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THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL-CULTURAL SITUATION
OF NATIVE TRAPPERS IN NORTHERN MANITOBA

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THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL-CULTURAL SITUATION
OF NATIVE TRAPPERS IN NORTHERN MANITOBA

by

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the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of

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ABSTRACT

There has yet to be a comprehensive study on the native trappers in northern Manitoba. Previous studies have dealt with either the economic, social or cultural aspects of the trapper, but never all together. A comprehensive study considering all of these facets together could be very useful in terms of placing trapping in its proper perspective within the family lifestyle of the trapper, as well as within the lifestyle of his community. This could prove to be beneficial in planning community development and extension programs.

The purpose of this study was to determine the economic, social, and cultural situation of these native trappers. That is, his sources of income, family and community lifestyles, and his work satisfaction. This was done primarily through the use of a questionnaire, completed by 180 trappers from Garden Hill, Nelson House, Little Grand Rapids, Red Sucker Lake, and Shamattawa. Additional information was obtained from people in government and private agencies, as well as non-trapping Indians. The information from all sources was then analyzed.

The approach used to collect and then to evaluate the data required the construction of a model. The model

was designed to consider the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the lives and families of the trappers. The factors influencing these dimensions were also listed and accounted for. Once the dimensions were established, the influential factors, and the resulting benefits, represent the trapper's present situation. His situation was then compared to his hypothesized objectives to ascertain whether in fact these objectives were being reached. If a shortfall existed it could be identified, and effective assistance designed, if so desired.

The results indicated that income derived from trapping represented only a small percentage of the trapper's total annual income, even when a dollar value was placed on the perquisites of meat of the animals trapped. The two major sources of income were other jobs and social assistance. The majority of trappers worked at other jobs, many of which conflicted with the trapping season. In part, taking other jobs appears to be due to discontentment on the part of most trappers with their trapping situation.

In many cases, the discontentment was due to a lack of equipment and inadequate finances to purchase equipment.

The conclusions drawn from this study were, that although native people are interested in preserving trapping, the number of trappers is decreasing and will continue

to do so, due to the availability of other employment. It would appear that the value of trapping lies not so much in the economic benefits it provides, but rather in its sacred and cultural significance. It is this aspect of trapping which the northern residents would like to see passed on from generation to generation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this practicum is to determine the economic and socio-cultural situation of native trappers in northern Manitoba. Excluded, however, are any references to, or information about the Chipewyan Band of Indians. This was based upon a difference in culture from other northern residents as well as inaccessibility. Through consideration of the trappers' situation, it may be possible to identify the role of trapping and its significance in native culture.

The 1969-1970 statistics indicate that 2,006 permits were issued for trapping on registered traplines.¹ Data concerning the total value of all the pelts taken in northern Manitoba showed a total of \$666,057 for the 1969-70 season.² From these figures it would appear that the average annual income of each trapper was \$332.03. However, a review of the standard registered trappers list for various trapping areas of northern Manitoba indicates that numerous men who purchase trapping permits are not

¹D. J. Sandell and C. F. Framingham, Manitoba North, Secretariat Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet, Province of Manitoba. Source of statistics, Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, 1972, p. 32.

²Ibid., p. 56.

trapping, while people who have not purchased permits are trapping. As a result, it is possible to assume that there is a need for a better method of determining the actual number of men currently trapping as well as their average annual income derived from trapping.

The Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management considers anyone who has applied for and received, or shares a registered trapline, as a trapper. The question then is not so much, "what is a trapper?" but rather distinguishing between an "active trapper" and an "occasional trapper." One definition of an active trapper is any person who gains \$200 or more in a season trapping wild fur.³ Another perspective of trapping which should not be overlooked is the amount of time the trapper spends on his trapline. A comprehensive definition of a trapper, whether he is active or occasional, should include his income derived from trapping as well as the amount of time actually devoted to trapping. While a definition is needed, undoubtedly a re-definition would be necessary in the future to compensate for changing economic and social conditions.

Returning to the problems facing native trappers, a statistical survey of employment estimates between the

³ Interview with Dick Stardom, Wildlife Research Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

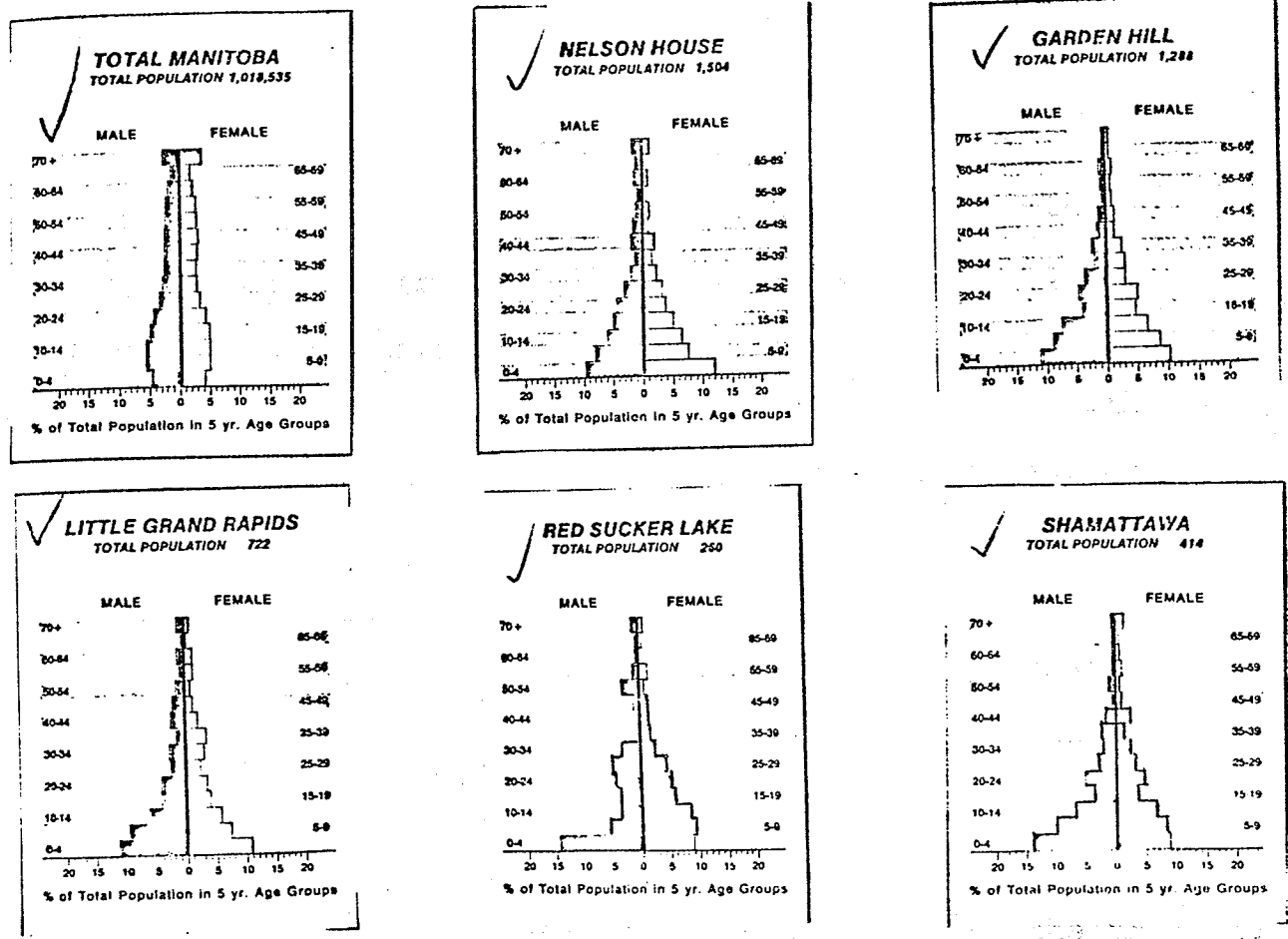
ages of fifteen and sixty-four living on reserves revealed that 1,768 of the total 7,660 in this age bracket were engaged in full time or seasonal employment. Of the 1,768 employed Indians, over one half are trappers. On the basis of these statistics, it appears that the majority of the trappers fall within the "under \$1,000 a year" category, with the average trapper earning between \$332.03 and \$1,000.⁴ It should be noted that this table of income distribution of Indian people includes those residing in large northern centres such as Churchill, Thompson and Flin Flon. As a result, the income distribution will probably be skewed in an upward direction in relation to the income distribution of Indians living and working on northern reserves.

The poverty of the native trapper is compounded by the fact that the average size of the Indian family is 3.6 people (including children) compared to 2.7 people per family for all northern residents.⁵ Unlike the total population statistics for Manitoba by age group, the Indian population statistics are pyramidal in shape, with the majority of the population being under sixteen years of age (see Fig. 1 and Table 1). The pyramidal nature of the

⁴Sandell and Framingham, op. cit. Source: Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, p. 59.

⁵Ibid. Source: Manitoba Health Service Commission Records, p. 8.

Figure 1. Population - age - sex pyramids of 5 northern communities and Manitoba as a whole.



Source: Manitoba North, Secretariat, Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet, Province of Manitoba, 1972, Pp. 68-69.

Table 1. Age structure of Manitoba population: Indian and non-Indian compared, 1972

	Indian Population	Non-Indian Population
% less than 15 years	51	27
% aged 15-44	37	43
% aged 45-64	9	20
% aged 65 or more	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	100	100

Source: Manitoba Health Services Commission, Population of Manitoba, 1972.

Indian population has placed considerable strain upon the local resources. It has also increased the native people's dependence upon social assistance.

A factor of major influence in determining the livelihood the trapper gains from trapping is the wild fur market. This market is an international one and the major buyers are predominantly Europeans and Japanese. Wild fur is a luxury commodity on the international market, and so it is particularly susceptible to world economic and political conditions. Demand is extremely unstable and fur prices fluctuate widely on a year-to-year and even month-to-month basis. The pelt prices are established in this international market and as the Manitoba production of wild fur represents such a small portion of the total world production, the Manitoba trapper has virtually no control over the price he receives for his pelts. This has resulted in extremely poor returns to trappers when the market has been glutted, and even in years when there has been a relatively high demand for furs.⁶

The wild fur market has contributed little to the trapper's livelihood in yet another way. According to annual wild fur production statistics for Manitoba, beaver

⁶Manitoba to 1980, Report of the Commission on Targets for Economic Development, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1969, p. 98.

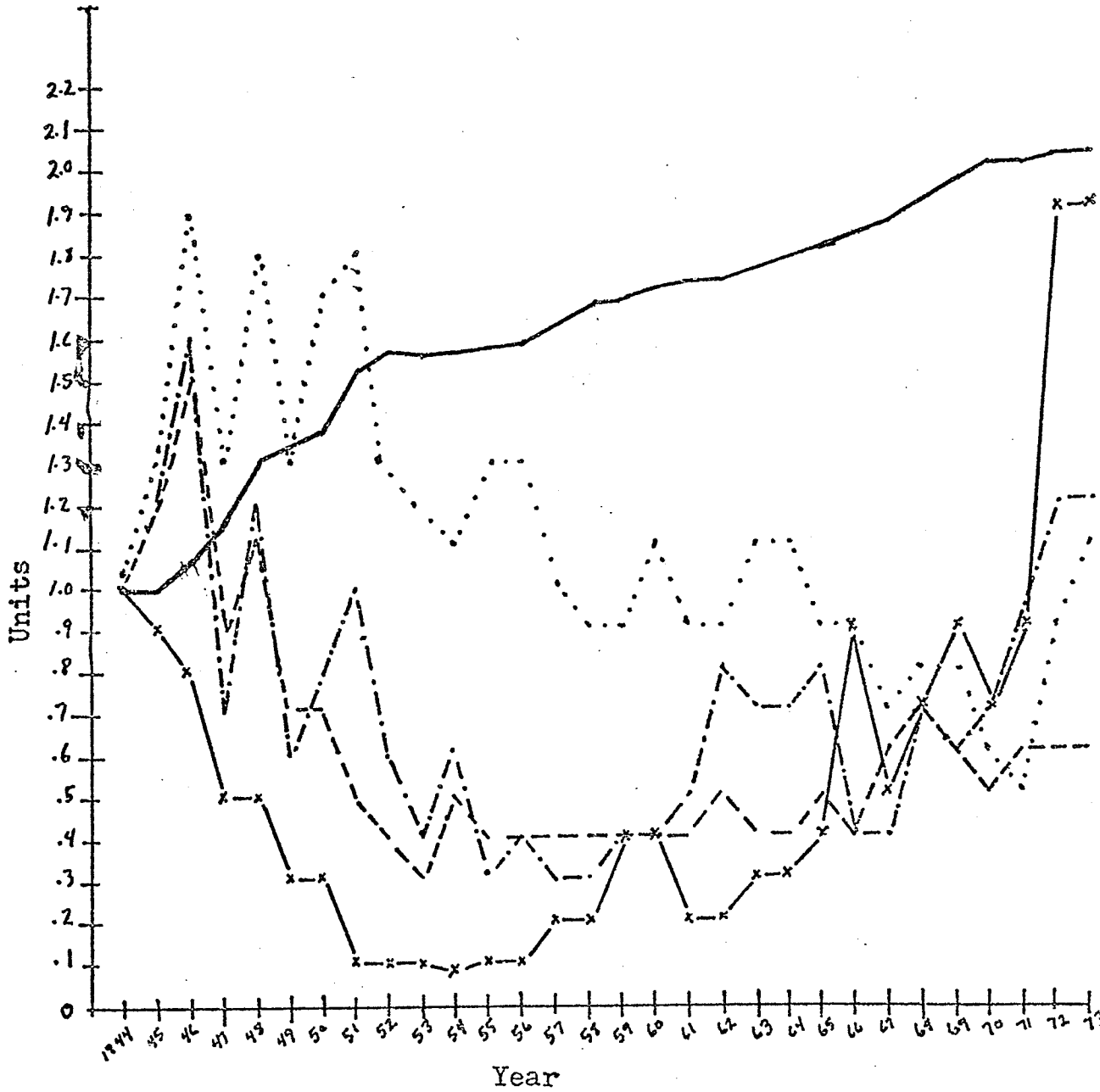
are the most abundant species of furbearers trapped. However, the average price paid for the beaver in the international market over the past twenty-five years has lagged far behind the increasing cost of living. The average selling price of beaver, as well as muskrat and mink, which are the main species trapped in the area considered here, are presented in Fig. 2. This graph compares the consumer price index and the average market price of these three species of furbearers over a twenty-nine year period from 1944 to 1973. In the light of this Figure, it appears that the average price of these furbearers has not kept pace with the consumer price index. This would suggest that the revenue derived from the sale of these pelts has diminished over the years in relation to the consumer price index and the cost of living over the same period of time. As a result, the trapper is caught in a financial squeeze where his trapping expenses are increasing while his production value remains constant or negative.

