another two groups of 10 and 16 (Leacock, 1981). These groups had broken apart in the worst part of the winter because resources in the surrounding areas were not enough to sustain 45 people. The family group has also been documented in the ethnographical record through the years as the basic Innu grouping practice. According to Speck (1918), a man's father, father's brother and son-in-law are the basic hunting companions and these are all men that can be adoptive fathers in cases of death or disability of the child's biological father. Speck also mentions that grandmothers adopt bereaved children. For a teenager or young adult, these older people also are the possible instructors in enskilment practices. Speck also argues that adoption is reflected in kinship terms since there is great similarity among those terms that refer to siblings and cousins. For example, in Innu-*aimun* brother is *nushim* while cousin is *nushimkawan*, *-kawan* meaning "not by blood."

During the twentieth century, subsistence and dwelling patterns start to show signs of change in the fact that some families stay close to the trading posts even in winter, particularly those who cannot hunt because they are too old or otherwise disabled (Cabot, 1920). Later on during the fifties, this trend towards settlement in permanent towns near the trading posts was well underway. The settlement in Sept Iles, for example, had already 30 or 40 houses in the early 1960s even though some families still remained fully mobile (Harper, 1964). However, the family group remains the basic subsistence and dwelling unit for the winter for those who venture far from the settlement. McGee, for example, describes how during the winter months, the family group is the base of the

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"trapping camp" (McGee, 1961). A decade later, the camps described by Henriksen (1973) have the same characteristics of composition. For example, after a large hunt, a camp is established with 17 nuclear families (he does not give data on how many children). However, the camp is later split in two based on family groups. One composed by a father and his two daughters' families, his brother in law, the latter's sister and two other related families. The other is composed by four cousins (two pairs of siblings) and two other sets of siblings related to one of the four cousins by affinity. The camps observed by Henriksen are also consistent with those observed by Charest (Charest, 1995) among the Innu of Mingan, La Romaine and Pukuashipi (see Map 1 on page 33), all located in the northern shore of the St Lawrence in Quebec. In Charest's fall camps, for example, the average number of families per camp is three. Most of these are extended families with several generations. Like in Henriksen camps, most of these families (15 of 23) that share a camp or a hunting trip are sets of siblings or cousins and their families. The camps that I participated in have a close resemblance to Henriksen's camps, too. In one camp in the spring, the party was formed by two pairs of siblings with their families, the mother of one of the pairs and three adult nephews. In another that I participated in the fall, two brothers and their families camped together in the same place.

Despite the fact that neither Leacock nor Speck examines sharing specifically, it is possible to infer from their work that the family groups they refer to are also sharing groups. During parts of the winter, for example, there are situations where a family group is isolated from others and the group shares all the resources available among themselves. In other parts of the year, some family groups can be close enough to visit each other. In

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those cases, it is possible to argue that there is also sharing among nearby family groups. Even in that case, however, sharing among the family group must be more intense than sharing with others outside it since being in the same camp offers more opportunities for sharing. Henriksen, on the other hand, does examine sharing as one of the features of the world of the hunter. He argues that sharing patterns among the members of a camp is of common sharing. This camp varies on its conformation, but is ultimately based on family groups that gather or split according to different factors, such as the availability of resources and the mere willingness of the group to stay together. The camps that I participated in were also formed by family groups that shared part of the food. The food that was not shared was shipped back to Shesahtshiu, as gifts destined for family members who would have been in the camp if they had been able to.

The question here is whether the kin left at Sheshatshiu received shares because they were part of the family group or if sharing made them part of it. Mailhot's concept of 'structure mobility' can help to answer this question. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Mailhot (Mailhot, 1986b) argues that territorial experience, or where one travels in the Innu world, is structured by a kinship network. Thus, a small network can limit one's experience and a large one, can expand it. One has autonomy in order to choose where and with whom one camps, as long as there is a kin relationship that can be activated. At the same time, anybody is free to split from the camp if it becomes too crowded for the resources available, as in the Henriksen camp mentioned above. If the availability of resources is a factor, it is because there is not enough to share with everybody. Successful hunters, by splitting the camp, are choosing with whom to share, too. In contemporary times, coloni-

zation practices result in the imposition of dwelling in single-family homes and limiting the opportunities to go to *nutshimit*. Given this situation, sharing with relatives who do not go to *nutshimit* for different reasons makes them part of the family group. Treading one step further, I suggest that sharing becomes increasingly important to enact the family group. For example, the blue household cluster shown in Figure 6 above is constituted as a family group. This cluster is based on two lifelong friendships, two elders whose children intermarried. Parents and children share among themselves and with in-laws, siblings and cousins. Most of the group did not go to *nutshimit* together during the time of my fieldwork, but the group is held together by sharing.

The first European accounts also mention the 'band' as another grouping unit. During the summer, family groups would gather into 'named bands' of a few hundred people. According to Leacock (1954), the bands were very flexible. Her main informant, for example, was born and raised in the St Agustin band. When he married, he joined the La Romaine band. Later, he joined the Natashquan band along with his mother, who was from the North West River band. On top of the flexible nature of the band, the trading posts tend to condense several smaller bands around them. This is the case of, for example, the six bands that converged in Washat (Sept Iles): the Petitskapau, Kaniapiskau, and Michikamau of the interior Lake Plateau and the St. Marguerite, Moisie, and Shelter Bay near the coast. After the sixteenth century, the development of the fur trade increased the number of people that already were gathering to trade at the locations where trading posts later developed (Leacock, 1981), affecting the band dynamics. Once a settlement is completed, the old bands stop being reflected in actual practices while the local governments,

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the band councils, are in charge of communal endeavors that in the past were in the scope of the band.

Among the communal endeavors that local governments organize are community-based hunts. The distribution in community-based hunts, as shown above, is not based on kinship relations between persons but on organization-to-person relationships. As a principle, in the community-based hunt all the community members have the right to get a piece of meat. As many of the former named-bands converged in one settlement, the former named-bands are not connected with the community-based distribution: everybody receives meat. To test this assertion, I have included in the graph below the names that many community members used to refer to the subgroups existing during my time in Sheshatshiu and that are associated with some of the bands described by Speck, Harper, and Leacock: Mushuanu, Washaunu and Musquanu. The relevance of these filiation categories is also shown by Mailhot (1997), who intensively worked in the Sheshatshiu area. She argues that there are two groups in Sheshatshiu, one coming from and using land in the north (mushuanu), and the other, the south (muskuanu and whashaunu). The graph is shown in Figure 8. As Figure 8 shows, clusters are mixed to a large extent. In the graph, the origin is signaled with a letter: W for Washaunu, K for Muskuanu, M for Mushuanu, and EC as Euro-Canadian. I could not establish the ancestral origin of many of the members of many households, so they are signaled with n/a.
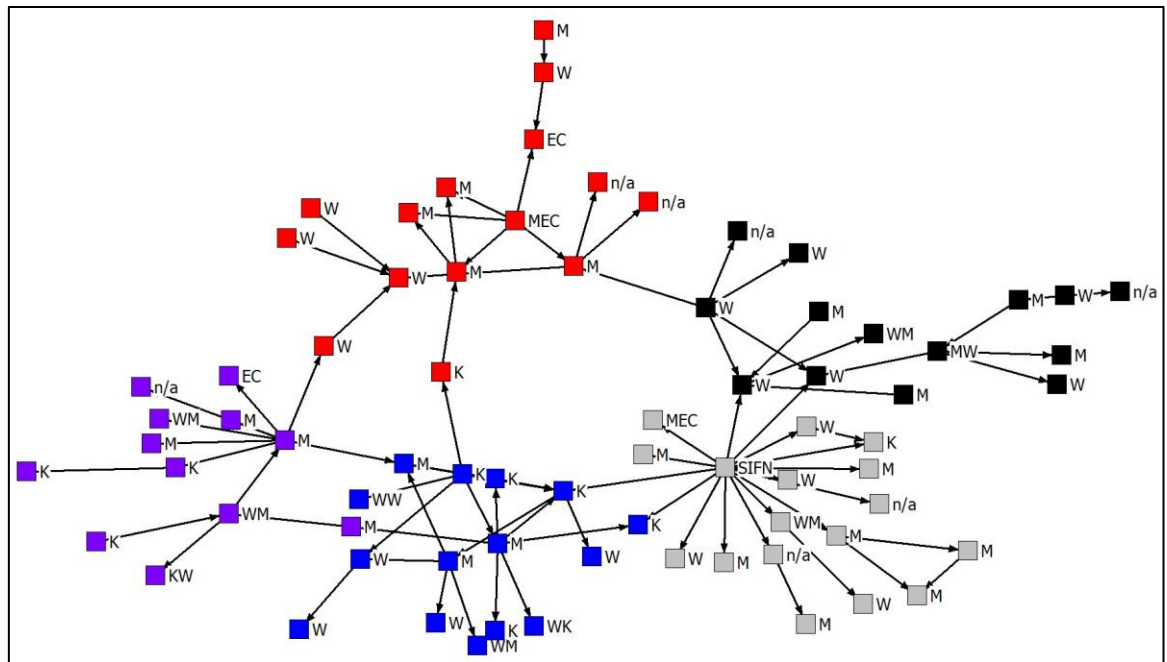
Figure 8: Distribution network with ancestral origin. Cluster are represented each with a different color. The letters represent the ancestral origin: M for Mushuanu, K for Muskuanu, W for Washaunu, EC for Euro-Canadian, and n/a for unknown. SIFN means Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation, the band council.

Figure 8 shows that there is only a marginal level of overlapping between clusters and subgroups. In the case of the community-based, as argued above, everybody gets a share of meat just because they are Innu and live in Sheshatshiu. In household-based hunts, since sharing is done through the family group and there are intermarriages between people belonging to different subgroups of origin, sharing is done with people of different subgroups.[37] Thus, at least to some extent, cross-group marriage explains why the subgroup distribution trends do not consolidate. Actions of giving create associations and

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[37] These trends are shown in Table 4 in Appendix B.

once they are established, for example, when a hunter starts to give to their parents-in-law from another subgroup or once a niece has a special relationship with an aunt from a different subgroup, they tend to be re-enacted as opportunities for sharing. Links are thus reinforced, like a surface eroded by recurrent giving-receiving action-value that deepens the paths between people regardless of their origin. Furthermore, as Leacock suggests, the Innu show great autonomy in terms of band membership that makes the links to the band weak and more prone to fade under the homogenizing pressure of the colonization practices that gather named-bands in places like Sheshatshiu to conform new grouping entities under the band council organization.

In summary, first, family group and sharing practices appear interconnected as the family group unit and the household-cluster are similarly constituted. Second, the band and the community-based cluster are also related in that the federally-sponsored band councils take responsibility for endeavors that once were in the scope of the band. The question is why the family group unit appears more stable than the band? I suggest that it is because values are realized better within configurations that produce a less centralized distribution such as the one emerging from the household-based cluster and family group where one-to-one and one-to-few prevail. This is the first step to prove that the topology of the distribution network reflects the degree of realization of value, becoming thus an indicator of how sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social. In the next section, I go one step further to demonstrate this assertion, relying on what I have shown in the previous chapter regarding elders: elderly kin are the primary people with whom to realize respect and generosity. Since elders occupy such a prominent place

within the realization of values, if their involvement in sharing is higher in the less centralized cluster, so is the realization of value.

Realization of values and the role of elders

As I show in this section, the place elders occupy in the distribution network indicates how values have been realized. In what follows, I define elders as those individuals who are either in their sixties or older, or are in their late fifties and are considered elders by their relatives and friends. I had to include these "younger" elders because I often heard in Sheshatshiu the complaint that the usual cut-off age of 60 was unfair. This cut-off age was established by the Innu Nation to hire elders to participate in paid activities, such as assisting researchers interested in traditional ecological knowledge or testifying in committees where the voice of the elders was a requirement. The sense of unfairness came from younger people that saw these accomplished, *nutshimit*-savvy hunters as the ultimate authorities on many issues. Some of them already had great-grandchildren and had enskilled their children, who were already grandparents themselves. Thus, in cases in which I heard such comments about a person in their late fifties, I considered this person an elder.

As shown in Chapter 2, sharing practices can be traced from the caribou master, who shares caribou with Innu (persuading the animals to offer themselves and share their bodies, a process by which animals become a meal). Then, they are passed from one person to another. The caribou master initiates the chain of sharing, showing generosity and re-

spect for the Innu, who must be respectful and generous themselves. In order to keep realizing these values, if there is enough meat, it can be shared further. The meat could be subject to subsequent subdivisions in which the meat remains a gift. All this is true for both the community-based and the household-based hunts, as they both result in the distribution of *atiku-euiash* to others who did not hunt. However, differences in both the distributing entity and the centralization of the distribution affect how community-based and household-based hunts realize value.

First, when the band-council distributes, the distributing entity is not a person who is, thus, generous or respectful. In the community-based hunt, the initial giver is an organization, the band council or the Innu Nation. When goods are distributed by organizations instead of persons, the way that somebody is chosen from the pool of everybody changes. When the way of choosing 'someone' changes, so does the realization of value. As discussed in previous chapters, one of the principles of the autonomous Innu individuals is that, as choices affect others, individuals have to carefully consider with whom they choose to share. Organizations and their officials, on the other hand, give to anybody if there is enough *atiku* eruiash for all the members of the community –if not, elders and those unable to hunt are provided for first. They do not choose whom to give to out of respect or generosity, but they do so by applying a general abstract rule that says that elders have to be provided for first. This contrasts with giving to particular elders in virtue of their personal relationships with the hunter. From the point of view of the organization's official in charge of the distribution, giving is less of a choice and more of a duty. For example, when I interviewed a household to which the SIFN distributed, the inter-

viewee mentioned they received the meat from a delivery person, without mentioning the SIFN in the initial answer or the fact that he was an SIFN official in charge of the distribution. In subsequent follow-up questions, I commented that this person was being generous and at that point the respondent said he was not, the meat came from the band council and they had a right to receive it.

Second, when the hunters come back from the community-based hunt they drop off *atiku-euiash* to the recipients' households, if possible the whole carcass. Alternatively, someone from the band council can also help, particularly if a band-council truck was used. In either case, the distribution operates from a list of the households receiving the carcasses. Conversely, the household-based hunt implies sharing with immediate kin and friends. Since the list of households that the organization distributes to is longer than the list of the hunter's kin and friends, the distribution ends up being wider, with more households on the receiving end of the distribution. The higher number of households per community-based distribution is the basis for its higher degree of centralization.

If the value considered is, for example, respect, the effects of centralization on value realization are clear. If sharing realizes respect, then having three givers showing respect according to their means is more than having only one. This is even clearer when keeping in mind that relationality is the primary ontological assumption, as suggested in Chapter 2. Like the persons who realize them, values come into being in webs of relationships. This implies that the realization of value, that leaves traces in the topological characteristics of the distribution network, can be grasped by focusing on those who are the most likely recipients of value-realizing actions. Elders are the primary recipients of respect

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and generosity (as is shown in the previous chapter), thus examining elders' positioning inside the clusters will help us gain further understanding of the connection between the topology of the distribution network and the realization of values.

This is consistent to a large extent with what has been observed by Armitage (Armitage, 1992). He points out that "reciprocal exchange relations continue with [elders], even though they are not able to participate actively in harvesting; what they provide in return for nourishment is invaluable knowledge, communication skills, and protection for the group as a whole" (Armitage, 1992:44). In one of the interviews that I referred to in the last chapter, a younger adult tells about how he shows respect and generosity to his grandparents by giving meat to them first. An examination of the distribution network shows that there is a tendency to include elderly relatives in the distribution; thus, the younger adult from the previous chapter does not necessarily have an extraordinary relationship with his elders, but he provides a prototypical example of an event of action-value that involves realizing generosity and respect to elders. As the numbers in Table 1 show, all of the household-based clusters are predominantly giving at the same level or up the generational ladder. Differences in the proportion of caribou distributed up and down the ladder do exist, but there is a clear tendency to share with kin who are older among the household-based clusters. This tendency to give to older kin includes parents, uncles, and aunts who are able to hunt and are not yet elders. This tendency is also influenced by other factors, such as the number of hunting children and grandchildren, and the availability of resources with which to go hunting.

Table 1: Row header shows how many steps up or down the generation ladder of giving events that involved kinship

Cluster	Two generations younger than giver	One generation younger than giver	same generation as giver	One generation older than giver	Two generations older than giver
Blue		4	4	6	
Red	1	4		5	1
Black			6	4	
Purple			7	7	

This tendency is also reflected in the prevalence of elders as receivers of meat that is shown by the fact that the probability of receiving caribou increases with the age of the eldest person in the house, as can be appreciated in Figure 9. For the calculation of this tendency I have not included the fact that, many times, there are younger hunters in multigenerational households from whom the elders get their *atiku-euiash* through simple commensality or by eating from the same pot. If those cases were included, the tendency would be more pronounced.
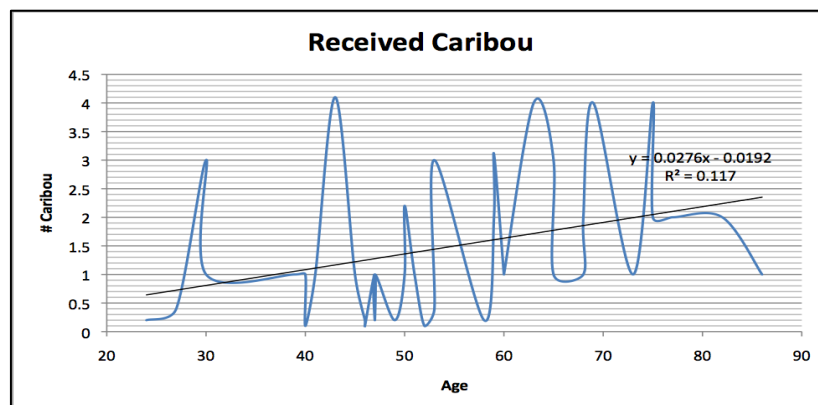
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It is also possible to prove this tendency in the distribution network clusters. The graphs below represent the same clusters analyzed in the previous section, but highlight sharing events involving elders, most of them kin. Figure 10 contains the community-based cluster, Figure 11 contains the balanced household-based cluster, and Figure 12 contains the centralized household-based cluster. In these graphs, households with no elders are symbolized by circles and households with elders with triangles. Sharing events involving elders are represented in these graphs by thicker lines. Where elders are the receivers, I used blue arrows and where they are givers I use red. Thus, it is possible to appreciate the contrasts among the clusters. For example, the blue and the grey have a similar quantity of elder sharing, 6 of 15 and 8 of 21 households, respectively. Elders are less represented in the purple cluster, although, as we have seen in Table 1 above, the tendency of sharing with those up the generational ladder is still true.
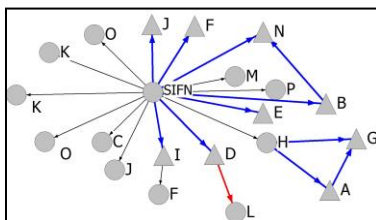
Figure 10: Community-based sharing highlighting when elders are involved in sharing. Households with elders are symbolized with a triangle and households without elders with a circle. Giving to elders with a blue arrow, receiving from elders with a red
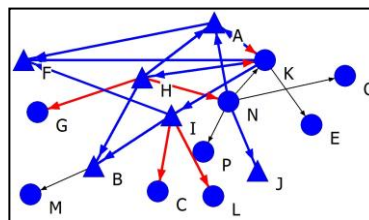
Figure 11: Balanced household-based cluster highlighting when elders are involved in sharing. Households with elders are symbolized with a triangle and households without elders with a circle. Giving to elders with a blue arrow, receiving from elders
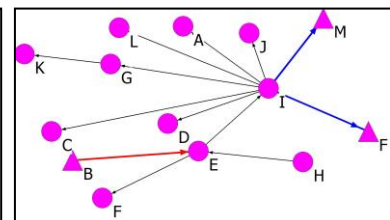
Figure 12: Centralized household-based cluster highlighting when elders are involved in sharing. Households with elders are symbolized with a triangle and households without elders with a circle. Giving to elders with a blue arrow, receiving from elders with a

As shown above, in the community-based hunt represented in Figure 10, the act of giving is perceived more as a right as an Innu member of the community than as an action of generosity or respect. Of course, they cannot give to everybody if there is not enough *atiku-euiash*. However, when hunts are good, a wide range of peoples from different families and age groups receive *atiku-euiash*. This is reflected in the band council (SIFN in Figure 10) distribution in which elders occupy an important place but in which a diversity of households is represented.