The Federal and Provincial Governments are attempting to alleviate these problems encountered by trappers through the implementation of the Special A.R.D.A. Program and the Wild Fur Development Program.

The Special A.R.D.A. Program, Primary Production Sector, administered by the Northern Affairs Branch of the Provincial Government, ended April 1, 1975 (sic). The

Figure 2. Trends in Wild Fur Prices Relative to Cost of Living Trends as Represented by Consumer Price Index

1944 = 1.00



- = Consumer Price Index
- = Average Price of Beaver Pelt
- .-.- = Average Price of Muskrat Pelt
- = Average Price of Mink Pelt
- x—x = Average Price of Lynx Pelt

Sources: Prices and Price Indexes, Statistics Canada, The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, 62-002, 1949, 1960, 1973.
 Average Valuation of Pelts taken from the wild, D.M.R.E.M. unpublished document.

primary objective of this program was

to facilitate the economic development and social adjustment of disadvantaged people in rural areas, particularly those of Indian ancestry, who have previously had little or no access to regular earning and employment opportunities.⁷

An evaluation of this program is currently under way, although it is expected to take a few years before it will be possible to determine the extent of the success or failure of this program.

While in existence, however, the program issued \$1.5 million dollars in grants to 1,200 trappers. Of all the trappers receiving grants, 750 were Treaty Indians, 305 were Métis and 65 were Icelandic and Euro-Canadian trappers. The Federal Government was responsible for all of the grant money given to the Treaty Indians and 50 percent of the grant money issued to the Metis and white trappers. The Provincial Government raised the other 50 percent for the Métis and Euro-Canadian trappers.

Administration of the program was undertaken by the Department of Northern Affairs (D.N.A.) of the Provincial Government. Assisting them with data and information were the Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental

⁷General Operating Guidelines and Administrative Procedures, Special A.R.D.A. Agreement, p. 9.

^{7a}As of April 1, 1975 this was the case. However, an extension of the original agreement has now been negotiated.

Management, the Manitoba Registered Trappers Association, and the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. At the local level, the local fur councils of the communities involved were in charge of selecting the groups applying for grants as well as assisting in the delivery of the equipment to the trappers.

The second program geared towards aiding the trappers of northern Manitoba, begun recently, is the Wild Fur Development Program conceived by the Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M.). The objectives of this program are to maximize the social and economic benefits to trappers from optimum development of the wild fur resource.⁸ The primary area of the program application will be the registered trapline and special fur conservation areas of northern and central Manitoba, but some program components, such as education and fur marketing, will apply throughout the province.

This five-year program is designed to provide Manitoba trappers with a sustained optimum yield of wild furbearers, improving living and working conditions on the trapline, maximizing returns through rationalization of the market system, and the option to maintain a way of life which is outside the Province's normal socio-economic mainstream. The program is intended to enhance the economic situation of the trappers by improving all

⁸Wild Fur Development Program, draft, 1973, p. 1.

phases of raw fur production and increasing the returns from the market place.⁹

The following goals have been identified to achieve these objectives:

- To provide adequate source of credit at reasonable interest rates and an opportunity for trappers to purchase equipment at competitive prices.
- To increase the trapper's share of the auction value of wild furs to a minimum of 75%.
- To improve access and operating conditions for trappers in the field to overcome social isolation and poor accommodations.
- To increase the stock of furbearers available for harvest and stimulate demand for wild furs and wild fur by-products to expand income opportunities from trapping.
- To establish a planning base and improve capability for planning and organizing trapping activities at the community level.
- To expedite development introduction and use of human traps and trapping techniques to improve the social acceptability of trapping.
- To improve the status of trappers and trapping as an occupation.
- To increase fur production by up to 100% over the five-year program to reduce reliance on welfare-based alternatives.

The program encompasses approximately 6,000 trappers and will cost a total of 8.3 million dollars over the five-year life of the program. Seventy-eight percent of the total

⁹Manitoba Wild Fur Program, 1975-1980, draft,
Department of Mines and Resources, 1975, pp. 1-2.

expenditures of the program will be used at the local level with the majority of this requiring the direct involvement of the local fur council.

The total cost of the program is shared between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management. Exact figures on the cost sharing are unavailable, but it is expected that the Provincial Government will contribute approximately \$4 million with the Federal Government supplying the remainder. The Department of Mines and Resources is administering the program, and it will be assisted by the Manitoba Registered Trappers Association. Considering the elements of these two programs, and the costs of implementing them, it would appear that the Provincial Government is strongly encouraging a greater utilization of the wild fur resources of northern Manitoba. It is believed that greater utilization would result in increased incomes to trappers, and hopefully improve their present existence at subsistence levels. Several years will be required before the success or failure of these programs can be realistically assessed. However, before proceeding with further programming and expenditures and/or passing judgment one way or the other, a comprehensive analysis of the economic, social and cultural aspects which affect the trappers and the utilization of the wild fur should be

undertaken. If this is not done, 1.5 million dollars will be spent annually over the next five years without any accurate knowledge of its utility.

CHAPTER II

PAST STUDIES

A comprehensive examination of the wild fur industry must identify and elaborate on the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of the trapper. The review of literature presented here is organized within that context. Its presentation is structured to describe the trapper according to previous writings and research.

1. History

Following initial contact with the Euro-Canadian explorers, the Indians of northern Canada developed a trapping economy, which was almost identical to their original aboriginal hunting economy. The native people sought some of the European goods and staple foods to improve their chances of survival in the inhospitable environment of the north. In order to obtain these goods and food, a trade system developed whereby the Indians would exchange furs for required goods¹⁰ (sic).

¹⁰ I. E. La Rusic, From Hunter to Proletarian, Rural Development Branch, Ottawa, 1968, p. 10.

^{10a} Many people disagree with this viewpoint. They feel that although the trapping method remained the same, the level of production and meaning behind trapping changed.

Although this system has continued until the present, there have been some alterations. The increasing cost of living, beginning in the 1940's and continuing to the present, made the native trapper much more dependent on the formal Canadian economy and culture than ever in the past. In the mid-1940's the Canadian Government felt that it was becoming impossible for the people of the north to subsist on hunting and trapping alone. The Government then instituted a social assistance program for these people. This program has had both beneficial and detrimental effects on trapping. Two situations appear to prevail. In some cases, the trappers continue their normal trapping habits, relying on welfare only during the off seasons or during poor trapping seasons to provide for their families while they are away. Other trappers appear to have become much more dependent on welfare assistance and trapping has become little more than a hobby for them.

2. Social and Economic Dimensions

Beginning with his first encounter with the Euro-Canadian trader a few centuries ago and continuing to the present, the trapper has been in a position of an ever increasing dependency on the fur trader. All too often the fur trader became the local monopolist, buying furs and providing the trapper with equipment and other supplies. A system of credit was provided to sustain the trapper and his

family during the off season. However, the credit system often led to a relationship of bondage, whereby the trapper became obligated to sell his furs exclusively to the creditor. In fact, the debtor was induced to remain in debt to ensure that he would always have a ready buyer of his produce. Unfortunately, this has led to ill feeling toward the fur trader by some trappers, as suspicions of exploitation have been, and continue to be, well founded in many cases.¹¹

In this patron-client type relationship, the Hudson's Bay Company manager has a considerable advantage in his negotiations with the trappers. His advantage is due to the fact that he knows the selling price of the furs as well as the goods and services, which he provides, in the large Canadian market as well as at the community level. The trapper, on the other hand, must depend mainly on his knowledge of the value of goods, services and price of furs at the community level. Any knowledge the local trapper has of the Canadian economy as a whole will be on the basis of either formal education and/or experience. For the most part, the trappers are poverty-stricken and illiterate. They have had to rely on experience gained in dealing solely with the local fur trader.

In such circumstances, the fur trader may enhance his position by interpreting the economics

¹¹H. B. Hawthorne, A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada, Indian Affairs Branch, 1966, p. 62.

of the macro-system in such a way as to increase or protect his advantage from any cultural change that may endanger it.¹²

A paradoxical situation exists here in that the trapper could improve his bargaining position by dealing directly with the macro-system, yet there seems to be a reluctance on the part of most disadvantaged trappers to do this. The apparent reason for this is that the trappers are distrustful of other people handling their fur, and they are afraid that their furs may be exchanged for other, poorer quality, fur. They also prefer to be paid for their furs immediately, even though there is a greater chance of receiving a higher price for their furs if they are sent directly to auction to be sold.

Before the trapping season begins in the fall, the trapper will arrange credit at the local Hudson's Bay store. He uses the credit to purchase food and supplies which he will take with him when he leaves for the trapline. Normally, one to four trappers use the same trapline. The group usually consists of either "kin" or close friends. "Kin" is defined as family and relations through marriage. The usual trapping season for most northern trappers is in the fall and late spring, extending from the beginning of

¹² I. E. La Rusic, The New Auchiman, A Study of Patron-Client Relations among the Waswanipi Cree, Rural Development Branch, Ottawa, 1968, p. 35.

November until Christmas, and then again from the end of March until the end of May.¹³ After freeze-up, the various species trapped are beaver, muskrat, mink, lynx, and fox, as they are prime in December. The trapping rights to beaver houses are usually divided up among the group of trappers, and beaver taken from a beaver house are the possession of the trapper assigned to that particular beaver house. All other wild fur on the trapline belongs to the trapper who discovers an animal's tracks and is able to trap the animal.¹⁴

During the coldest winter months of January, February, and March, few men trap on a regular basis because of the greatly increased difficulty of living and working out of doors for long periods of time. In addition, animals are less active and their pelts are not as prime as during the fall trapping season.

During these winter months the trapper and his family tend to rely heavily on the carcasses of beaver and muskrat for food. Species such as mink, lynx, otter, and rabbit are also eaten but not in large quantities. This meat is still supplemented to some extent with store-bought

¹³ R. W. Dunning, Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibway, University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 24.

¹⁴ Ibid.

staples. Moose and caribou are taken periodically throughout the year. However, during the warmer months fish becomes the main staple food.¹⁵

There are a number of factors which may severely limit the success of the trapper. Climatic conditions, other than cold weather, are a limiting factor. In the case of hot dry summers such as the summer of 1974, forest fires are prevalent and numerous traplines are ruined. Mild weather in the fall and spring can cause slush conditions on lakes and rivers which severely hamper the trapper's mobility, especially if he uses a power toboggan.

Predators such as wolves and wolverines scavenging on a trapline present a real problem to some trappers. These predators will often eat or mutilate trapped animals which they find. Due to their extreme cunning, they have been known to ravage a trapline for a considerable length of time before they are driven off or destroyed.¹⁶ Not only does the trapper have to worry about these predators, but he must also be concerned about mice on his trapline. In many instances these little vermin have been known to damage the pelts of dead animals caught in the traps. If a trapper is unfortunate enough to encounter these predators and/or the mice,

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶ J. Tetso, Trapping is My Life, Peter Martin Associates, 1974, pp. 34-40.

he will likely incur substantial financial losses.

Other variables which may affect the financial success of the trapper are the distribution and biological nature of the various species of furbearers. Areas may be devoid or teeming with various species of furbearers. In part this may be due to the mobility or migration-habits of some species such as colored fox and lynx. The variation in population levels of different species may also be due to the cyclical nature of some species such as mink, muskrat, lynx, colored fox, fisher and marten. However, the length of time between peaks of the cycles has been known to be altered by wildlife management techniques such as special quotas or closed seasons. The above mentioned species have been classified as having "ten year cycles." The term "ten year cycle" here carries no connotation of strict regularity; rather it serves as a useful description of the non-random, long-term fluctuations of these species in North America.¹⁷

The issue of the availability of substantial wild fur populations has been a controversial one. A report produced by the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future (C.O.M.E.F.) stated that "the resource base [wild fur] is

¹⁷ L. B. Keith, Wildlife's Ten Year Cycle, University of Wisconsin Press, 1963, p. 62.

capable of supporting, without depletion, an expansion of perhaps three to four times the present rate of production."¹⁸ The inference here being that wild fur is being greatly underutilized.

The Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management concur with the C.O.M.E.F. Report, stating that the wild fur is greatly underutilized. Their statement is based upon wildlife data collected from conservation officers, trapline officers, aerial photographs of beaver houses, and track census.¹⁹ This method of data collection and estimation of wild fur populations is not scientifically accurate, but it is accurate enough to show that the wild fur is underutilized. The extent of its underutilization cannot be accurately determined.

An opposing view was put forth by Gabrielson, who said,

When man utilizes a wild species for game, food, or commercial purposes, the species is immediately subjected to pressure that adds to its difficulties in maintaining existence. The added pressure varies in intensity with the number of its pursuers and with the method used in taking it, but the ultimate effect is often a greatly reduced population of game or food species, not only in comparison with other species but also in total numbers.²⁰

¹⁸ Manitoba C.O.M.E.F. Report, 1962-1975, to the Manitoba Government, 1963, pp. V-5-3, V-5-4.

¹⁹ Interview with Bob Carmichael, Fur Specialist, Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

²⁰ I. A. Gabrielson, Wildlife Conservation, Mac-Millan Co., New York, 1941, p. 109.

While it is a fact that human predation cuts down the wild fur population, present wildlife management regulations and programs have all but eliminated this possibility.²¹

Returning to the discussion of the present trapping situation: what about the young men of the northern communities? For the most part, the young men educated away from the community are not interested in trapping. This has a detrimental effect on the older men who would like to continue trapping, but find it difficult to make up a viable hunting group, which ideally should include young men and women. With the lack of interest of the young men, and the women forced to remain in the community to send the children to school, the old trappers are placed in a precarious position. Previously, they were active fur producers, but now they cannot risk the long trips to better trapping areas for fear of accidents or sickness. On the other hand, if they take a woman and children with them, they fear losing family allowance and other benefits.

There are a number of reasons for lack of interest in trapping by the young people. Many of the adolescents leave the reserve to be educated in larger centres such as Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Winnipeg. While away, they are taught and influenced by white societies' values

²¹ Bob Carmichael, op. cit.

and culture.²² They are taught skills which might enable them to succeed in a post-hunting society. Thus, when they return to their communities, they tend to view trapping as outdated and unrewarding. Any desire they might have to trap is partially squelched by the fact that they lack the necessary skills, equipment, and the credit rating at the local store.²³

The location of the community in relation to large white settlements, and the accessibility to these larger centres seems to affect the amount of interest in trapping. Larger centres, if accessible and in relatively close proximity to the small community, will usually represent a broader job market. When this is the case, many men of all ages would be willing to forego trapping for wage employment.

In the small, more isolated communities, this normally is not the case. All available work will be local and resource-based. This includes hunting, trapping, commercial fishing and pulp cutting, with trapping being the primary form of employment. Unless wage work in distant larger centres is easily accessible and it is possible to commute on a regular basis, then these job opportunities will be foregone.

"Fur Study 1971." Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, unpublished report.

If the men of these small communities do decide to take these jobs in distant locations (i.e., hydro projects), difficulties often arise and the men either return home immediately or from six to eight weeks later. In many instances, men have gone to these hydro camps and are either told that only experienced help is wanted, or that they must pay a membership fee of forty-five dollars to join a union before they will be hired for the job. Many of these native applicants can't produce the union registration fee, and consequently are not hired.

The men who are hired generally only work for six to eight weeks, at which time they either quit or are fired. The reasons for this relate to the way income is used by these men. Typically, after six or eight weeks, the men will take their pay cheques and fly back to their community, and in the next few days, spend it all. Meanwhile, they have often overstayed the weekend and are fired for not appearing at work on time, or they lack the desire or finances to return to their place of employment.²⁴

This attitude on the part of these men can be explained to some extent by the findings of a report on native people of Manitoba, which stated,

²⁴ Interview with Chris Beaulieu, Vice-President, Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

It is a well known observation that people desire only that which they know. The more isolated the Indians are, the less likely they are to want to move to outside areas. The hardship of the marginal existence in the midst of known factors is preferred to the doubtful opportunities for a higher standard of living under unknown and fear-inspiring conditions. As a result, Indians have developed strong kinship ties.²⁵

These kinship ties are characterized by a close relationship of the individual to his family or kinship group and his community.

This relationship provides the individual with security in the social and emotional sense. It also provides him with a certain economic security in terms of a claim to at least a customary level of subsistence from family and kinsmen. Individuals are reluctant to leave the community, and thus the mobility to take advantage of outside job opportunities is inhibited, because prolonged absence in employment away from the family and home community threatens to destroy such relationships and gives rise to anxiety and insecurity.²⁶

Social assistance also presents positive and negative connotations to trappers. A common charge levelled against the Indian Affairs Branch, by both natives and non-native people, is that welfare policies since World War II have tended to lower the initiative of Indians, and thus impede their economic development. This charge in one broad sense seems justified, yet in another, welfare assistance is an absolute necessity. Dozens of bands across northern

²⁵ The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, 1959, Vol. 1, p. 61.

²⁶ H. B. Hawthorne, A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada, Indian Affairs Branch, 1966, Vol. 1, pp. 56-57.

Canada, who until recently supported themselves at a meagre subsistence level in hunting, fishing, and trapping economics, have become almost entirely dependent upon government welfare and relief.²⁷ Yet a good case can be made for the necessity of some assistance due to the uncertainty of the fur market prices, and the fact that in some instances returns from furs have not kept pace with the inflating cost of supplies needed by the trapper.

The method of distribution of welfare assistance also affects the level of trapping. On some reserves, the band will distribute welfare to a trapper's family while he is away trapping. On other reserves, welfare is only distributed if the trapper is not trapping. In the first instance it is an incentive for the trapper to go out, whereas in the other instance it may be a disincentive.

At the present time the regularity and permanence of assistance to Indians allows or rather encourages, by means of per capita payments, increases in population.²⁸

(Refer to Tables 1 and 2.) Over 50 percent of Manitoba's Indian population is aged 15 years or less. However, this phenomenon is offset by statistics which indicate that up to age 45, the mortality rate among Manitoba Indians is

²⁷ Ibid., p. 112.

²⁸ R. W. Dunning, Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibway, University of Toronto Press, 1959, p.47.

double the non-Indian mortality rate. After the age of 65 years the mortality rate among Indians is only 3 percent

Table 2

AGE SPECIFIC MORTALITY:
MANITOBA INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN DEATHS
PER THOUSAND POPULATION, 1971

Age Group	Indian Deaths per 1,000 Pop.	Non-Indian Deaths per 1,000 Pop.
0-14	3.69	1.74
15-45	3.81	1.78
45-64	9.94	7.96
65+	32.77	54.69
Total population	5.34	7.99

Source: Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development, Division of Research, Planning and Program Development.

compared to 10 percent for non-Indians (see Table 3). A high incidence of these deaths have been attributed to living in extremely impoverished conditions.²⁹

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Summary of Report written for a Federal-Provincial Conference held June, 1974 by the Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development, 1974, pp. 9-12.

Table 3. Comparison of Indian and White Beliefs on Selected Topics in the James Bay Area (1)

<u>Topic</u>	<u>White Beliefs</u>	<u>James Bay Indian Beliefs</u>
Group Identification	Consciousness of a long cultural and social history with a sense of belonging to a society widely extended in space and time.	Little consciousness of history and only a vague awareness of other Indians who live outside of James Bay. Little feeling of identification with such people.
Furs	Fur possesses value.	The things one can buy in the Company store are desirable and to that end furs must be accumulated.
Health	The state of Indian health is deplorable but Euro-canadian culture contains very effective solutions for remedying this problem.	Illness is a great and constant threat in the face of which Indians are largely helpless unaided. Euro-canadian culture, however, possesses effective cures and Euro-canadians promise relief from the anxiety attached to illness.
Competition	Rewards should be distributed in proportion to what a client produces or achieves (e.g. in trade, sports events, and meting out praise).	Strong interest exists in competing for excellence in technical activities and games. Success is appreciated but competition and success must not be publicly advertised.

(1) Adapted from - Montgmann, John J. "Interpersonal Relations and Ideology in a Northern Canadian Community", *Social Forces*, pp.365-370, Vol.35, No. 4, May, 1957. The University of North Carolina Press.

Table 3 (Continued)

<u>Topic</u>	<u>White Beliefs</u>	<u>James Bay Indian Beliefs</u>
Poverty	The Indians are forced to live a hand-to-mouth existence which is regrettable, but constant vigilance must be exercised not to be exploited by natives' demands for help.	A conception exists of living under severe poverty, dire threat to survival, and imminent danger of starvation. From this follow certain assumptions about the necessity of being cared for by the whites, especially those with power and wealth.
Social Assistance	Self-help is a cardinal virtue but acceptance of public assistance is a disgrace or "unhealthy".	Self-help is a virtue but when public assistance is available it is wise and security-promoting to rely on it.
Work	When the yield of a productive task seems uncertain, effort should be intensified.	When the yield of a productive task seems uncertain, effort should be discontinued.
Property	Property enhances the ego and has prestige value. Hence, it should be acquired beyond merely utilitarian needs.	With the exception of certain clothing and adornment, property is for use rather than display. It is not an extension of the ego.
Future	Eurocanadians are strongly future-oriented; planning is carried on compulsively and is rationalized as necessary.	The orientation is toward the present and there is little concern for the future.
Leadership	Strong respect is attached to leadership, which is regarded as necessary, desirable and inevitable.	Ambivalence characterizes thinking about leadership. Indians regard firm leadership as desirable. Yet no pleasure comes from exercising power. Too great evidence of power is resented and feared by those whom it affects.

Source: The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959, Vol. 1, Pp. 20-21.

3. Cultural Dimensions

The cultural considerations mentioned in this section are not specific to any particular band. They may apply in varying degrees to different bands in northern Manitoba.

The cultural dimension of the native trapper must be recognized as having equal importance to the social and economic dimensions. Failure to consider this in policy or planning would lead to erroneous conclusions about the Indian trapper's position in the wild fur industry.

Sol Tax talks of the "hunter ethos" which pervades the native trapper. The hunter considers himself a part of the land and what it bears. He feels embedded in it. He is a natural conservationist, taking only what he needs for subsistence. He never sees himself as a lord or master. For the hunter, time and work have not been invented and he does not recognize any moral obligation for one man to obey the orders of another. However, if a choice situation arises he will almost certainly choose the community decision over his own individual self interest.³⁰

Although there is definitely a "hunter ethos" among native trappers, it would be incorrect to say that it applies to the same degree to all trappers, especially with reference to "natural conservationists." However, for the most part, trapping is culturally bound. It has far more

³⁰ S. Tax and S. Stanley, "Indian Identity and Economic Development," Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities: A Compendium of Papers, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, p. 88.

cultural significance than economic significance. It is a feeling of being in tune with, understanding and respecting the different forms of nature. It is something that every trapper would like his son to learn.³¹

These northern trappers have also incorporated into their culture a number of sentiments and beliefs which are not shared by the southern populations in Canada who are not trapping. Topics relating to trapping and economic development in which this dichotomy exists are illustrated in Table 4. Some of the beliefs outlined in the table may or may not be applicable to northern bands in Manitoba. However, the point here is, to illustrate that a dichotomy does exist between Indian and non-Indian people, and this fact must be appreciated.

Kinship ties play an important part in native culture:

This security system may have the effect of discouraging the accumulation of capital and the development of a successful business, as well as dampening any ambition the individual may have to enhance his income. For the reciprocal of the individual's claims upon his kinsmen are their claims against him, particularly when he has the ability or good fortune to earn a superior income. Such claims tend to reduce the standard of living of the higher income individual and his family. This temporarily successful individual, whose "family and kinfolk move in on him and eat and drink him out of house and home," has been a frequently quoted item in the folklore about

³¹ Interview with Chris Beaulieu and Dave Courchene Jr., vice-president and past employee respectively of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

Indians.³²

Generalizations of this kind have widely differing degrees of applicability among different Indians bands. However, in those bands which have depended essentially on trapping and fishing, the levelling and inhibiting effects of the sharing tradition are presumably most pronounced.

The burden of aid to kin and friends seems to underly a multitude of problems in addition to those of employment and income alone.

In some cases alcoholism is induced by the feeling of hopelessness and resignation--nothing to work for or see ahead--as well as a means of blunting the inter-personal conflict and tensions that arise from over-crowding and friction with kin and others.³³

It appears then that kinship relationships are both functional and disfunctional. They are functional to the extent that they offer a person the security and warmth of an extended family which involves strong emotional attachments. Yet they act as a deterrent to social mobility and economic development.

³² Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 58.

³³ Ibid., p. 61.

CHAPTER III

OBJECTIVES

The three objectives outlined below are, in fact, sub-objectives of this practicum. Yet when taken together, they fulfill the main objective of the practicum, which is to determine the economic and socio-cultural situation of native trappers in northern Manitoba.

The first sub-objective is to specify an approach to evaluating the wild fur industry in northern Manitoba. This involves the identification of a model whose dimensions consist of the economic and socio-cultural factors affecting the individual trapper and ultimately the wild fur industry in northern Manitoba.

The second sub-objective is to apply this approach to the trappers living in five selected communities in northern Manitoba. The application of the approach will be on the basis of the age distribution of the trappers as well as the location of the communities.