The caribou obtained in the hunts from households in the blue cluster of Figure 11 (the balanced, household-based one) is chiefly distributed to kin of all generations, but elderly kin have a prominent place in the distributions since all but five of the sharing events have an elder involved. This can be also appreciated in the quantity of sharing events in which elders were involved, which is more than the sharing events in which regular households were. The six households with elders were involved in 18 instances of sharing, while the other 9 households were involved in 17. Therefore, on average, households with elders were involved in three instances of sharing while other adults in less than two. This may look like a marginal difference, but it is not because it actually represents more than a 50% increase in involvement in sharing events per household. Thus, it is possible to argue that households with elders are more involved in sharing than households without them.

The highly-centralized purple cluster, on the contrary, shows less involvement of elders in sharing events. Actually, there are just three relationships in which elders are involved, and only one per each elder as shown in Figure 12 above. The cluster's main sharers are a couple that only give to two households with elders, his and her parents. This low sharing with elders is consistent with the fact that in household-based hunts hunters give to kin and close friends and it is expected that any adult couple will have more siblings and cousins than parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, given the birth ratios of the young Sheshatshiu population[38]. Thus, I can ask again, in this cluster, is sharing –done mostly by one person who provides to almost everybody– realizing values such as respect and generosity in the same way as it occurs in the blue one? The answer is no because respect and generosity do not accumulate like *atiku-euiash* in a freezer, but are manifested across many relationships, each of which is unique.

The purple cluster contrasts with the blue cluster in terms of how many sharing relationships per elder they have. While the purple has one relationship per elder, the blue has three. Since elderly kin are the focus of sharing action-value that realizes generosity and respect, these values are increasingly realized as elders increasingly participate in such action-value events across multiple relationships. This is precisely the case of the less-centralized blue cluster: the blue cluster is not only less centralized and more bal-

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[38] The average family size in Sheshatshiu is 4, which is higher than in the rest of the province, where it is 2.9 (Statistics Canada, 2007a).

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anced, it is also the one in which elders are among more sharing relationships compared to the others. Thus, low centralization is a signal that value is being realized at a higher degree. However, as will be discussed next, enskilment should be added to the analysis in order to develop a more definitive assertion about the connection between low centrality and the realization of values.

Elders and enskilment

Elderly kin are those who enskil or have enskilled younger adults in how to appreciate values and how to relate with other constituents of the land, the animals and their masters. As will be shown in this chapter, clusters with lower centrality, by definition, have more households sharing with other households in general and with elders in particular. This reflects the role of elders in the realization of value. Yet, elders cannot give *atiku-euiash* back. They can –and they do– redistribute it, but if they presently are less productive hunters, their participation in sharing should be articulated with other things with which they are or have been productive. Enskilment is one such thing. Throughout their lives, elders have known many places, hunted many animals, and met many people. Hence, elders are a reservoir of many years of practical knowledge as they are a connection to the past; they have been present during important events, such as the settlement in Sheshatshiu or the flooding of the Smallwood Reservoir. Most importantly, they have developed relationships throughout their lives. Through having sons and grandsons, nephews and nieces, they have developed relationships on top of those into which they

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were born. They also have had the opportunity to develop their relationships with animals and their masters, and other non-human beings that inhabit the land. Elders have multiple relationships and this is why they become the convergence of past and present enskilment.

During hunting activities the opportunities for enskilment multiply. In the hunting camps, killing, removing entrails, and sometimes dividing the carcass is done right on the spot or at the camp. Everybody in the camp participates in these activities. It is noticeable how children gather around animal carcasses to touch, see, and learn from the adults. During the first camp I went to, the butchering process was done on the sandy shore. While one carcass was being processed, kids were 'inspecting' the other carcasses by touching and moving them. In one spring camp, one of the beavers caught was pregnant, which was interesting for everybody, particularly the children. They all gathered around, touched the fetus and made comments. The beaver and the fetus were sent to Sheshatshiu to share with the elders. The amount of enskilment that such a simple experience implies regarding that species –and the life process in general– is considerable. In addition, this afforded an opportunity to talk about the relationships among humans, animals and their masters.

My own experience can illustrate how elders or older adults enskil. This happened on several trips in which I attempted to acquire experience in the different hunting activities. Etienne, one hunter in his late fifties, was my main enskiler during many of the trips I participated in, perhaps because he was the most experienced and patient person within those groups. On these trips, every day, weather permitting, there are chances to hunt,

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trap, and participate in many other activities in which the apprentices can be enskilled. For example, in one instance, I joined a group of Innu Nation *atiku* monitors who were led by Etienne and were working along the Trans Labrador Highway (TLH) while several groups were hunting. The task assigned to the monitors was to ensure the safety of the hunt. We spent three days on the highway. During the first and second days, we made several stops in places with abundant willows to hunt *uapineu* (white ptarmigan). Etienne, the oldest and most experienced hunter in the party, only intervened to tell us what birds to shoot, asking me or another person to shoot them. He wanted me to learn in the Innu way, through practice. At one point, I stupidly went to fetch two birds with no gloves or snowshoes and almost froze my hands while stuck in the deep snow at -35C. After I overcame the pain of warming a pair of semi-frozen hands, they were all laughs, telling stories about when they or someone they knew froze some body part. He increased his interventions after that, but the main premise of learning by practice remained. In short, being with others results in enskilment.

During another excursion to the TLH, Etienne taught me another important lesson that also characterizes enskilment very well. As part of the duties of the job we were doing, we had to go around certain areas adjacent to the road. While we were several miles from the road, we met a couple of *aknehaus* (English persons) who were lost, as they did not know how to get back to the road. Etienne gave them directions on how to go back. A few hours later while we were back on the road, we met another couple of *aknehau* hunters trying to shoot a caribou in the middle of the road. Our presence deterred these hunters from such an unsafe task. Etienne commented that this day was meant to save lives,

not to kill. However, I insisted on shooting a couple of *uapineu* since I did not want to go home empty-handed. I tried unsuccessfully a couple of times, but it was a windy and cold day, so the birds were nervous and flew away before I could get close enough. At one point, I shot at a bird and I thought I had killed it, but it flew away, most likely wounded. From that moment on I could not get any other bird to the point that the only place where we found birds at shooting distance was right in the Churchill Falls town entrance, a populated area where firearms discharge is restricted. My friend told me that, perhaps, wounding the bird caused the bad luck, in the form of the birds being unwilling to give themselves to me. He added, "We are not killing today, we are saving lives." "And I am learning about animals", I added. Again, my companion was enskilling the child-anthropologist.

Enskilment experiences happen when a younger person learns about *nutshimit* by being there alongside older persons. During my time in Sheshatshiu, I documented many instances in which someone had learned from somebody older, usually a close relative. This information was obtained mostly by participant observation but also from the informal talks I had with the members of the three clusters we are examining in this chapter, the community-based, the balanced household-based and the centralized household-based (grey, blue and purple, respectively). Figure 13 contains the enskilment relationships of the community-based cluster; Figure 14 those of the balanced household-based cluster; and Figure 15 those of the centralized household-based cluster. I have represented with thicker green lines these enskilment relationships.
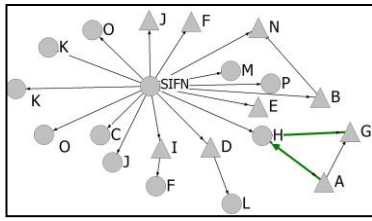
| Figure 13: Enskilment relation-ships (in green) in the community-based cluster | Figure 14: Enskilment relation-ships (in green) in the balanced household-based cluster | Figure 15:Enskilment relation-ships (in green) in the centralized household-based cluster |
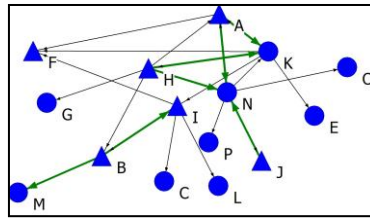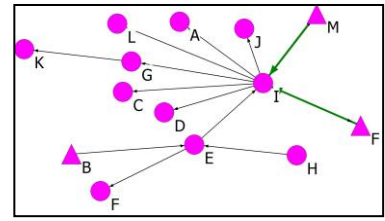
The community-based distribution cluster (figure 10) shows only two enskilment rela-tionships, but even these two particular cases are the exception that proves the rule. This cluster is formed by the SIFN distribution, which is neither based on kinship nor by rela-tionships in which enskilment usually develops, such as grandparents-grandchildren and uncle-nephew. The two exceptions involve household H, where David and Patricia live. They gave caribou to their parents (households A and G), with whom they usually go to *nutshimit*. I visited them once in the camp they set up in Shipiskan Lake during the last part of the spring where I could observe the different roles in the camp, particularly father and son. While we were in the camp, David also mentioned how he takes his kids to learn in the same way his parents had taken him in the past. Household D (aunt Philomena) and household L (nephew Charles) could have a similar enskilment relationship, although I could not confirm it and I did not put it in the graph. Neither are in the graph the instanc-es of enskilment that occur in SIFN hunts per se, when there are many opportunities for enskilment. SIFN hunters, however, usually belong to households already distributing meat through the family group and through friendship relationships and enskilment hap-

pens in the context of household-based hunts, too. Kinship is still relevant in the hiring process, as the leaders of the community-based hunt can hire people they trust and know, often younger relatives whom they can enskil. In any case, the importance of kin –and the reciprocation for previous enskilment– is not present in the distribution.

Enskilment is more frequent in the less centralized cluster shown in Figure 14. This does not mean that every sharing partner has an implicit enskilment relationship. However, the prominence of sharing with several elders signals more opportunities for present enskilment or reflects enskilment relationships of the past. As balanced, person-to-person relationships are better represented in this cluster, there is more enskilment. Etienne, from household A (father of Paul from household K), explained to me how he wound up giving to those he had learned from in the past. One time, he was about to go hunting to get *atiku-euiash*. His snowmobile broke down and, after gathering the funds needed to fix it, he went to the shop to get his machine, but the job was already paid for by a widow. He went hunting and gave the widow a few carcasses. Next time he went hunting, the widow gave him some money for gas and from then on and for the next few years the woman contributed to his hunts. He contrasted her attitude with that of his uncles who were also demanding caribou, but without contributing anything those days. However, as he emphasized, he had learned a lot from them. Thus, he shared with them as well.