The third sub-objective is to make observations on the dynamics of the wild fur industry, based on the application of this approach. The observations will relate to whether or not the trappers are fulfilling what is considered by the author to be their hypothesized objectives through trapping.

CHAPTER IV

THE MODEL

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how the objectives of the practicum are achieved. To begin with, the sources of the information used in the practicum and the method of data collection are identified. The communities and the criteria upon which they were selected are also outlined. This is followed by a detailed description of the trapper model and the component parts of which it is composed. In addition, an example is used to demonstrate the application of the model to the individual trapper.

1. Sources of Information

The primary source of information used in this practicum is taken from questionnaires completed by trappers. A secondary source of information is personal interviews with employees in the Departments of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management (M.R.E.M.), Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs. In addition, interviews were conducted with members of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Manitoba Fresh Water Fish Marketing Board, employees of the Hudson's Bay Company (northern stores), and non-trapping Indians from the selected communities.

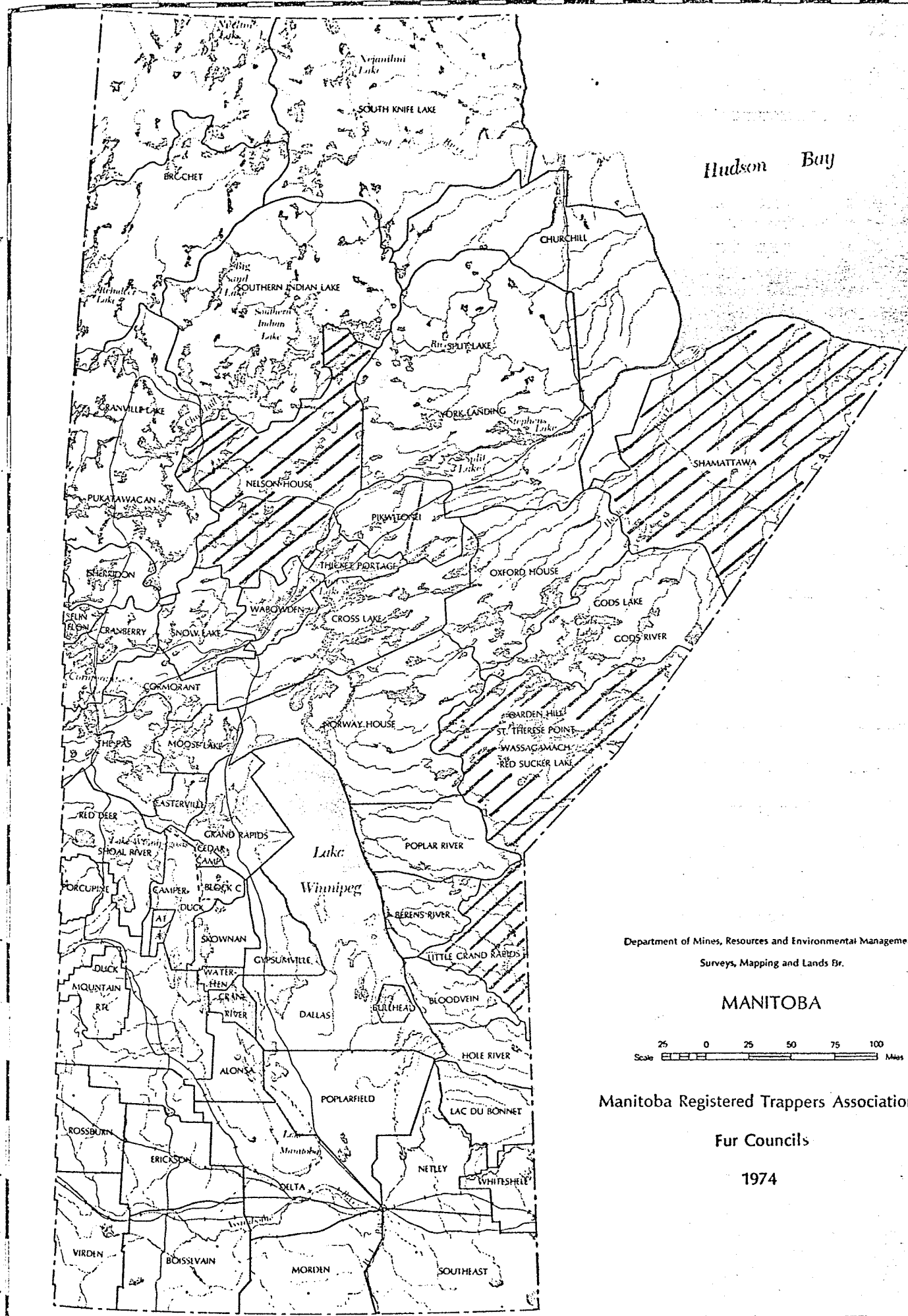
2. Communities

The communities selected for this research were Nelson House, Garden Hill, Red Sucker Lake, Little Grand Rapids, and Shamattawa (see Fig. 3). These settlements represent a continuum of northern communities in terms of their degree of isolation and socio-economic development. Nelson House and Shamattawa are composed of Cree Indians. Garden Hill and Red Sucker Lake are made up of a mixture of Cree and Saulteaux, and Little Grand Rapids is all Saulteaux. The selection of these communities was made in consultation with Bob Carmichael, Fur Specialist, Department of M.R.E.M., as they are considered to be representative of trapping communities in northern Manitoba.

3. Model Criteria

Information acquired from the primary and secondary sources is analyzed within the framework of the model, and observations may be drawn as to the individual trapper's situation, and collectively, the state of the wild fur industry in northern Manitoba. The trapper model is applied to trappers based upon their age and location of their community. It is hypothesized that on the basis of these two variables, there may be variations in the individual trapper's objectives and circumstances.

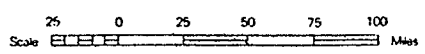
It is felt that age could affect the trapper's lifestyle and ultimately the community lifestyle. An



Hudson Bay

Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management
Surveys, Mapping and Lands Br.

MANITOBA



Manitoba Registered Trappers Association

Fur Councils

1974

increasing number of young men from northern communities are receiving their education in large urban centres. The influence of higher education and the assimilation of some socio-economic values of the non-Indian society may result in a preference for home-based wage employment. Conversely, the old men (56 and over) raised in the traditional hunting and trapping society will probably prefer a more traditional existence. The lifestyle of the middle aged men (36-55) is thought to be somewhere between the lifestyle of the young men and the old men of the community.

The geographical location of a community is thought to influence the trapper's objectives and circumstances to some extent. The location of the community may denote its degree of isolation, which is defined here as the nearness to large urban centres and the communication and transportation linkages with these centres. This may in turn influence the socio-economic development of the community.

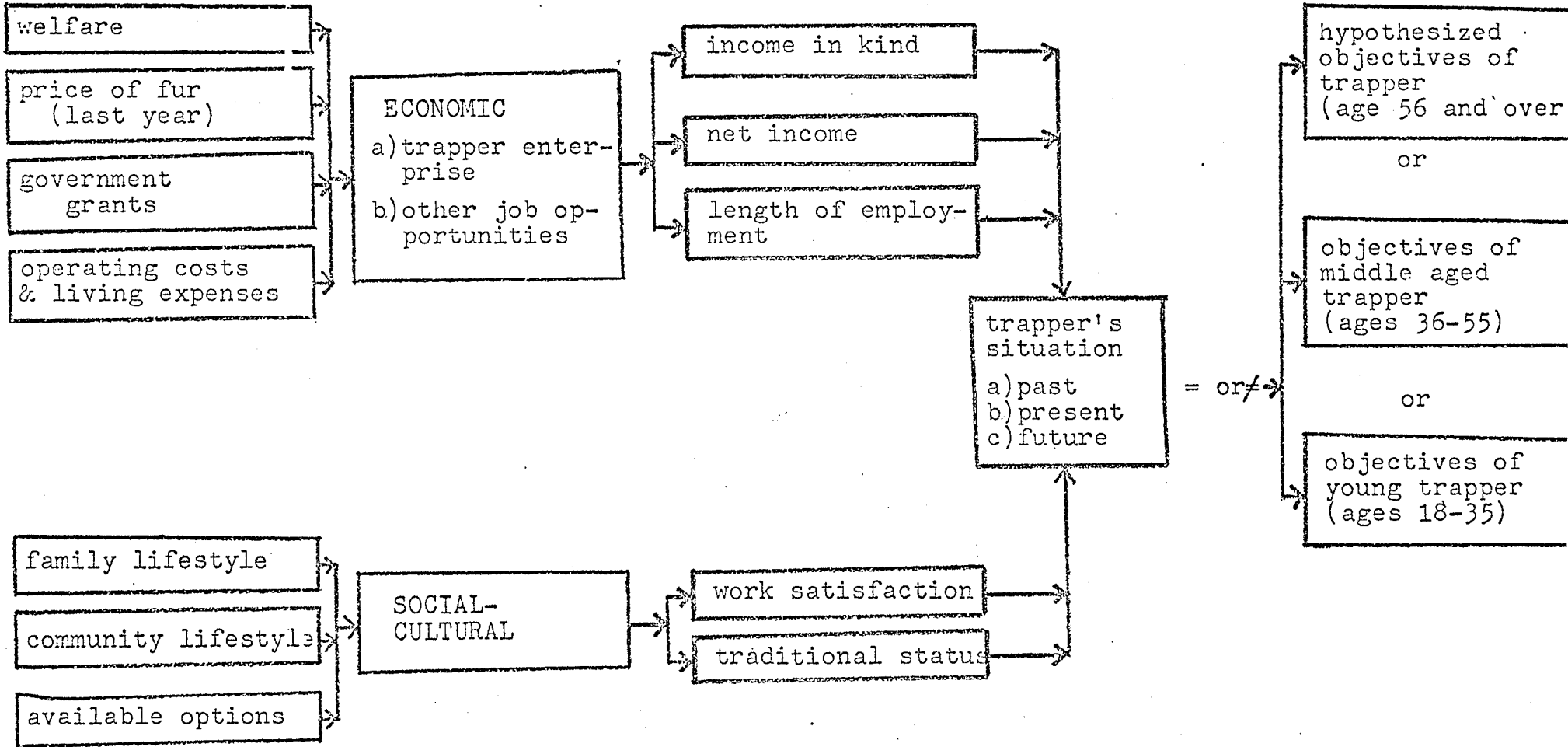
4. Framework and Components of the Model

The model is designed to consider the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the trapper (see Fig. 4). A number of factors influence these dimensions and the result is the trapper's present situation. His situation may or may not equal the objectives hypothesized for him. If the trapper is not achieving his objectives, then by referring to the model it should be possible to indicate

INFLUENCING FACTORS (+ or -)

DIMENSIONS

BENEFITS



where the breakdown occurs and its cause.

The economic dimension of the model refers to the trapping enterprise as well as other employment undertaken by the trapper. These are influenced by a number of factors which may have a positive or a negative effect on the wild fur industry, depending upon the circumstances of the trapper during any particular year. The influential factors are: welfare, the current price of fur, government grants, and outfitting and living expenses of the trapper.

Missing from this list, yet directly influencing the economic dimension, is the "stay option provided by the Manitoba Government."³⁴ This enables small rural communities to remain viable through the provision of grants, and employment projects, if the community does not have a viable economic base.

The economic benefits derived from the trapping enterprise include: income in kind from the animals consumed, net monetary income, and length of employment. Economic benefits may also be derived from other forms of employment in terms of net income length and of employment.

In the model, the social and cultural dimensions of the trapper are considered together. Influencing these

³⁴Guidelines for the Seventies, The Province of Manitoba, 1973, Vol. 1, p. 57.

dimensions will be the trapper's family lifestyle, the community lifestyle, and the available job options. A possible benefit derived from the social-cultural dimension is work satisfaction with trapping and/or other forms of employment. Another possible benefit may be a status position held by the trapper in his community for prowess in trapping.

Taken together, the dimensions, the factors influencing them, and the benefits derived from them, make up the trapper's present situation. This situation may or may not coincide with his hypothesized objectives.

Three sets of objectives have been hypothesized, as it was felt that in all probability the objectives of the trapper will vary with age.

5. Example

For the purpose of clarity, an example is used to illustrate the application of the model. To begin with, the hypothetical trapper would be categorized by age and community.

Next, his economic situation would be analyzed. All possible sources of income would be considered. These are welfare, unemployment insurance or old age pension, government grants, income in kind, net income from trapping, and net income from other forms of employment. Summing the incomes from the applicable sources would represent his total annual income. The length of time he devoted to

trapping and to other forms of employment must also be determined. Taken together, this information would represent the trapper's economic situation.

The social-cultural situation of the trapper is influenced by his family lifestyle, the community lifestyle, and available job options. These in turn will determine his work satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

To determine the trapper's lifestyle, a number of variables must be considered. These include: welfare assistance; whether he traps alone or with his family; whether he is capable of undertaking other forms of employment; and if he indeed works at other jobs. The community lifestyle is considered here to be an aggregate of all the individual or family lifestyles of the people in the community.

The available job options in or near the community should be considered as they may influence the trapper's lifestyle as well as his entire social-cultural situation.

The product of the social-cultural dimension of the trapper in question may be his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his work situation and his status as a trapper within the community.

Taking into account all of these economic and social-cultural components, the trapper's present situation is revealed. His situation may then be compared to the

objectives hypothesized for his age group to determine if the objectives are being met.

CHAPTER V

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The purpose of this section is to explain how the information gathered from the primary and secondary sources is analyzed within the framework of the trapper model. For the sake of clarity, this is done using an actual example from one of the selected communities.

The trapper in question is twenty-one years of age and a resident of one of the communities. This information is recorded and he is categorized by both his age, which places him in the eighteen to thirty-five year old age group, and his community.

1. Sources of Income

The possible sources of income comprising this trapper's total income are welfare, government grants, income in kind, net income from trapping and net income from other jobs.

The type of government assistance accruing to the trapper is based upon his answer to question 14 of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1). The question asks, "where did the majority of your annual income come from in the past year?" Once the type of assistance is known (in the case of this trapper it is welfare), the source of assis-

tance is contacted for information regarding monthly disbursements.

In the case of welfare assistance, it was impossible to obtain exact amounts of disbursements to particular individuals or families in any community. Therefore, the average monthly payment per case family of a particular community was used in the calculations. The welfare source indicated that the incidence of welfare recipients in the communities selected for this study is extremely high, particularly throughout the winter months.³⁵ On the basis of this information, it was assumed that all trappers interviewed are receiving welfare unless they stated otherwise. It was further assumed that this assistance continued throughout the year except when the trapper indicated that he worked for wages at a job lasting one month or more.

In the case of old age pension and unemployment insurance recipients, the sources of these forms of assistance were contacted, and they supplied the information needed to calculate the total annual disbursements to the recipients.

The government grants outlined in the model specifically refer to special A.R.D.A. Grants which were issued by the D.N.A. They have a list of all the trappers receiv-

³⁵ Interview with Mr. Norm Levasseur, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

ing grants and the amount of the individual grants.

The trapper used as the example indicated in question 16a of the questionnaire that he did not receive a grant. The question asked, "Have you received a Special A.R.D.A. Grant, an Indian Affairs Grant or a loan? If yes, then specify which one."

Income in kind was then considered. The trapper was asked in question 9 of the questionnaire, "Do you eat any of the animals you trap? If yes, what species? How many times a week? Do you share this food with your family?" The trapper indicated that he and his family did eat some species of furbearers. By referring to D.M.R.E.M. "Annual Fur and Game Crop Census," it was possible to determine the number of species of furbearers that the individual trapper caught. It was assumed that the trapper and his family ate every animal caught from each species listed in the questionnaire.

By also assuming that the nutritional value of these animals is roughly equivalent to the nutritional value per pound of a side of beef, it is possible to assign a dollar value to this meat. The meat consumed was assigned the same value per pound as a side of beef in the communities selected (see Appendix 3). In the case of the trapper in this example, the meat would be valued at 88¢/pound. The total value of the animals consumed is calculated by multiplying their total

dressed weight (see Appendix 2) by the price per pound of a side of beef in the community.

The trapper's net income from trapping was determined by subtracting his outfitting and living expenses while on the trapline from his gross revenue from the sale of his furs. This information was taken from D.M.R.E.M. annual fur records, as well as the trapper's response to question 7 of the questionnaire. The question asks, "How much did it cost you in terms of food, traps, gasoline and equipment maintenance to trap this past season?"

Information on the trapper's net income from other jobs came from his responses to questions 10 and 12 of the questionnaire, as well as information supplied by the employer (see Appendix 9). Questions 10 and 12 asked, "Do you earn money from any other jobs besides trapping? If yes, what jobs and what time of the year?" In calculating the net income from these other jobs, it was assumed that gross income and net income from these jobs were one and the same. In the cases where the trappers worked at odd jobs, soapstone carving, and cutting wood for fuel, no accurate income information was available and so they were excluded from the calculation of the trapper's total income. The total income of the trapper used in this example was \$3,475.

2. Length of Employment

The trapper's length of employment from trapping

and other forms of employment was taken from questions 3 and 12 of the questionnaire. Question 3 asks, "During the past trapping season, what months did you trap?" The response of the trapper, used in this example, was that he devoted sixteen weeks to trapping and twenty weeks to other employment.

3. Family Lifestyle

The family lifestyle of the example trapper was one of collecting welfare, trapping without his family, being capable of, and working at other jobs. This information came from questions 14, 3, 8, 13 and 10. These questions are:

Where did the majority of your income come from during this past year?

During the past trapping season, what months did you trap?

Did your wife and children accompany you on the trapline? If yes, when?

If you could not trap any more, are there any other jobs in or near your community which you could do?

Did you earn money from any other jobs besides trapping?

4. Available Job Options

The trapper used in this example worked on the airstrip at Shamattawa (question 10). This job was listed with all of the other available jobs undertaken by the

trappers of his community. The number of trappers employed at each job was also recorded (see Appendix 8d).

5. Work Satisfaction

Work satisfaction takes into account whether the trapper is or is not content with his trapping situation, and whether he has shown a preference for other work during the trapping season (October to May). In the case of our example trapper, he was not satisfied with his trapping situation and showed a preference for other work during the trapping season. This information was taken from questions 15 and 11 of the questionnaire. These questions asked:

Can you think of anything you need to improve your trapping situation or are you satisfied with it as it is?

Did you earn money from any other job besides trapping? If yes, what job and at what time of the year?

6. Community Lifestyle and Traditional Status

Community lifestyle represents the aggregate of all of the individual family lifestyles of the community and their feelings about the wild fur industry. The trappers were asked,

How do the people of the community look upon trapping nowadays? Are they interested in preserving it?

Do you think that trapping is fading out compared to what it was ten years ago? If yes, why?

These are questions 23(a) and 23(b) of the questionnaire,

to which the example trapper replied that the community was interested in preserving trapping but at the same time it was fading out. The reason for this was the availability of other employment in or near the community.

Determination of traditional status of the trapper was based upon information obtained from interviews with trappers and non-trappers, aside from the questionnaires. The average trapper holds no particular status position in the community. However, the very skilful and cunning trapper, whose fur production is considerably higher than the average fur production of the rest of the trappers of the community, is well respected and held in esteem by the community as a whole.

7. Objectives

Once the trapper's present situation has been established, it is compared to his hypothesized objectives. These objectives were hypothesized on the basis of literature review and interviews with trappers and people knowledgeable in the field of trapping.

It appeared that the trapper objectives varied by age, so different objectives were assigned to the different age groups of the trappers (18-35, 36-55, 56 and over).

The 18 to 35 year old trappers indicated a preference for wage work in or near their community. If work was available during the trapping season, they would be apt to

forego trapping. In part, this is due to a desire to be near their families. To them, trapping is carried on more for its cultural significance than its economic returns, yet they would like to increase their economic returns from trapping. Income in kind also represents a substantial source of food during the trapping season.

The 36-55 year old trappers have a similar objective to the younger trappers in that many of them prefer other employment if it is available. To this group, trapping has more significance both culturally and economically. They would like to increase their income from trapping, but lack of equipment and the finances to purchase it pose a problem. During the trapping season, the furbearers represent the major source of meat for these trappers and their families.

The trappers 56 years of age and older have trapped all their lives and would like to continue trapping until poor health prevents this. To continue trapping, however, they need equipment and skidoos to get around, unless their trapline is near the community. Trapping for this group represents a supplement to welfare and/or old age pension in terms of both income and food. Being raised in the traditional hunting and trapping society, they appreciate, more than anyone else, the cultural significance of trapping. They would like to see it continue from generation to generation.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results were discussed within the framework of the model, and in the same sequence in which they were analyzed in the previous section. The trapper data was considered by age group for all communities together, and by community for all age groups together. It should be noted, however, that this study is only a case study of the five selected trapping communities. It has not been statistically verified, and therefore the results can only be considered to be preliminary.

1. Sources of Income

The highest total income went to to the 35-55 year old trappers who earned \$4,021 (see Table 4). This group also showed the highest average net income from other jobs at \$2,045.

The trappers 56 years of age and older appeared to receive the most social assistance, averaging \$1,938. per year per trapper. They also received the largest Special A.R.D.A. Grant, averaging \$341. per trapper. However, they earned the highest net income from trapping, averaging \$257. per trapper.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE INCOME BY SOURCE FOR THE THREE AGE
GROUPS OF ALL THE COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

Age Group	Welfare and Old Age Pension	Govt. Grants	Income in Kind	Net Income Trapping	Net Income Other Jobs	Total Income
18-35	\$1,067.	\$178.	\$394.	\$232.	\$1,841.	\$3,998.
36-55	1,164.	314.	327.	171	2,045	4,021.
56-over	1,938.	341.	254.	257.	257.	3,115.

Source: Appendix 4-8.

For all age groups, the net income derived from trapping was small in relation to the average total income of the trappers. It ranged between 4 percent and 8 percent (see Table 5). Even when added to the income in kind, which incidentally was greater than the net income from trapping in two of the three age groups, the income from trapping represents only 12 percent to 16 percent of the trapper's total income for the 1973-1974 year.

Looking at the total income of the trapper by community for all age groups, the trappers of Shamattawa showed the highest, averaging \$4,544. per trapper (see Table 6).

TABLE 5

NET INCOME TRAPPING AND NET INCOME TRAPPING
PLUS INCOME IN KIND AS PERCENTAGES OF THE
TRAPPERS' TOTAL INCOME FOR EACH AGE GROUP

Age Group	Net Income Trapping	Net Income Trapping and Income in Kind
18-35	6%	16%
36-55	4%	12%
56-over	8%	16%

Source: Table 5

TABLE 6

AVERAGE INCOME BY SOURCE FOR THE FIVE
COMMUNITIES FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Community	Welfare and Old Age Pension	Govt. Grants	Income in Kind	Net Income Trapping	Net Income Other Jobs	Total Income
Garden Hill	\$1,451.	\$ 0	\$152.	\$ 54.	\$1,576.	\$3,257.
Nelson House	1,656	339.	152.	206.	784.	3,260.
Little Grand Rapids	863.	0	428.	261.	965.	3,373.
Red Sucker Lake	1,541.	646.	467.	362.	1,444.	4,461.
Shamattawa	1,213.	316.	598.	323.	2,242.	4,544.

Source: Appendix 4-8

Garden Hill and Nelson House showed the lowest total income per trapper, averaging \$3,257. and \$3,260. respectively.

The reason for Shamattawa trappers having the highest average total income was twofold. Wage employment was abundant during 1973-74 due to an upswing in house construction, and airstrip construction, both of which will undoubtedly continue for another year or two. In addition, the trappers of Shamattawa derived the highest income from income in kind of any community studied. This was due to a large number of moose and caribou shot by the trappers while on the trapline.

Conversely, the low total income of Garden Hill trappers was mainly attributed to their meagre income from trapping and income in kind. In the case of Nelson House, the incomes accruing to trappers from trapping and other jobs was low while their income from welfare and other forms of assistance was the highest of all communities. This would seem to suggest that less time and/or effort was devoted to trapping and other employment than in the other communities considered here.

Net income from trapping for all communities was low in relation to the average total incomes of the trappers of these communities (see Table 7). The average net income from trapping represented between 2 percent and 8 percent of the average total income of the trappers. When considered

with income in kind, the percentages rose to between 6 percent and 20 percent of the average total income for trappers of all the communities. Once again, this would suggest that trapping represented a small portion of the trappers' annual total income.

TABLE 7

NET INCOME TRAPPING AND NET INCOME TRAPPING
PLUS INCOME IN KIND AS PERCENTAGES OF
TRAPPERS' TOTAL INCOME BY COMMUNITY
FOR ALL AGE GROUPS TOGETHER

Community	Net Income Trapping	Net Income Trapping and Income in Kind
Garden Hill	2%	6%
Nelson House	6%	11%
Little Grand Rapids	8%	20%
Red Sucker Lake	8%	19%
Shamattawa	7%	20%

Source: Table 6

2. Level of Employment

The level of employment devoted to trapping and other jobs helps to explain the net income from trapping, the net income from other work, and the total income of the trappers by age and by community. The 18-35 year old trap-

pers showed the longest employment devoted to both trapping and other jobs, averaging 11.3 weeks and 15.7 weeks respectively (see Table 8).

The 36 to 55 year old trappers spent the least time of any age group trapping (8 weeks), but they averaged the highest net income from other jobs. Even though they averaged less time spent at other jobs (14.6 weeks) than the younger trappers (15.9 weeks), their average net income from these jobs was higher. The reason for this was a combination of better paying jobs, and more of them being employed year round.

The trappers 56 years of age and older averaged 9.5 weeks a year trapping and only 3.2 weeks at other jobs.

TABLE 8

AVERAGE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN TRAPPING
AND NON-TRAPPING JOBS BY AGE FOR
ALL COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

Age Group	Length of Employment--Trapping	Length of Employment--Other Jobs
18-35	11.3 weeks	15.9 weeks
36-55	8.0	14.6
56-over	9.5	3.2

Source: Appendix 4-8

On a community basis, it appears that the trappers of Little Grand Rapids devoted the most time to trapping (13.6 weeks), followed by Shamattawa (10.8 weeks), Red Sucker Lake (10.6 weeks), Garden Hill (8.2 weeks), and Nelson House (7.4 weeks) (see Table 9). Table 9 also includes the length of time trappers spent at other jobs. In this instance, it was the Shamatta trappers who spent the most time at other jobs (15.7 weeks), followed by Red Sucker Lake (13.2 weeks), Little Grand Rapids (12.7 weeks), Garden Hill (11.4 weeks), and Nelson House (5.7 weeks).