Etienne often hunts with Paul, his other son and some nephews (for example, Andrew of household N) and this enables his younger relatives to be enskilled. Etienne and Antoine (household I and Paul's father-in-law) are very good friends and sometimes join the hunts, too. Paul regards Antoine very highly, hunting and spending a lot of time with

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him, presenting a lot of opportunities for enskilment. Antoine and Philomena also share with her brother, Michel, who also provides to Jerome, one of their children with whom they also share enskilment time in *nutshimit*. Andrew shares *atiku* with his uncle Etienne, but with his aunt Juliana as well (household J). He and his wife always visit her, sometimes when she sets up a tent along the road and they referenced these times as opportunities for learning from her. Between Mary Ann (Sebastien's wife from household B), her brother Jerome (household M) and their parents Michel and Philomena of household B, there is a similar relationship in which these parents have enskilled their children in the past. In the present, their grown-up children still visit them when they set up their tent along the road.

Enskilment practices are also reflected in the centralized household-based topology. As enskilment requires closeness between instructor and apprentice, there are practical limitations on having too many apprentices or too many instructors. It is impractical and unrealistic for someone to be able to give to and be enskilled by every elder or vice versa, for an elder to receive from and enskil every possible apprentice. In the centralized household-based cluster, I could record only two relationships that I can characterize as involving enskilment. These were between the 'central' household, the one that did most of the giving of *atiku* eiuash, and the hunter's parents and the hunter's wife's parents. In this household the husband mentioned going to the country with his parents since childhood and being involved in *nutshimit* activities with them. His wife also had the same type of relationship with her parents. The other elder in household B could have an enskilment relationship with E, although I do not have evidence of that. Even if a third en-

skilment relationship between B and E existed, this centralized cluster would have little enskilment being realized. The imbrications of enskilment and sharing produce a less centralized, more even, partitioning of the social space such as the one formed by the relationships of a closer network of kin and friends in the less-centralized, household-based cluster (Figure 14). This cluster does not have a permanent hunter/provider that hunts and distributes most of the *atiku-euiash*. Neither does this cluster have one elder that enskils everybody: several elders and older adults become the primary receivers of meat as they become enskilers. Paraphrasing Ponas, one cannot enskil everybody; therefore, one has to choose somebody to enskil.

Conclusion

The way in which the household-based and the community-based hunts realize value and enkillment is reflected in the centrality of the distribution clusters. Values do not accumulate as non-perishable good in storage or money in the bank. Values spread across a limited quantity of relationships. Furthermore, because enskilment requires a closeness that centralized distributions do not evidence, I suggest that centralized clusters are not realizing values and enskilment in the same way and to the same degree as the balanced household-based clusters. The balanced household-based cluster configuration fosters the realization of generosity, respect, and autonomy under the terms that one cannot share with everybody and must choose somebodies (elders and other, less successful relatives) with whom to be generous by re-enacting relationships that express respect. The bal-

anced, household-based clusters along with the family group contain the basic relationships with those with whom values can be realized. The household-based distribution, when it is not centralized but balanced with several givers that share within the cluster, provides more opportunities through which to realize respect and generosity, and every receiver can be respected and shown generosity by several givers. Furthermore, enskilment is more preponderant in the household-based cluster because closer and balanced relationships are the norm. Keeping in mind that elders are involved in more sharing relationships in the balanced cluster, there is a correlation between sharing with elders and enskilment. This is plausible given that, as stated in the previous chapter, individuals share with those who enskilled them in the past. These differences underscore the fact that sharing choices affect how the social is co-constituted. Or paraphrasing Ponas, one could give to anybody but choices affect how values and enskilment are produced once one does choose somebody. Sharing participates in the co-constitution of the social, by enacting who belongs to it and who does not, in realizing values, and affording opportunities for enskilment (or acknowledging the enskilment that happened in the past).

I also suggest that Ponas' words can substantiate my choice of reversing resilience theory causality regarding network topology. As argued at the beginning of the chapter, I am using the network topology properties in the opposite causal direction from the resilience theory: they are an emergent outcome rather than constricting factor –or are a consequence rather than a cause. The root of this challenge is Ponas' emphasis on to whom one gives rather than on the constraints on whether one can do so. In more theoretical terms, the emphasis is on the agency of those who made the sharing choices that produce

the network properties. In resilience theory, the opposite is proposed: the network produces constraints on one's choices. Thus, from the resilience theory framework, one might think that the household-based distribution is more desirable than the community-based distribution, as it is more redundant and therefore more resilient to disruptions. However, Ponas is not worried about community hunts and the centralized distribution network it generates. Not only that, he has participated in them and he was happy to give a whole carcass for a $25 contribution to a community-based hunt as was shown in the previous chapter.

The network properties I analyzed in this chapter, first and foremost, show the results of the actions that persons performed in pursuit of value rather than the constraints that such persons might have had. Evidence of this is found in the fact that the two types of hunts are conducted by the same group of people that adapt to different circumstances, despite that the two types of hunts involve different ways of sharing reflected in different topolological properties. The most skillful hunters participate in both types of hunts, using the enskilment acquired from participating in household-based hunts. In addition, the workers hired for community-based hunts also have such close relationships. A non-Innu community member mentioned that concerns arose in the community regarding jobs that were given to relatives of the council members or a hunt's *ustshimau*. The possibility for community compliance regarding hiring procedures can lead to pressure being put on SIFN officials to assign kinship less relevance when hiring for these types of hunts. Kinship relevance, however, cannot be eliminated completely. As one SIFN official put it, "When there are jobs available, one also has to take into account the needs of each per-

son, and give the job to who needs it the most." In this sense, he does not read resumes or conduct job interviews, because he already knows who is in need and has the skills needed for the job. Obviously, the closer in the network aspirants are to the hirer, the more likely their needs are known. In other words, the clusters produced by the two types of hunts are both immersed in the same social in which community-based hunts are enabled by the enskilment acquired during household-based hunts. Hence, Ponas was never worried about community-based hunts per se, but rather about giving to people who cannot realize value or be enskilled and who later will not be able to enskil others. Thus, I stress what is realized by the giving agency when choosing a recipient rather than the constraints associated with the two different hunt types.

The complementation between community-based and household-based hunts offers the advantage of having the best of both worlds: a central point for everybody to get meat and closely-knit clusters to realize values and perform enskilment. However, it is up to the persons who constitute the agencies of the Innu world what type of hunt to pursue in what circumstances. Thus, the distribution network configuration can be best understood as the result of their agency rather than the result of a search for resilience in which such persons merely participate as beneficiaries. This, again, sets my approach at arm's length from that of resilience theory. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this theory is based on the idea that disrupted systems can regain a former state of equilibrium or attain a new one. When applied to socio-ecosystems, the concept of state of equilibrium is tainted by the subjectivity of the analysts. Often, socio-ecosystem analysts –scientists, policymakers, and managers– who are subject to their own interests, ideologies, and on-

tologies, are those who determine that certain sets of features and relationships of a system are the basis for a system's equilibrium. This version of the system's equilibrium is more consistent with their own practices than with the local actors' (Cote & Nightingale, 2011; Nadasdy, 2007). Thus, establishing ecosystems' relevant properties –the main engine of the development of the resilience concept– becomes a sociopolitical quest (Harvey, 1993; Nadasdy, 2007). Actually, any feature that is not consistent with the equilibrium predicated by socio-ecosystem analysts would get lost as a non-resilient, disposable component of the system and it is not taken into account both for management and policymaking. As shown here, local populations such as the Innu (the clients of management and policymaking) have a deep knowledge of the features that add up to the specificity of their socio-ecosystem and yet have no say in determining the state of equilibrium to attain.

Thus, in Janssen's approach to network topology, the network configuration becomes a component of resilience's causality that analysts assessing socio-ecosystems can use to explain why a disruption can be overcome. Yet, if network configurations are constituted by the action-value of many agencies (individuals, families, communities, animals and their masters and so on) there could be many possible states of equilibrium. Among all the possibilities, these agencies can bring into being a specific state of equilibrium. The specificity of such a state is the social that these agencies co-constitute. Consequently, in my approach, the state of equilibrium is a function of the agencies of the social rather than a function of the household-based and the community-based clusters' topological properties. In other words, the social is not persistently co-constituted by virtue of its

properties but by virtue of the value that practices realize for the social's agencies. Therefore, in my reasoning, as emerging from agencies' practices, cluster's topological properties are a signal of the values and enskilment that such practices realize. From this follows that if there is a disruption, once the situation normalizes, the Innu will resume their practices as they have been enskilled to perform. Local community members are those who perform the local practices and who are able to perceive the action-value that is worth continuing to realize. Therefore, I suggest, these local community members are those who should decide what states of equilibrium (or controlled instability) are worth spending effort on. Ponas wants to spend effort on practices that realize value and enskilment and that reenact the Innu social he appreciates.

The topological properties of the distribution show precisely why one cannot give to anybody: because sharing actions have an expected outcome of realizing values and enskilment that is accomplished by giving with the receiver's relationships in mind (or receiving with the giver's relationships in mind). The topological properties also signal the fluidity of an outside world of anybodies whose relationality is not known; put otherwise, these properties signal the outside of the boundaries within which sharing happens. From this standpoint sharing practices also are boundary-making practices that stabilize the fluidity.

6. Conclusions

My research builds on what Henriksen did several decades ago. I owe to him a large part of my inspiration. I would like to be to Henriksen what Annette Weiner was to Malinowski. Weiner (1988) studied the exchange of banana peels among the Triobrianders. She conducted her fieldwork in circumstances that many would consider academically frightening: in the very same place where Malinowski did his. However, she shows what Malinowski did not. Her main contribution, perhaps, is in showing how women's sharing fell below Malinowski's radar and that their sharing objects, such as the less appealing banana peels, were underestimated as a social force. Both men's and women's exchanges possess a similar characteristic: they can reinforce the associations between those givers and receivers to the point that the value of the banana peels is evident in their relationships. Exchanging objects always implies movements through relationships in which objects develop trajectories. Each of these trajectories is a trace of the things that are mobilized by the action of giving. It is up to researchers to follow the traces and discover what those things are and why they matter. Through these pages, I have shown why the study of *atiku-euiash* sharing in its specificity matters.