TABLE 9

AVERAGE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN TRAPPING
AND NON-TRAPPING JOBS BY COMMUNITY
FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Community	Length of Employment--Trapping	Length of Employment--Other Jobs
Garden Hill	8.2 weeks	11.4 weeks
Nelson Hill	7.4	5.7
Little Grand Rapids	13.6	12.7
Red Sucker Lake	10.6	13.2
Shamattawa	10.8	15.7

Source: Appendix 4-8.

3. Family Lifestyle

Dependence upon welfare or other forms of government assistance was very noticeable in the family lifestyle of all three age groups. Social assistance ranged from 84 percent in the 18-35 age group to 100 percent in the trappers 56 years of age and older (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

FAMILY LIFESTYLE BY AGE FOR ALL COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

Age Group	Welfare and Old Age Pension	Trap- ping	Family Goes -Trapping		Trapper Capable of Other Work	Trapper Works at Other Jobs
			Fall---	Spring		
18-35	84%	97%	18%	43%	100%	95%
36-55	93	80	15	39	88	83
56-over	100	85	7	20	43	27

Percentage--represents the percentage of the total number of trappers from all the communities within the particular age group.

Source: Appendix 4-8.

In all age groups, the majority of trappers were currently trapping. The 18-35 year old trappers had the most men currently trapping at 97 percent, followed by the trappers

56 years of age and older at 85 percent, and the 36-55 year old trappers at 80 percent.

Due to the presence of school age children in most families of these communities, less than half of the families of any age group accompanied the trappers on the traplines in the fall or spring. The highest incidence (20 to 43 percent) of trapper families going out on the trapline occurred in the spring. Fewer families (7 to 18 percent) went out in the fall. At both times of the year, it was the families of the youngest trappers who predominated on the trapline, and the families of the oldest trappers least present.

Inherent in a trapper's capability to work at other forms of employment are his age, education or training, and state of health. Therefore it is not surprising that the highest percentage of trappers capable of undertaking other forms of employment are the youngest trappers at 100 percent, whereas only 43 percent of the trappers 56 years of age and older indicated that they were capable of other work (see Table 10).

The number of trappers working at other jobs followed the same pattern, with 95 percent of the 18-35 year old trappers employed at other jobs, compared to 83 percent of the 36 to 55 age group, and only 27 percent of the trappers 56 years of age and older.

4. Community Lifestyle

In all five communities there was a large dependence, at some times of the year, on social assistance. The range was 88 percent in Garden Hill, to 100 percent in Nelson House (see Table 11).

TABLE 11

FAMILY LIFESTYLE BY COMMUNITY (COMMUNITY LIFESTYLE) FOR ALL AGE GROUPS TOGETHER

Community	Welfare and Old Age Pension	Trapping	Family Goes Trapping		Trapper Capable of Other Work	Trapper Works Other Jobs
			Fall	Spring		
Garden Hill	88%	88%	0%	35%	73%	63%
Nelson House	100	84	0	2	61	43
Little Grand Rapids	92	88	40	52	92	92
Red Sucker Lake	90	97	14	59	79	76
Shamattawa	91	82	29	38	91	82

Source: Appendix 4-8.

Over 82 percent of the trappers in all of the communities trapped during 1973-74 season. Yet, in the fall, only 40 percent of the trappers of Little Grand Rapids took their families with them, and this was the highest percentage of all

the communities. In the spring more families went out, but only in the communities of Red Sucker Lake (59 percent), and Little Grand Rapids (52 percent), did their numbers exceed fifty percent.

Between 61 percent (Nelson House), and 92 percent (Little Grand Rapids) of the trappers in all the communities indicated that they were capable of undertaking other jobs. The number of trappers who were actually working at other jobs ranged between 43 percent (Nelson House), and 92 percent (Little Grand Rapids).

Although Little Grand Rapids showed the highest percentage of trappers working at other jobs, it ranked fourth among the communities in terms of average net income from other jobs. This may be due to the fact that the types of employment (wild rice harvest, guiding, and sawmills) undertaken by the trappers of Little Grand Rapids, were generally of shorter duration, and in some cases paid a lower wage than the types of employment in other communities.

Fifty-six percent of all trappers, from all five communities, felt that their community as a whole was interested in preserving trapping. Another 16 percent said that at least half of their community was interested in preserving trapping. At the same time, 75 percent of the trappers from all five communities felt that trapping was fading out in relation to the number of trappers there were ten years ago.

A number of reasons for this decline were cited (see Table 12). The most often cited reason for the decline

TABLE 12

REASONS FOR DECLINE IN TRAPPER NUMBERS IN
ORDER OF NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED

Reason	Number of times Mentioned
Availability of other jobs in or near community	30
Old trappers dying off and young men either not interested or working for wages	28
Welfare viewed as a disincentive to trappers	21
Low prices for furs	14
High incidence of alcohol consumption	10
Education forces the trapper's family to remain in the community	7
People are indolent	5
Lack of trapping equipment and the finances to purchase it	4
Young people educated outside community and don't know how to trap	4
Nobody traps during the winter months any more	1
Lack of transportation to and from the traplines	1

Source: Appendix 1.

*No analysis was done to determine whether the reasons cited above were actually explicit reasons for the decline, or merely symptoms of the decline.

in trapping has been the availability of other employment in or near the community.

There appears to be somewhat of a contradiction in the statement made by 28 of the trappers, when they attributed the decline in the number of trappers to the old trappers dying off and the young men either not being interested in trapping, and/or working at other jobs. Table 10 indicated that the 18-35 year old trappers showed the highest percentage of men trapping during the 1973-74 season. In addition, the combined value of income in kind plus net income from trapping, for this age group was greater than either of the other two age groups.

5. Available Job Options

The number and type of jobs available to the trapper varied in each community. The greatest variety of jobs (18) undertaken by trappers was in Garden Hill, followed by Nelson House (12), Red Sucker Lake (12), Little Grand Rapids (8), and Shamattawa (8) (see Appendix 9). However, the greatest percentage of trappers employed at other jobs was in Little Grand Rapids (92 percent), followed by Shamattawa (82 percent), Red Sucker Lake (76 percent), Garden Hill (63 percent), and Nelson House (43 percent).

6. Work Satisfaction

In all three age groups, the majority of trappers

expressed a discontentment with their present trapping situation. The degree of discontentment ranged from 55 percent of the trappers 56 years of age and older, to 75 percent in the 18 to 35 year old age group (see Table 13). On the other hand, 74 percent of the youngest group of trappers revealed a preference for other work, as did 53 percent of the 36 to 55 year old trappers, and 17 percent of the eldest age group. Revealed preference for other work refers to a preference for other work during the trapping season (October to May).

TABLE 13

WORK SATISFACTION BY AGE FOR
ALL COMMUNITIES TOGETHER

Age Group	Content with Trapping Situation as It Is	Not Content with Trapping Situation as It Is	Revealed Preference for Other Work
18-35	25%	75%	74%
36-55	31	69	53
56-over	45	55	17

Source: Appendix 4-8.

On a community basis, there was a greater spread in the percentage of trappers content or discontent with their trapping situation. The Nelson House trappers indicated the highest percentage of contented trappers (66 percent) of any community (see Table 14). Conversely, the trappers least content (6 percent) with their trapping situation as it now stands, were from Shamattawa.

TABLE 14

WORK SATISFACTION BY COMMUNITY
FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Community	Content with Trapping Situation as It Is	Not Content with Trapping Situation as It is	Revealed Preference for Other Work
Garden Hill	27%	73%	50%
Nelson House	66	34	34
Little Grand Rapids	32	68	40
Red Sucker Lake	31	69	69
Shamattawa	6	94	50

Source: Appendix 4-8.

The percentage of trappers who revealed a preference for other work during the trapping season varied between 40 percent in Little Grand Rapids, and 69 percent in Red Sucker Lake (see Table 14).

The trappers from all five communities cited a number of reasons for their discontentment with their trapping situation as it now stands. They have also made some suggestions for improving their trapping situation. These are listed in Table 15 in a descending order, according to the number of times that they were referred to by trappers. The majority of grievances, and the suggestions proposed by the trappers were identical to those statements taken from an earlier trapper study.³⁶

By far the most often cited grievance of the trappers of all ages was a lack of equipment, and the finances to purchase it. The equipment referred to included traps, snares, skidoos, and canoes.

It should be made clear that lack of equipment is not the reason for the decline in the number of trappers, nor is the availability of other jobs the reason for the trappers' discontentment with their present situation. They are distinct in that lack of equipment and the finances to purchase it was cited by the trappers as a reason for

³⁶Fur Study 1971, Development and Extension, D.M.R.E.M., unpublished report, 1971, p. 58.

TABLE 15

REASONS FOR TRAPPERS' GRIEVANCES WITH
THEIR PRESENT SITUATION AND
THEIR PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Grievances and Suggestions	Number of Times Cited
Need equipment but cannot afford it	78
Trappers should spend more time on their traplines	17
Low price of fur	15
High cost of air transportation to and from trapline	14
Need cabins for their traplines	12
Not enough traps and snares sold at the Hudson's Bay stores	7
Education forces the family to remain in the community	6
Need trails cut to traplines	4
Need trapper education program	4
Extend or rearrange boundaries of traplines	4
Poor weather - slush conditions	4
Price of staple food too high	2
People trapping on other trapper's trapline	2
Need loans to get started	1
Need more credit at Hudson's Bay store	1
Adjust rules of registered trappers' association regarding trappers who don't use their traplines	1

Source: Appendix 1.

having a lower trapping productivity than they would otherwise hope for. On the other hand, it has been the increasing number of other available jobs in or near the community that is seen as the main cause for the decline in trapper numbers over the years.

7. Practicum Limitations

The limitations of this practicum stem from the use of a questionnaire as the major tool in gathering the necessary information. The nature of the questionnaire yields information that may be subject to question unless it can be cross-checked with statistical information on the same topic.

A few of the questions included in the questionnaire whose information was used in this practicum should have been more specific. Their general nature yielded general results.

The accuracy of economic information of the practicum may be questionable, as only one year of the trapper's economic situation was considered. A long term study, carried out over a number of years, might disclose trends or changes in income which may not be detected in the present study.

The trappers of Shamattawa may be an example of this, as their total income was greater than trappers of any other community. Yet, they were the most geographically

isolated community of the five studied. The reason for their economic situation is that at present there are many jobs available, due to housing development and air strip construction. However, in two years time, this job market may be terminated, which would noticeably alter these trappers' total income situation.

A final limitation was that this study only addressed itself to licensed trappers. There are a large number of people trapping in both northern and southern Manitoba who are not licensed. Their whereabouts and productivity should have been considered as it may or may not infringe upon the productivity of the licensed trappers.

8. Recommendations for Future Research

This praticum has led to a number of ideas for future research concerning native trappers, and the wild fur industry as a whole.

The first suggestion would be a longitudinal study, in which a similar questionnaire, containing more specific questions, would be given to the trappers of the five communities in about five years time. In this manner, it could be determined if the results found at present represent an on-going trend, or if they were specific to 1973-74.

A comparison of the annual total incomes of the trappers in the five communities with the annual total income

of the non-trappers of these communities would be interesting. If it was determined that on the whole, non-trappers earned a greater income, then it might be interpreted that trappers are forfeiting a higher income as well as opportunities for learning new skills, more applicable to a modern society, by continuing to devote time to trapping.

Kinship ties within native communities play an integral part in both the family lifestyles, and the community lifestyle as a whole. It has been thought to have positive and negative effects on the communities, in terms of social and community development. For these reasons it merits greater attention and consideration in policy and planning involving native people.

Another important area where research is needed is in determining the socio-cultural significance of trapping to the native people. From the results obtained here, this appears to be the main reason trapping continues in native communities. Trapping represents a relationship between the trapper and nature not found in non-native societies and it would be interesting to explore in detail. In addition, it links the native communities, which are presently in a transitional state with their traditional societal roots. For this reason it is culturally significant.

Exploitation by Euro-Canadian fur traders, and a lack of education and organization among the trappers repre-

sent three good reasons for the unproductive state of the wild fur industry in northern Manitoba at present. There is little doubt that the trappers have been exploited for many years by fur traders such as the Hudson's Bay Company.³⁷ It is time this exploitation was exposed. An exposition could help to explain why the trappers are frustrated and unwilling to devote more time to trapping.

Another limiting factor, which in all probability has prevented trappers from improving their financial situation, is a lack of education. Without education, there is little or no hope of understanding the structure, pricing, inputs and organization of the Wild Fur Market. This information is necessary if the trappers are to have any idea whether they are being exploited or not.

There is a need for researching the feasibility of forming an indigenous trapper organization which could take the form of a co-operative or something similar. The organization would have to represent a large number of trappers and act as a bargaining agent for them at the fur auctions. This would eliminate the need for a middleman, and it would

³⁷ Two sources of information pertaining to the exploitation of native trappers are:

- The Other Side of the Ledger, documentary film, National Film Board; and
- George Manual, President, National Indian Brotherhood.

indubitably bring the individual trapper higher returns for his furs than he is presently receiving.

A similar proposal for research would be considering the feasibility of a centralized fur market. Considering the influence that wild fur from the Soviet Union has on the pricing of fur in the international market, it may be possible to put Canada's input and influence into perspective. If Canada's fur could have a greater influence in setting international prices, then a centralized market for all fur produced in Canada should be considered. It could benefit all the fur producers individually and as an organization.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Given the orientation of this practicum, the following observations are made within the economic and socio-cultural framework of the trapper's model. The results of the analysis of the data indicate that income from trapping activities produces only a small percentage of the trapper's total income. The major source of his income appears to be income from other jobs, and welfare or old age pension.