This research was aimed to elucidate an overarching question that refers to sharing specificity: How do *atiku-euiash* sharing practices participate in the co-constitution of the Innu social? The worry expressed by Ponas about changes in these practices was the thread I followed in grappling with this question. In order to build my answer, I showed

the connection between sharing and other practices. Sharing is connected with practices that enact a world in which animals, their masters, and humans dwell and share. Sharing practices are performed in a fraught space where colonization practices interfere with Innu values and conceptions. Sharing is connected with enskilment practices where individuals learn to appreciate and act in the world in which they dwell, including how to appreciate the values realized by sharing. Sharing participates in the co-constitution of the social by, in connection with other practices, realizing the values of generosity, respect, and autonomy across multiple relationships among human and non-human persons. I argued that *atiku-euiash* distribution clusters reflect the way values are realized, and enskilment deployed, and thus provide a clue to the degree to which they might or might not fit Ponas's expectations. In short, then, Ponas' worry reflects an appreciation that changes in sharing might imply a different 'social' within which sharing practices do not realize values and enskilment. Next, I backtrack to my starting point to summarize how I wound up with this answer.

In the Chapter 2, I showed that sharing practices play a crucial role in reenacting the social because they reinforce relationships among humans, animals and masters. Sharing actions realize the values of generosity, respect and autonomy in the way that animals, their masters and other humans expect. These values are needed to build and maintain the associations with all these persons. The Innu social is co-constituted by practices, by "doing", by action-value that produces the social as an outcome that includes the realization of particular values.

In the Chapter 3 I discussed how to examine the social in its specificity inspired by an anthropology that takes seriously the categories of our interlocutors. I have also shown how sharing practices embody the enskilment on how to make, perceive, and appreciate the associations that make up the Innu social. Indeed, what the Innu social is gets defined by practices such as sharing that realize values at the same time that they re-enact enskilment relationships. Thus, the topological properties of distribution clusters can be taken as the traces of how sharing practices participated in the co-constitution of the social. Put in other way, the topological properties are part of the specificity of the social, and what makes it unique.

The values produced by sharing, as I suggested in the Chapter 4, are not quantifiable in the traditional economic sense. I have also suggested there, following Graeber, that action and its value are the same thing. Thus, value is not only in the piece of meat. If one gets caribou meat from the butcher shop in Happy Valley-Goose Bay generosity would not be realized in the same way as when one gets the *atiku-euiash* from a sibling. Enskilment works in a similar way. Enskilment practices are performed through relationships that cannot involve everybody. One learns through mentor-apprentice relationships that cannot comprise the totality of available kin: a hunter neither can enskil all his children and nephews nor wants to. Thus, there is not a sense of "accumulating" apprentices or "maximizing" enskilment.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I showed the sharing configurations that take shape as *atiku-euiash* is spread across relationships with family groups and friends, some of whom are also sharers themselves, resulting in balanced and centralized clusters of sharing house-

holds. These configuration's topological features (balanced and centralized) reflect how and to what extent enskilment has been practiced and values are realized. The balanced clusters' configuration realizes values and enskilment across an acceptable number of relationships than the centralized ones. This goes along with the suggestion that other configurations –e.g., those from the highly centralized clusters– might not be realizing value in the same way and degree. In the balanced household-based clusters, sharing practices also reenact relationships with elderly kin. As Armitage (Armitage, 1992) argues, elders have acquired the deepest understanding of the relationship between people, animals, and animal masters. These relationships with animals need to be reproduced from generation to generation. Thus, as long as the instructor is alive, an apprentice, even if very skilled keeps seeking advice from him or her. An instructor-apprentice relationship is potentially a lifelong relationship. Close intergenerational relationships, such as grandparent-grandchild, parent-child, or uncle/aunt-nephew/niece, are commonly mentioned in the interviews –and observed in the field– as relevant to teaching or learning about *nutshimit* and its dwellers. Enskilment includes developing the proper relationships with animals, as these relationships are closely linked with doing: hunting, cooking, disposing and so on are all activities in which animals and animal masters participate. All these actions are to be done by a family group in the camp or household. The close relationships of the family group, thus, constitute the basic social bonds where enskilment exists. Consequently, actions that reinforce the links that enable enskilment have an extra outcome affecting such important aspects of Innu life.

The distribution network can also represent the traces of action-value events realized by sharing practices. Sharing can enact paths between people that last long enough to become an option for more action-value: once sharing relationships are established they can become recurrent paths where different kinds of actions can take place. If relationships are available for different types of action-value events, any such actions will reinforce these relationships. Relationships cause particular things to flow in particular ways so, even if constantly changing, human and non-human agents tend to make things travel on specific paths to defined destinations. In other words, the recurrent performance of sharing acts stabilizes relationships. The distribution network represents this stabilization.

The arguments that I have been developing in the last four chapters is that as one chooses the somebodies with whom to share, sharing practices set boundaries of the social in which Innu values and enskilment are realized. In other words, giving to anybody goes in the direction of a potential endless fluidity in which *atiku-euiash* would flow without containment, while choosing the somebodies with whom to share set boundaries that contain such unconstrained flow. Sharing practices, thus, delimit a social from the fluidity of "you give all kind of caribou meat to anybody." By making boundaries, sharing practices counterbalance the fluidity because they persist in the associations thereby enacted or re-enacted. Without this fluidity-containing boundary, sharing would not connect with enskilment and would not realize values. Ultimately, it is the potential absence of the boundary that makes sharing in the fraught space of Innu and Euro-Canadians colonization practices worrisome.

Several times I joined David, an Innu Nation official who had to monitor the new section of the TLH that was about to be opened. During these trips, we had long conversations, ranging from gossip to profound topics. On one of these occasions, I inquired about something that I had struggled to understand even after almost two years of living in Nitassinan: When a person shows aggression, what is the right way to respond? Should I retaliate? Should I show my disapproval? His answer was, "You do not do anything because the bad they do to others is coming back to them." This made me think about my cup that was shared with other camp members and was in my hands, time to time, holding hot tea after a cold winter day in Nitassinan. Like my cup, bad things also come back to those who perpetrate them, because things like aggression and cups are kept on our side of the boundaries. Similarly, as the elders taught me, *atiku* will cyclically come back. Even when they are living in faraway places, as long as rules are respected under the watchful eyes of the animal masters, *atiku* will come back. Things such as values, enskilment, and *atiku-euiash* not only come back, as they are kept in motion by the practices that co-constitute them, but also come back because these practices co-constitute a social that provides their paths, destinations, and boundaries.

When Ponas told of his worries of having to give to anybody, it was a fear of crossing a boundary and appearing in another socioscape where enskilment is not possible and values are not appreciated in the same way. This socioscape presents itself as inscrutable as the new values it promotes, such as accumulation and planning. It is inscrutable since their paths are unknown and their development certainly means reconfiguring the social. New practices such as professional hunting or government distribution of *atiku-euiash*

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can dramatically redefine the Sheshatshiu collective by changing the boundaries enacted by *atiku-euiash* sharing practices and how they produce values and enskilment. This re-definition threatens the Innu social where traces of past *atiku-euiash* sharing persist, and where Innu human and non-human agencies best manifest.

Ideas for future policies and research

Sharing is and will still be a relevant topic of research in Anthropology. New theoretical approaches and perspectives can yield interesting research results. The recurrent relevance of sharing is due to the fact that each of the trajectories of shared things is a signal that points to people, places, and relationships. I have shown here that the signal can take the form of a network, or a node in it, a place where an agency –a person, a household, a cluster and so on– stands in relation to others. The constitution of this signal is what ultimately helps in understanding the importance of sharing. This is precisely why my approach to sharing includes the distribution network properties as the traces of sharing practices and why assessing value cannot depend solely on the aggregated measures[39] or in simplified sharing patterns. Sharing practices have to be considered in terms of the emergent social they enact, and topological properties have to be considered in terms of

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[39] In Appendix A, I have gathered several network measures for the data I analyzed. These measures are examples of the benefits and limitations of such an approach. While these measurements give a snapshot of cluster difference, we still need to look at the concrete practices to make any sense of these measurements.

the differences they signal regarding how the social is co-constituted. The topological properties are a distinct reflection of the relationships made by sharing. This perspective, fundamental to my research, constitutes a new approach to the study of sharing practices.

The fact that the continuance of sharing practices depends on actions that seek value presents some policy challenges. How can those outside of a given 'social' appreciate value produced inside it? The existence of many subsistence suppression policies (Kuokkanen, 2011b) is evidence that governments do not see any value in reproducing subsistence practices. There is no doubt that these suppression policies should be stopped and practices that produce heterogeneous forms of value should be fostered. If such practices are allowed, peoples like the Innu can produce value in the sense that was analyzed here and can re-enact their social generation after generation. This implies that as long as sharing practices continue to bring enskilment, generosity, autonomy and respect into being, these practices are worth reproducing. Furthermore, the effects of policies from the ethnographic perspective could go unnoticed if fixed scales of action are used to form a hierarchical structure in which transformation at local-levels (e.g., the sharing of *atiku-euiash*) are not taken into account while the regional-level (e.g., regional hunting policies) is the focus of policy making. Action-value cannot be perceived if the ethnographic perspective is not taken into account. How can a far removed decision maker notice the beneficial impact of sharing *atiku-euiash* if they only consider the aggregation of statistical sharing data? Regional approaches preclude value being noticed; to notice it requires a change of perspective that unveils the extent of outcomes from the ethnographic perspective (Howitt, 2001; Tsing, 2005). Approaches so far removed from the social space

actually produce harmful policies because they oversee relationships not included in their aggregations.[40]

Consequently, fostering a social through policies designed to be used as input aggregations gathered at a regional scale is very difficult to do, if it is at all possible. Programs created to incentivize healthier lifestyles, the availability of country food, and traditional knowledge might not produce the same type of value as the actions they replace. While they might be well-intentioned and indeed have benefits, these programs do not reproduce the same social. Furthermore, they propose a different set of action-values, often designed elsewhere, that the local social actors might not appreciate in the intended way.

To assess the outcomes of these types of policies, it is necessary to consider value in its proper setting: within the associations of persons that realize such values. This type of assessment implies a loss of control by government agencies, and the bureaucratic structure in general, since those that have not been enskilled to do so have difficulty appreciating values. The implementation of more locally relevant programs also implies a loss of control for the government agencies that think that funds are spent in a less organized way when control is yielded to the policy clients. In the end, however, less-organized spending is not a greater issue than the costs of mitigating the consequences of the harm-

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[40] The reallocation of the Innu to Iluikoyak Island, close to Davis Inlet, is an example of such wrong-headed policies in which relationships were not considered (Press, 1995). This example shows that these policies are supported by a preconceived notion of the social that is inconsistent with how social actors conceive relationships.

ful effects of current policies (Alfred, 2011; Backhouse & McRae, 2002). This is the persistence of the colonial mindset (Samson, 2003; Sider, 2014), which situates policymakers within a perspective that makes them fail to see the value of subsistence practices because they, precisely, undermine the deployment of their colonial development projects.

Ultimately, the challenge posed by community welfare policies is to fund programs while fostering the autonomy of the participating communities and individuals. Autonomy is a fair political claim based on the right to self-determination of local communities that is underscored by First Nations' pre-existing rights to the territories and resources involved in such programs (Scott et al., 2001). Likewise, autonomy is a fair individual claim based on pre-existing ethical and ontological frameworks that leads to leveraging communities and family groups' agency in defining their place in the social space, a place defined in Sheshatshiu, among other practices, by *atiku-euiash* sharing. Since practices have developed through past generations and in a chain of action-value of the past that kept on enacting and reenacting the social, they are unique: they cannot be replaced by any action that does not imply these agencies. The reproduction of practices is then the core of future subsistence prospects. Policymakers that claim to be helping to improve First Nations' future should take note of this.

I aligned my research along the sociology of associations, foregrounding a question: How can practices explain the social as they co-constitute the associations from which the social emerges? While this question was answered through this research, other lines of questioning became increasingly interesting. How can value be understood in different heterogeneous configurations constituted by other practices? How other networks articu-

late with the one studied here? What are the properties that co-constitute their specificity? Is the specificity enclosed by the same boundaries set by sharing practices? The most interesting question is, perhaps, how *atiku-euiash* sharing and other related practices impact the ongoing relationship with the provincial government surrounding the management of the 'natural resources' in the area. A large part of Innu studies since the nineties, as shown in Chapter 2, target these topics (Armitage, 2007; Burke, 2003; Henriksen, 1993b; Henriksen, 1997). After many years of conflict, the Innu Nation leadership has recently gone along with large resource-related projects such the Voisey's Bay nickel extraction and the Lower Churchill Hydroelectric project. The Tshash Petapen agreement was signed by the Innu Nation and Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to settle the land claim. As a consequence of this agreement, Innu have new sources of cash and new opportunities for wage employment in Sheshatshiu and Natuashish. However, the regional perspective that government usually takes has not disappeared, albeit it may have taken a more subtle expression. This is more evident when the entities at stake are deemed by the Euro-Canadian world to belong to 'nature', such as animals and the forest, which have personhood for the Innu. Actually, these differences powerfully outcrop when *atiku* is the topic of conversation. From the standpoint of what has been argued in this work, what *atiku*, the person, mobilizes in the Innu collective is not the same thing as what caribou, the animal, does in the Euro-Canadian world. The Innu assumptions that make *atiku* a person –and the practices derived from them– collide with government resource management that is based on western science. The narrative about *atiku* appears in the mass media and government communications, but only reflects the mainstream Euro-Canadian

perspective. In this perspective, animals are resources to be conserved at the regional level, decisions are based on western science, and aboriginal rights are trumped by conservation. I have shown in this work that the Innu understanding of *atiku* involves of generosity, respect, and autonomy, an understanding in which people, animals and their masters coexist and share. What types of understanding are then possible between the Innu collective and the Canadian authorities or non-Innu Labradoreans? Looking into the gap on understandings about the world, the things that there are in it, and the relationships between people and these things can shed light on possible ways in which these radically different understandings of the world can negotiate their coexistence.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Methods

Several methods were used during the fieldwork and the initial analysis of the data. This appendix complements the information given in Chapter 1. First, it provides supplementary information about the survey. Second it provides some data on the individuals answering the formal interviews. Third, it provides the record of the interactions. And fourth, it describes the genealogical analysis was done to establish households' filiation to subgroups.

Survey

The following table is a summary of the harvest and distribution survey. Colors represent the membership to clusters of households from the Girvan-Newman algorithm.

Table 2: Summary of survey data

HH Number	Total Members	Adults	Elders	Highway Harvest	Outpost Program	Meat given	Meat received
41	9	4		1	0	0.0	0.0
9	7	6	3	0	3	0.0	1.0
28	6	3		0	0	4.0	0.0
5	8	8	1	5	1	4.0	0.0
33	6	2		25	0	7.0	1.0
8	5	4		0	0	0.0	0.2
23	4	2		0	0	6.0	1.0
32	8	6		0	0	0.0	1.2
43	1	1		0	0	0.0	0.2
2	4	3		0	0	0.0	4.1
45	3	2	1	5	1	0.0	3.0
7	6	5	2	0	2	0.0	3.0
42	12	8		0	0	0.0	0.0
6	5	4	1	0	1	0.0	4.0
15	2	2	1	0	1	0.0	1.0

36	6	2		0	0	0.0	0.1
16	8	2		0	0	0.0	0.2
13	3	2		20	0	3.2	0.0
20	6	2		0	0	0.0	0.0
12	5	2		0	0	2.1	1.0
27	7	2		4	0	4.1	0.0
26	5	4	1	0	1	0.0	2.0
34	7	2		2	0	2.0	0.1
44	3	2		0	0	0.2	2.0
40	5	4	1	0	1	0.0	1.0
25	12	6		30	0	1.0	1.0
31	11	4		5	0	0.0	0.0
30	3	3	1	6	1	0.0	1.0
46	4	2		0	0	0.4	0.4
4	5	5		0	0	7.0	1.0
10	4	2	1	0	1	0.0	2.0
1	5	3		2	0	0.0	1.0
11	6	4		0	0	0.0	0.2
38	4	3		0	0	0.0	1.0
24	6	4	2	0	2	0.0	1.0
37	4	2		0	0	0.0	1.0
3	2	2		0	0	0.0	0.0
35	7	4		1	0	2.0	0.2
17	10	5		0	0	1.0	0.0
29	7	3		30	0	27.0	0.0
14	2	2		0	0	0.0	0.1
19	6	2		0	0	0.2	0.0
39	5	2		0	0	0.0	0.0
21	9	6	1	0	1	0.0	1.0
22	5	3		0	0	0.0	0.2
18	4	2		3	0	0.0	0.0

In Table 2, the harvest data have been divided into two categories, the Outpost Program harvest and the rest. The latter is composed mostly of hunts along the TLH and, to a lesser extent, of data from some excursions done using other means of transportation, such as snowmobile. Because households give to and receive from households not included in the survey, these columns are not necessarily interrelated. Furthermore, there could be an inclination of underreporting

quantities, especially when close relatives and friends might serve themselves from freezers. In addition, as some hunters had been charged for illegal hunting, some households chose not to answer the number of caribou they killed despite reporting the caribou they gave to others.

Formal interviews

Interview 1

My first interview was arranged with the grandmother of one of the research assistants who worked with us during fieldwork. During the last section of the interview, her husband was also present, although he only spoke at the end. I arrived during the late afternoon and we spoke most of the time about the survey, the accuracy of which was a point of interest, particularly with the research assistant. After the interview, some salmon was about to be cooked and I stayed there for supper. We ate the salmon and after that her husband gave me a piece of caribou to take home.

Interview 2

The second interview was done with Napaen, a middle-aged man who worked in one of the community organizations, whom I had met during my hours of working in an office nearby where we established a friendship. He was born in the country during the settlement process in the late 1950s. He was very friendly and maintained several other informal conversations.

Interview 3

The third interviewee was Ponas, the elder mentioned in the Introduction. After going to the country and receiving his hospitality, I thought that, as an elder in his late seventies, his perspective on the times previous to the settlement would be invaluable, as he had spent a lot of his time in nuitshimit. We (my wife also participated in the first session) did the interview in two sessions

on different days since on the first he was not feeling well and we only talked for about 40 minutes. We arrived at his house at noon on a bright, sunny day. One of his granddaughters was with him. He was sitting on a couch and seemed relaxed and happy with our visit. I did the second leg of the interview the next day.

Interview 4

This interview was also done in the offices of one of the Sheshatshiu organizations. Two individuals, Ben and Napess, participated in what constituted more of an open dialogue in the second half of the interview. I started talking with the older individual, who was in his fifties, and was most interested in pan-Innu and pan-aboriginal issues than anything else. For him, sharing questions were secondary to the problem of defining the boundaries of those affected by colonization. I spoke in the second half of the interview with the second individual, who was more interested in the question of how Euro-Canadian companies try to take ownership of resources on Innu land. He, as an Innu, has to follow the same process of claiming mining rights, and this contradicts with the fact that Innu are the owners of the land.

Interview 5

This interview was done with Jimmy, the youngest of all the interviewees, and was also done in the office during lunch time. During the interview, a certain tension was present, because he thought he was not the best person to talk about sharing and caribou, and that I should interview the elders instead. I tried my best to emphasize that I was interested in everybody's opinion. This situation emphasizes the authority of elders on the subject, but it does not mean that younger peoples cannot speak to it: it could simply mean that elders have the best understanding of inter-

relationships within the Innu collective, including relationships with animals, since they have lived more and have had more time to cultivate these relationships.