Lack of necessary equipment and the finances to purchase it pose a serious problem to the trappers. This was also the main reason cited for the trappers' lack of contentment with their situation as it now stands. Without this equipment the trapper may find it difficult, if not impossible, to increase his productivity. As increased productivity was a main consideration of the hypothesized objectives for trappers of all ages, it would seem that they are unable to achieve these objectives without assistance.

Economically, it seems that trapping is of greater value as a source of food, than for the net income derived from animal pelts. Income in kind not only provides the trapper and his family with a nutritional source of food, but it also saves them between \$150 and \$600, depending on

the community, for an equivalent amount of store-bought meat.

As trapping is not a major source of income for the trapper, it would appear that its principal value is as a cultural cornerstone. In the generation of trappers 56 years of age and older, trapping represents a way of life. These men were born and raised in a trapping society, and it represented their only source of income as well as a source of food. Generally speaking, however, to the generation of trappers between 18 and 35 years of age, and to some extent the middle aged group, trapping is pursued more for its cultural value and significance than as a main source of income.

There is a mystique associated with trapping whereby the trapper seems to feel that he is part of nature. He is aware of the cunningness of certain animals and the roles which each species plays in nature. Often folklore is attached to certain species. These are things which every trapper would like to pass on to his son, with the hope that these values will be preserved from generation to generation.

The "good trapper" maintains a traditional status in most communities, not so much because he is a trapper, but because he possesses greater skills and cunning relative to the other trappers. Most men in the northern communities spend some time trapping, whether it be on weekends, or for a few weeks each year. Most of these trappers indicated that they, as well as the rest of their community, would

like to see trapping continue. Yet, at the same time, they feel the number of trappers in the communities has decreased in the last ten years. The principal reason for this has been the availability of alternative employment. This trend is apt to increase in future years, with higher education and community development.

In summary, it appears that trapping is and will continue to be a part of the family and community lifestyles in northern communities. It will likely continue not so much for its economic value but rather for its cultural significance.

Younger people have indicated a preference for wage work in or near the communities and it is likely that this trend will continue. For the younger people (18-35), trapping may reach a point when it is continued only for its religious and cultural significance.

From conversations with trappers of all ages, it is the opinion of the author that as the old trappers retire, the number of trappers will decline to the point where only the cultural aspect of the trapping lifestyle is preserved for the community. If, in the meantime, the presently active trappers are to be more productive, they will need either equipment or financial aid.

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APPENDIX 1. TRAPPER QUESTIONNAIRE

Community:

Name:

Age:

Marital Status:

Number of Financial Dependents:

Ancestry: Treaty Indian _____

Non-treaty Indian _____

Metis _____

-
1. How many years have you been trapping?
 2. a) What is your trapline number?
b) Is this an individual _____ group _____ or community trapline _____?
 3. During the past trapping season, during what months did you trap?
 4. If you trapped less than four months, what did you do for the duration of the trapping season.
 5. What was the total value of the pelts you sold in the past trapping season.
 6. Was last season a good _____ average _____ or bad season _____ for trapping?
 7. How much did it cost you to go trapping last season i.e. for food, equipment, maintenance, gasoline, etc.
 8. a) Did your wife and children accompany you on the trapline?
b) If yes, was it in the fall _____ spring _____ or both _____?

9. a) Do you eat the animals you trap?
 - b) If yes, what species?
 - c) Do you share them with your family?
 - d) How often do you eat this meat?
10. a) Do you earn money from any other jobs besides trapping?
 - b) If yes, what jobs?
11. Do these jobs conflict with the trapping season
Yes _____ No _____
12. During what months do you work at these other jobs?
13. a) If you were unable to trap anymore, are there any jobs in or near the community which you could do?
 - b) If yes, specify.
14. Where did the majority of your income come from during the past year?
15. Is there anything you need to improve your trapping situation or are you happy with your situation as it is now?
16. a) Are you receiving government aid in the form of special A.R.D.A. Grant, Indian Affairs grants or loans?
 - b) If yes specify!
17. a) Have these grants or loans helped your trapping operation?
 - b) If yes, how have they helped?
18. Have the special A.R.D.A. Grants, and Indian Affairs Grants and loans changed the number of men interested in trapping?
Increased _____ Decreased _____ Same as before _____
19. a) Are the young men of the community, i.e. those 18-35 years of age, interested in trapping as would they rather do something else? Explain!

20. Do you understand how the fur market operates, i.e. the effect of demand and supply on the price you receive for your furs?
21. a) Are you receiving any information about the fur market and the price of furs from other sources than your local fur dealer.
b) If yes, what sources?
22. a) Who is your local fur dealer?
b) Do you think he is giving you a fair price for your fur?
c) If no, explain!
23. a) How do the people of this community look upon trapping nowadays? Are they interested in preserving it?
b) If no, is trapping fading out?
c) If trapping is fading out - why?
24. Are you familiar with the Wild Fur Development Program?
Yes _____ No _____
25. If the Department of Mines Resources and Environmental Management initiates this program, would you be interested in participating in it?
Yes _____ No _____

APPENDIX 2. Live and dressed weights of animals consumed by trappers

<u>MAMMAL</u>	<u>LIVE WEIGHT</u>	<u>DRESSED WEIGHT</u>
Beaver	40 lbs.	20 lbs.
Muskrat	2 1/2 lbs.	1 1/4 lbs.
Otter	20 lbs.	10 lbs.
Rabbit	4 lbs.	2 lbs.
Mink	1 1/2 lbs.	3/4 lbs.
Lynx	20 lbs.	10 lbs.
Moose	900 lbs.	450 lbs.
Caribou	340 lbs.	170 lbs.

Source: Peterson, R.L. The Mammals of Eastern Canada, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 133, 169, 245, 273, 280, 330, 326.

APPENDIX 3. Cost per pound of a side of beef sold in five northern communities

<u>Location</u>	<u>PRICE/LBS. OF A SIDE OF BEEF</u>
Nelson House	.74¢/lb.
Garden Hill	.82¢/lb.
Red Sucker Lake	.83¢/lb.
Little Grand Rapids	.79¢/lb.
Shamattawa	.88¢/lb.

*Assuming that the nutritional value per pound of the mammals listed in appendix 2 are roughly equivalent to the nutritional value of a side of beef.

*Prices listed above include freight costs.

Source: Interview with a Mr. Al Doer, Food Buyer, Hudsons Bay Northern Stores

Interview with Dr. Rick Riewe, Wildlife Biologist, Department of Zoology, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX 4a. Income from all sources received by 18 to 35 year old trappers of Garden Hill.

WELFARE UIC	18-35 Garden Hill GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
1304	-	697	290	2208	4499
1141	-	16.40	19.50	2100	3276.90
-	-	82.	37.50	5400	5519.50
1304	-	-	-	2630.40	3934.40
1141	-	-	-	3430.40	4571.40
1956	-	98.40	35		2089.40
1630	-	82.	-3	1056	2765
-	-	377.20	519	560	1456
1793	-	555.14	-262	420	2506
1956	-	32.80	- 61	1685	3536
1630	-	99	100	2206	4035
1630	-	262.4	97	1120	3109.40
1793	-	214	213	500	2720
-	-	176.30	200	-	376.30
978	-	483.80	188	3945.60	5595.40
326	-	32.80	66.90	6576.	7001.70
1304	-	257.48	300	2630.40	4492
TOTAL 19886	0	3466.72	1740	35190.40	61483
AVERAGE 1169.76	0	203.92	102.35	2070	3616.64

*No accurate information available on income from soapstone carving.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4b. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of employment by the 18-35 year trappers of Garden Hill

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
8 wks.	16 wks.
8 wks.	20 wks.
3 wks.	41 wks.
18 wks.	16 wks.
-	20 wks.
4 wks.	8 wks.
4 wks.	8 wks.
3 wks.	12 wks.
18 wks.	13 wks.
8 wks.	8 wks.
8 wks.	8 wks.
16 wks.	8 wks.
8 wks.	4 wks.
16 wks.	-
16 wks.	24 wks.
10 wks.	38 wks.
18 wks.	16 wks.
TOTAL 166 wks.	260 wks.
AVERAGE 9.8 wks.	15.2 wks.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4c. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of
 18 to 35 year old trappers of Garden Hill

WELFARE UIC	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
TOTAL	14	17	0	7	17
PERCENT	92%	100%	0%	41%	100%
					94%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4d. Available job options undertaken by 18 to 35 year old trappers of Garden Hill

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Band Store	1
*Gas Depot	1
*Saw Mill	-
*Band Administration	-
*Wood Cutting	1
*Soapstone Carving	1
*Warehouse Work	1
*School Taxi	-
Commercial Fishing	1
Small Motors Course	-
Assist Conservation Officer	1
Fire Fighting	-
Guiding	2
*Constable	-
*Waterline	-
*Odd Jobs for Band	3
*Winter Road	5
*Carpentry Work	4
*Hudson Bay	1

*May conflict with trapping season.

NB These job options are jobs which are undertaken by the trapper in addition to or in place of trapping. They are specific to the community in question.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4e. Work satisfaction from trapping of 18 to et year old trappers of Garden Hill

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER JOBS
1	-	1
-	1	1
1	-	1
1	-	1
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	1
1	-	1
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	1
1	-	1
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	1
TOTAL	6	11
PERCENT	35%	65%
		88%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4f. Income from all sources received by 35 to 55 year old trappers of Garden Hill

WELFARE UIC	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
-	-	153.34	232.	7700.	8085.34
1956	-	32.80	45	-	2034
1956	-	-	-	-	1956
1956	-	492	350	485	3283
1956	-	-	-	-?	1956
1956	-	-	-	-?	1956
1956	-	-	-	0	1956
-	-	-	-	7200	7200
-	-	259	331	7891	8481
-	-	279	-31	5733	5982
1956	-	164	-100	-	2020
1141	-	148	48	3125	4462
1956	-	33	45	-	2034
1956	-	-	-	soapstone -?	1956
1956	-	49	25	-	2030
1304	-	262	53	2630.40	4249.40
TOTAL 22005	0	1872	998	34,764	59,604.74
AVERAGE 1375	0	117.	62.31	2172.77	3727.54

?Represents working at odd jobs or soapstone carving for which no income figures were available.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4g. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of employment by the 36-55 year old trappers of Garden Nill

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
1 wk.	44 wks.
1 wk.	-
-	-
16 wks.	7 wks.
-	-
-	-
-	-
-	48 wks.
4 wks.	44 wks.
8 wks.	-
8 wks.	20 wks.
8 wks.	-
-	-
8 wks.	-
16 wks.	16 wks.
TOTAL 74 wks.	209 wks.
AVERAGE 4.6 wks.	13 wks.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4h. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of 35 to 55 year old trappers of Garden Hill

WELFARE UIC	TRAPP TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
-	-	-	-	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	-
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	1	1	1
TOTAL	13	11	0	6	12
PERCENT	81%	69%	0%	38%	75%
					11
					69%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4i. Available job options undertaken by 36 to 55 year old trappers of Garden Hill

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Band Store	-
*Gas Depot	-
*Saw Mill	1
*Band Administration	1
*Wood Cutting	-
*Soapstone Carving	2
*Warehouse Work	-
*School Taxi	1
Commercial Fishing	4
Small Motors Course	-
Assist Conservation Officer	-
Fire Fighting	-
Guiding	1
*Constable	1
*Waterline	1
*Odd Jobs for Band	2
*Winter Road	-
*Carpentry Work	2
*Hudson Bay Store	-

*May conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4j. Work satisfaction from trapping of 36 to 55 year old trappers of Garden Hill

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER JOBS
-	1	1
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	-
TOTAL	5	11
PERCENT	31%	69%
		38%

SOURCE: Trapper Question (appendix 11).