Interactions

The following table contains information of the recorded interactions including the individual, the types of verbal interactions I had with him/her, and the total length of these interactions:

Table 3: Interactions

How I met him/her	Interactions	Approx. Length (hours)
SIFN officer	Hunting trips by truck or plane. Community-based hunts and household-based hunts. Trips to *Nutshimit* by plane or helicopter. Trips to other Labrador towns. Outpost Program trips. Conversations at his or her house.	250
SFIN officer	Outpost Program location visit.	8
Innu Nation Guardian	Caribou monitoring on the TLH, storytelling sessions at Innu Nation. Conversations at his house.	50
Innu Nation Guardian	Caribou monitoring in the TLH, conversations in Innu Nation.	60
Camp member	Conversations in camp, long walks	30
Camp member	Conversations in camp, long walks and canoeing	15
Camp member	Conversations in camp and later at his house. Trips to the road. Shared several meals. Conversations at his or her house.	80
Camp member	Conversation at camp.	5
Camp member	Conversations at camp. Shared meals. Conversations at her house.	25
Innu Nation employee	Storytelling at Innu Nation. Community hunt. Conversations at his house.	40
Innu Nation Employee	Storytelling at Innu Nation, shared meals and visits	20
Community member	Shared meal, camp visit, drive	5

	around	
Innu nation employee	Conversations at Innu Nation, shared meals, visits, drive around	40
Innu Nation monitor	Caribou monitoring on the TLH and other roads, shared conversations at the Innu Nation, visits and meals	60
Camp member	Conversations at camp, visits.	15
Camp member	Conversations at camp, visits.	15
Camp member	Conversations at camp, visits, fishing.	20
Camp member	Conversations at camp, visits, long walks and hunting trips.	35
Community member	Trip to Labrador community	5
Community member	Trip to Labrador community	7
Camp member	Community hunt, household hunt, shared meals and visits. Trip to Labrador community	25

Genealogical information

In order to account for the ancestral filiations of households used in Chapter 5, it was necessary to recover certain genealogical affiliations after the survey was done. The first step was to work with someone in the community that helped me to learn the ancestral affiliations of the households. This ancestral origin of the different households was obtained using three categories related to different areas groups of Innu used to inhabit. Many authors define these categories as bands (e.g. Leacock, 1954; Mailhot, 1997; Speck, 1915). These categories are Washaunu, Mushuanu and Musquanu. Ethnonyms are formed with the area of origin and the contraction of Innu, or people. So, Washaunu are the Innu of Washat, the Innu name for Sept Iles is the St Lawrence North Shore; Musquanu, from Musquaro, also in the North shore, albeit closer to Sheshatshiu; Mushuanu, the Innu that come from the barren lands.

This information was complemented by the genealogical information collected by Peter Armitage and others (Pers. Com.) that is stored in a database. This database contains information about many individuals who live in Sheshatshiu and other Innu communities. Some of its entries refer to individuals who lived in the nineteenth century, five or six generations back. This software allows an individual to be searched using his name and, once the individual is located in the database, the ancestral tree can be followed up to the earliest known ancestor. If the location of the earliest ancestor is pinpointed using the information stored, such as where this individual was born and where they were seen, then the ancestral origin can be established.

The following table contains the number of individuals for each ancestral group in each of the clusters of the distribution network (see next Appendix for an explanation of each cluster).

Table 4: Number of households belonging to each subgroup in each cluster

Group	W	M	K	EC
Blue	7	4	6	
Red	5	5	1	1
Black	8	6	4	
Grey	5	8	1	1
Purple	3	7	4	1

Appendix B: Network analysis

Once all the surveys were done, they were recorded in a Microsoft Access database. Data for each household, including the distribution data, was stored using several related tables. Network analysis software usually accepts several data formats, allowing network data to be imported and exported. Due to its simplicity I chose to export the data by converting it to a matrix where all the households are represented in both the column and row header. Then, each cell contains the caribou given from the household in the row header to the household in the column header. The matrix was then imported into the software UCINET (S. P. Borgatti et al., 2002). This software, in turn, saves the network and all its attributes in a format readable by the software Netdraw (S. P. Borgatti, 2002), which contains the necessary algorithm to output the distribution network diagrams.

In order to analyze the sharing network, I divided it into household clusters formed by the household groups that share more among themselves than with the households in other groups using a method developed by Girvan and Newman (Girvan & Newman, 2002). This method finds whether certain groups of nodes have a higher level of interconnection among their members. In order to do that, the analysis uses Freeman's concept of *betweeness centrality* (Freeman, 1977). This is the property of a node –or a link thereof– which means that the node or link is in-between other nodes in the network or, in other words, when a node is in a pathway between two other nodes. Therefore, a given network would have a higher level centrality if fewer nodes or links are in between more nodes. For example, a centralized distribution of caribou meat performed by the SIFN yields a centralized network. The Girvan-Newman method works in a heu-

ristic way and thus requires setting a range of clusters to be found. Once the range has been set, NetDraw, which has an algorithm that implements this method, finds the optimal configuration of clusters for each number of clusters in the range. Optimal, for a Girvan and Newman cluster configuration, means having the smallest *modularity*.
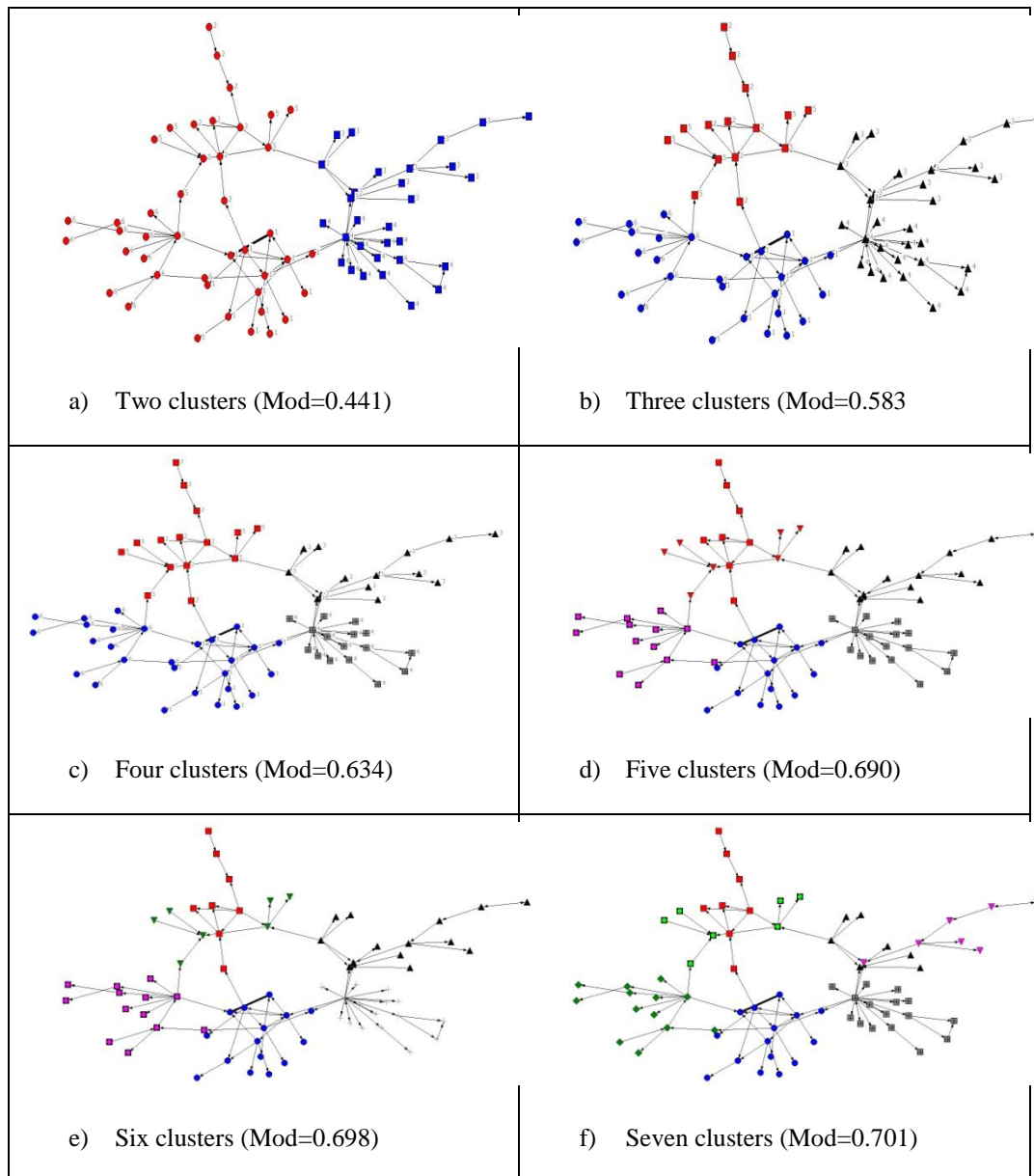

a) Two clusters (Mod=0.441)

b) Three clusters (Mod=0.583

c) Four clusters (Mod=0.634)

d) Five clusters (Mod=0.690)

e) Six clusters (Mod=0.698)

f) Seven clusters (Mod=0.701)

Figure 16: Cluster configurations of the caribou meat distribution network using a Girvan and Newman algorithm

Modularity measures the relation between the configurations against a hypothetical random distribution of the same number of links. For example, given that a meat distribution configuration is distributed in two clusters (graph (a) in Figure 16), its modularity is the proportion of links which are represented in the graph that would also be represented if all the households were to distribute randomly. After targeting two through seven clusters, the five-cluster configuration shown in Figure 16 is the point where increasing the number of clusters does not yield a dramatic increase in modularity. This best cluster configuration was found, however, by complementing network properties with other information that can be accessed by other methodologies, such as information on the distribution to elders among the clusters, the proportion of meat sources in each group, the family connections within the group, and the position of salient individuals and households connecting the clusters. These salient households, in many cases, are those that have the highest *proximal betweeness*, the measurement of the shortest paths between households.
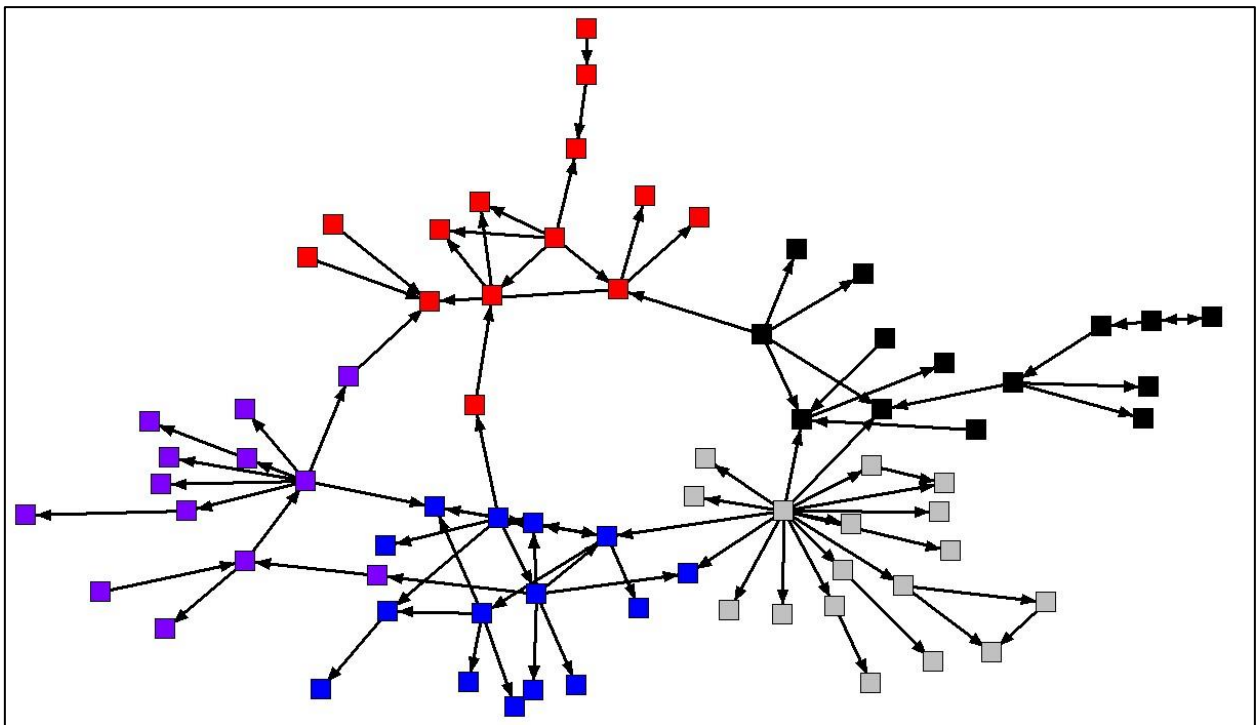

Figure 17: Five-cluster configuration

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Looking at this five-cluster configuration, shown in Figure 17, it is easy to characterize clusters that appear to have different levels of centralization. The cluster composed by households shown in grey represents the SIFN's distribution. The household at the center of this cluster is the one with the most outgoing connections of the whole network, and this cluster has the highest level of centrality. The other clusters vary between a high level of centrality (purple) to low (red and black). This variability responds to the fact that successful hunters, such as the head of the household at the center of the purple group, become providers for many households that are not able to hunt caribou, whereas some other clusters are mostly composed of households that are capable of hunting or who have a low caribou meat flow. The level of centralized distribution can be measured using four different methods, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Different measures for centrality

Group	Flow betweenness	Proximal Betweenness	Out-Degree	In-Degree
Blue	1.550%	39%	28.061%	12.755%
Red	0.476%	29%	28.444%	21.333%
Black	0.592%	24%	24.852%	16.568%
Grey	3.100%	73%	75.510%	6.633%
Purple	2.146%	52%	45.833%	9.722%

Flow betweeness measures the contribution of a node to the maximum flow between each pair of the other nodes, so it gives an idea of how the network flow goes through one or more nodes (Freeman et al., 1991). This is the measure that more clearly shows centrality. For example, in the grey groups of Figure 17 the center household from which the meat flows has the highest flow of the network.

Proximal betweeness measures the shortest paths where one node is the last intermediary (S. P. Borgatti, 2005; Freeman, 1979). For example, imagine an elder who has many hunting-related households and receives a lot of meat that he/she distributes to other groups of households. If these households do not hunt or redistribute the meat, then the elder's household is the last intermediary for them. Such a distributor would have the responsibility of delivering the meat to the boundary of the distribution.

Out-degree measures the number of links that start from a node and *in-degree* measures the links that end in a given node (Freeman et al., 1991). Out-degree and in-degree serve to determine how links are concentrated in the same nodes or, in our case, how the giving or receiving is concentrated. As can be appreciated, the grey group that corresponds to the distribution of the community-based hunt gets the highest centrality score as the center household has the highest out-degree of 75% of all the meat distributed in the cluster, while in the red group one single node concentrates 21% of the distributed meat.

Another property that is useful to show the differences between distribution patterns is *connectivity*, which can be examined using the measurements of *density* and *reachability* (Janssen et al., 2006), shown in Table 6. Density is defined as the number of actual links within a cluster compared to the number of all possible links. The more of these possible connections present, the denser –and thus more connected– the network is. This property affects the persistence of the distribution flow despite losing distributing households. As can be appreciated in Table 6, all clusters have a similar density. The table also shows the maximum value of reachability for all nodes in a group.

Table 6: Measures of density and reachability

Group	Density	Reachability
Blue	0.09	31
Red	0.07	8
Black	0.08	9
Grey	0.08	49
Purple	0.08	14

Reachability is the extent to which each node in the network can be accessed by any other node. Because in our case clusters have been defined by an algorithm affected by the concentration of links among households assigned to the same cluster, caribou meat sources reach most, if not all, the households in the cluster. However, if the entire network is taken into account, the SIFN at the center of the communitarian distribution (grey cluster in Figure 17) has the highest level of reachability across the whole network. This is due to two reasons. First, the higher out-degree a household has, the higher the probability there is to reach another household that serves as a link to other clusters. Second, community-based hunts do not distribute using kin or affinity relationships. Hence, the meat can reach different clusters of families, possibly belonging to different community subgroups.

The hunting and distribution strategies that are analyzed in Chapter 5 differ in many respects. Among these differences, their resultant network topologies are important evidence that show how sharing creates and reinforces a social space where things circulate. On one hand, the centralized distribution of the community-based hunts yields a network where most households are linked to a central distribution point. On the other hand, the household-based mode yields a to-

pology with node connections more evenly distributed across the network. These two different distribution patterns can be appreciated in Figure 18 and Figure 19 below. The community-based distribution is represented by the blue cluster and the household-based hunts by the rest.

Groups' internal structure: household-based distribution

This section describes the two clusters, the blue and the purple, that are the product of household-based giving and receiving, and have been analyzed in Chapter 5.
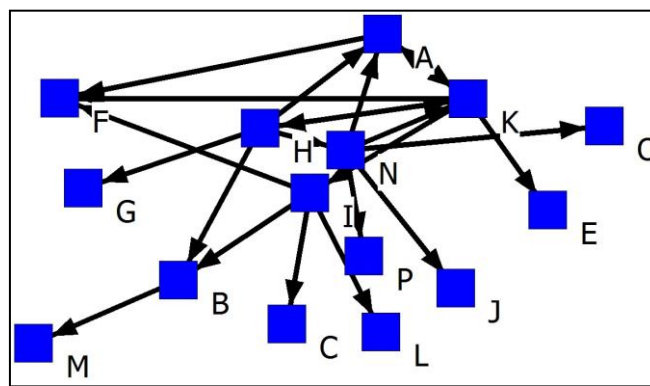

Figure 18: Blue cluster

The blue cluster is a household-based cluster with a low degree of centrality. This cluster has three main household-based hunters: Sebastian and Mary Ann in household I, Paul and Pauline in household K, and Andrew and Christine in household N. Sebastian and Mary Ann and Paul and Pauline, both killed 25 *atiku* each during the previous year. Although not as productive as Paul and Pauline or Sebastian and Mary Ann, Paul's cousin Andrew and his wife Christine have also hunted and shared with the cluster. Sebastian and Mary Ann are a middle-aged couple who live with a younger adult, the couple's adult children, a girlfriend of one of the children, and an elderly aunt. Paul and Pauline, and Andrew and Christine live with their children.

This cluster also has a less active household-based hunter: Antoine and Philomena of household H. This is a multigenerational household where the fifty-something couple live with their

two daughters, two sons and some of their grandchildren from other adult children who live elsewhere. They are the parents of Pauline of household K. At the time of the survey, six grandchildren were living there, but Antoine emphasized that this number varies greatly, showing the high mobility of children who can opt to live with their parents or grandparents. Jokingly, Antoine said that he does not really know how many grandchildren live in his house at any given point in time.
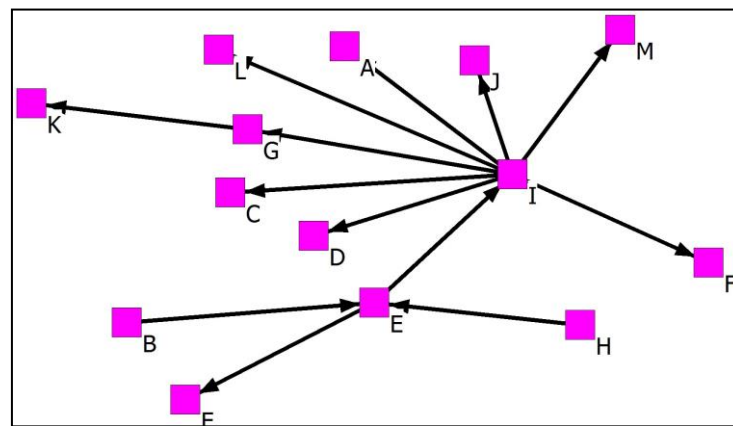

Figure 19: Purple cluster

In the purple cluster, there is only one big provider who shares with most of households in the cluster, which is, thus, more centralized. This centralization results in fewer sharers per household. This cluster is held together by the broad distribution of household I. This household has seven members: Gregory and Lorraine and their two daughters and three sons. They have a cabin along the TLH and all but two of the boys participate in the outings. They reported harvesting three caribou. The only other household that harvested in this cluster was G. They got two caribou in late spring. This household is inhabited by Ponnas and Sylvia, their two daughters and their boyfriends, and two boys and three girls. Household I distributed to his brothers (households J, G, C), his sister (household A), her parents (household M), and her brother who lives in Quebec. They also distributed to his parents (household F from the blue cluster). His parents fell

into the blue cluster by virtue of receiving from more households there. Household I has distributed broadly, contributing greatly to the flow of the cluster. They also received from his cousin in household E. This is a household where a couple lives with her adult son, their daughter, and their grandchildren. Household I also distributed to her brother in household F and received from his uncle in household B and from a friend in household H.