APPENDIX 4k. Income from all sources received by trappers 56 years of age and older in Garden Hill

WELFARE OLD AGE PENSION	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
2400	-	381	74	-	2855
2400	-	66.	6	-	2472
1956	-	148	131	?	2235
1956	-	53	100	1200	3309
2520	-	300	150	-	2970
1956	-	221	-724	-	1453
2400	-	10	6	-	2416
2520	-	172	86	300	3078
1630	-	66	- 19	980	2657
815	-	148	76	3200	4239
2400	-	172	0	-	2572
1200	-	49	0	-	1249
1200	-	131	9	-	1331
1200	-	53	- 20	-	1233
1200	-	-	-	-	1200
TOTAL 27,753	0	1970	-126	5680	35269
AVERAGE 1850	0	131	- 8	379	2351

?Income from soapstone carving unavailable.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4L. Level of employment devoted to Trapping and other types of employment by trappers 56 years of age or older in Garden Hill

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER WORK
16 wks	-
8 wks	-
16 wks	10 wks
16 wks	32 wks
16 wks	-
18 wks	-
3 wks	-
5 wks	2 wks
14 wks	7 wks
8 wks	28 wks
8 wks	-
2 wks	-
6 wks	-
18 wks	-
-	-
TOTAL 154 wks	79 wks
AVERAGE 10.2 wks	5.2 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4m. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers
56 years of age and older in Garden Hill

WELFARE OLD AGE PENSION	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
-	1	-	1	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	1	-	-
1	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL 15	14	0	4	6	3
PERCENT 100%	93%	0%	27%	40%	20%

1 - old age pensioner

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4n. Available job options undertaken by trappers 56 years
of age and older in Garden Hill

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Band Store	-
*Gas Depot	1
*Saw Mill	-
*Band Administration	-
*Wood Cutting	-
*Soapstone Carving	1
*Warehouse Work	-
*School Taxi	-
Commercial Fishing	-
Small Motors Course	-
Assist Conservation Officer	-
Fire Fighting	-
Guiding	-
*Constable	-
*Waterline	-
*Odd Jobs for Band	-
*Winter Road	-
*Carpentry Work	-
*Hudson Bay Store	-

*May conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4o. Work satisfaction from trapping from trapping of
trappers 56 years of age and older in Garden Hill

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
TOTAL	14	3
PERCENT 77%	93%	20%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5a. Income from all sources received by 18 to 35 year old trappers of Nelson House

WELFARE	GOVT.GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOB	TOTAL INCOME
600	-	416.10	-50	3680	4646.10
900	-	14.60	-30	1920	2804.60
TOTAL1500	0	430.70	-80	5600	7450.70
AVERAGE750	0	215.35	-40	2800	3725.35

Ability to generalize for this age group at Nelson House is restricted by the limited size of the sample.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5b. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of employment by the 18 to 35 year old trappers of Nelson House

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
10 wks	24 wks
4 wks	12 wks
TOTAL 14 wks	36 wks
AVERAGE 7 wks	18 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5c. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of 18 to 35 year old trappers of Nelson House

WELFARE UIC	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES SPRING	TRAPPING FALL	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
TOTAL 2	2	0	0	2	2
PERCENT 100%	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5d. Available job options undertaken by 18 to 35 year old trappers of Nelson House

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Brush Clearing (Hydro)	2
Road Construction	
*Geophysical Work	1
Firefighting	
*Boat Building Course	
Fence Post Cutting	
School Construction	
School Committee Chairman	
Chief	
Commercial Fishing	
House Construction	1

*Conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5e. Work satisfaction from trapping of the 18 to 35 year old trappers of Nelson House

	CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER JOBS
	1	-	1
	1	-	1
TOTAL	2	0	2
PERCENT	100%	0%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5f. Income from all sources received by trappers 36 to 55 years of age in Nelson House

WELFARE UIC	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
2162	800	-	-	4676	7638
1200	500	87.60	117	1000	2904.60
1200	500	511	1366.60	-	3577.60
1000	900	29.20	-35	1600	3494.20
700	1250	29.20	50	3715.20	5744.40
1100	-	474.50	155	?	1729.50
1200	1500	29.20	25	-	2754.20
1100	-	73	90.70	400	1663.70
400	-	-	-	5260.80	5660.80
1100	-	116.80	128	?	1344.80
900	-	-	-	2400	3300
1200	-	43.80	23.50	-	1267.30
800	-	401.50	134	2400	3735.50
400	1350	29.20	50.26	3840	5669.46
TOTAL14462	6800	1825	2139.46	25,292.	50484.06
AVERAGE1033	485.71	130.35	152.81	1806.57	36.06

?Income from commercial fishing was unavailable.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5g. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 36 to 55 years of age in Nelson House

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
-	8 wks
4 wks	40 wks
12 wks	-
2 wks	12 wks
3 wks	20 wks
2 wks	8 wks
12 wks	-
4 wks	4 wks
-	32 wks
11 wks	-
-	12 wks
8 wks	-
12 wks	16 wks
-	32 wks
TOTAL 70 wks	184 wks
AVERAGE 5 wks	13.1 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5h. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 36 to 55 years of age in Nelson House

WELFARE UIC	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL 14	10	0	1	12	11
PERCENT 100%	71%	0%	7%	86%	79%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5i. Available job options undertaken by trappers 36 to 55 years of age in Nelson House

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Brush Clearing (Hydro)	3
*Road Construction	1
Geophysical Work	1
Firefighting	
*Boat Building Course	1
Fence Post Cutting	1
School Construction	1
*School Committee Chairman	1
*Chief	1
*Band Councillor	1
*Commercial Fishing	2
*House Construction	1

*May conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5j. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 36 to 55 years of age in Nelson House

	CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
	1	-	1
	1		1
	-	1	-
	-	1	1
	1	-	1
	-	1	1
	1	-	-
	1	-	1
	1	-	-
	1	-	1
	1	-	-
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
TOTAL	9	5	10
PERCENT	64%	36%	71%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5k. Income from all sources received by trappers 56 years of age and over in Nelson House

WELFARE OLD AGE PENSION	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
1200	500	372.30	651	-	2723.30
2403.60	-	45.26	80	-	2528.86
2520	-	58.40	60	-	2638.40
1200	-	146	-38.20	-	1307.80
1200	500	606	-55.	-	2251
2403.60	-	175.20	711	-	3289.80
2403.60	-	87.60	251.65	-	2742.85
1200	-	-	-	-	1200
1200	1500	386.90	692.80	-	3779.70
2403.60	-	204.40	607.50	-	3215.50
1200	-	-	-	-	1200
2520	500	102.20	40.30	-	3162.50
2520	1900	154.76	-202	-	4372.76
2403.60	1700	73	17.50	-	4194.10
2520	500	117	499	-	3636
1200	1500	160.60	190	-	3050.60
2403.60	-	146	200	-	2749.60
2403.60	-	543.85	610	-	3557.45
2403.60	-	44	30	325	2802.60
2520	-	95	211.30	-	2826.30
2430.60	-	256.20	708	-	3367.80
2430.60	-	-	10	-	2413.60
700	1600	-	-	32.88	5588

2403.60	-	153.30	210	-	2766.90
1200	1500	131.40	251	-	3082.40
2520	350	221.19	800	-	3891.19
2520	-	29	20	-	2569
2520	1500	120.45	468	-	4608.45
TOTAL56899.66	13550	4430	7023.85	3613	85516.61
AVERAGE2032	483.92	158.21	250.85	129	3054.16

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5L. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of employment by trappers 56 years of age and older in Nelson House

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
16 wks	-
4 wks	-
8 wks	-
6 wks	4 wks
16 wks	-
12 wks	-
4 wks	-
-	-
14 wks	-
4 wks	-
-	-
14 wks	-
16 wks	-
1 wk	-
10 wks	-
8 wks	-
8 wks	-
18 wks	-
1 wk	4 wks
18 wks	-
8 wks	-
8 wks	-
-	20 wks

14 wks	-
8 wks	-
10 wks	-
7 wks	3 wks
10 wks	-
TOTAL 243 wks	31 wks
AVERAGE 8.7 wks	1.1 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5m. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 56 years of age and older in Nelson House

WELFARE OLD AGE PENSION	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-

1	1	-	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL 28	25	0	0	13	6
PERCENT 100%	89%	0%	0%	46%	21%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5n. Available job options undertaken by trappers 56 years
of age and older in Nelson House

JOB DESCRIPTION	#EMPLOYED
*Brush Clearing (Hydro)	0
*Road Construction	0
*Geophysical Work	0
Fire Fighting	0
*Boat Building Course	0
*Fence Post Cutting	0
School Construction	0
*School Committee Chairman	0
*Chief	0
*Band Councillor	0
*Commercial Fishing	2
*House Construction	0
*Odd Jobs	4

*May conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 5o. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 56 years
of age and older in Nelson House

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
1	-	-

	1	-	1
	1	-	-
	-	1	-
	-	1	-
TOTAL	18	10	3
AVERAGE	64%	36%	0.1%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6a. Income from all sources received by 18-35 years old trappers of Little Grand Rapids

WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPING NET INCOME	OTHER JOB NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
816	-	560.90	352.65	2459.20	4188.75
816	-	379.20	116.78	2801.60	4113.58
816	-	402.90	33.36	1848	3100.26
-	-	1248.20	2661.20	1144	5053.40
-	-	474	300	1144	1918
816	-	576.70	390	2630.40	4413.10
816	-	-	-	2630.40	3446.40
918	-	84.53	- 11	1440	2431.53
714	-	687.30	-100	3030	4331.30
816	-	173.80	204.91	1600	2794.71
816	-	31.60	3	1840	2690.60
1020	-	79	80.84	800	1979.84
TOTAL 8364	0	4698.13	3679	2336.76	40461.47
AVERAGE 697	0	391.51	306.67	1947.30	3371.79

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6b. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of employment by the 18-35 year old trappers of Little Grand Rapids

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
18 wks	16 wks
18 wks	16 wks
18 wks	14 wks
18 wks	8 wks
18 wks	8 wks
16 wks	16 wks
-	16 wks
18 wks	12 wks
18 wks	20 wks
12 wks	16 wks
8 wks	16 wks
1 wk	8 wks
TOTAL 163	166
AVERAGE 13.5	13.8

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6c. Variables which influence the family life style of
18-35 year old trappers of Little Grand Rapids

WELFARE	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
-	1	1	1	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
TOTAL 10	11	4	5	12	12
PERCENT 83%	91%	33%	41.7%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6d. Available job options undertaken by 18-35 year old trapper of Little Grand Rapids

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
XCutting Wood for Fuel	
*Sawmill (Logging)	4
*Carpentry Course	1
Carpentry	5
Commercial Fishing	-
*Upgrading Course	1
Wild Rice Harvest	1
School Cleanup	1
Guiding	3

*Conflict with trapping season.

Xnot possible to calculate length of employment nor income.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6e. Work satisfaction from trapping of the 18-35 year old trapper of Little Grand Rapids

CONTENT WITH SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
1	-	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
TOTAL 3	9	4
PERCENT 25%	75%	33%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6f. Income from all sources received by trappers 36-55
years of age in Little Grand Rapids

	WELFARE GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	OTHER JOBS NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
1224	-	608.30	234.19	-	2066.49
918	-	545.10	186.12	1644	3293.22
1224	-	252.80	180	500	2156.80
1020	-	750.50	498.30	1144	3412.80
816	-	768.67	237.75	2630.40	4452.82
918	-	560.90	- 51.76	1940	3367.14
612	-	312.05	138.35	3430.40	4492.80
714	-	545.10	150	2648	4057.10
816	-	-	-	2630.40	3446.40
1020	-	747.34	534.26	1300	3601.60
TOTAL 9282	0	5090.76	2107.71	17867.20	34347.17
AVERAGE 928.20	0	509.07	210.77	1786.72	3434.72

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6g. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 36-55 years of age in Little Grand Rapids

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
18 wks	-
18 wks	10 wks
18 wks	10 wks
18 wks	8 wks
18 wks	16 wks
4 wks	14 wks
12 wks	25 wks
18 wks	18 wks
-	16 wks
18 wks	10 wks
TOTAL 142	126
AVERAGE 14.2	12.6

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6h. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 36-55 years of age in Little Grand Rapids

WELFARE UIC	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES TRAPPING SPRING	FALL	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	1	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL 10	9	7	5	10	10
PERCENT 100%	90%	70%	50%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6i. Available job option undertaken by trappers 36-55 years
of age in Little Grand Rapids

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Cutting Wood for Fuel	1
*Sawmill (Logging)	2
*Carpentry Course	2
Carpentry (House Building)	3
Commercial Fishing	1
*Upgrading Course	0
Wild Rice Harvest	4
School Clean-up	1
Guiding	2

*May conflict with the trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6j. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 36-55 years of age in Little Grand Rapids

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
TOTAL 2	8	5
PERCENT 20%	80%	50%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6k. Income from all sources received by trappers 56 years of age and over in Little Grand Rapids

OLD AGE PENSION & WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
306	-	705.47	183.62	3930.40	5125.49
2403.60	-	213.30	551.73	-	3168.69
1224	-	-	-	-	1224
TOTAL 3933.60	0	918.77	735.35	3930.40	9518.18
AVERAGE 1311.20	0	306.25	245.12	1310.13	3172.72

Ability to generalize for this age group at Little Grand Rapids is restricted by the limited size of the sample.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6L. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 56 years of age and over in Little Grand Rapids

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
18 wks	26 wks
18 wks	-
-	-
TOTAL 36 wks	26 wks
AVERAGE 12 wks	8.6 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6m. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 56 years of age and over in Little Grand Rapids

OLD AGE PENSION WELFARE	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES TRAPPING SPRING	FALL	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL 3	2	1	1	1	1
PERCENT 100%	66%	33%	33%	33%	33%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6n. Available job options undertaken by trappers 56 years of age and over in Little Grand Rapids

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
*Cutting Wood for Fuel	
*Sawmill (Logging)	1
*Carpentry Course	
Carpentry (House Building)	1
Commercial Fishing	
*Upgrading Course	
Wild Rice Harvest	1
School Clean-up	
Guiding	

*Conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 6o. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 56 years of age and over in Little Grand Rapids

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
1	-	1
1	-	-
1	-	-
TOTAL 3	0	1
PERCENT 100%	0%	33%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7a. Income from all sources received by trappers 18-35 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPING NET INCOME	OTHER JOB NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME	
1840	575	647.40	736	1121.90	4920.30	
1840	460	261.45	119	1120	3800.45	
1472	1275	981.06	1200	2630.40	7558.46	
-	1425	144.42	80	2400	4049.42	
1472	885	809.25	684	2630.40	6480.65	
1840	766	154.38	16	1360	4136.38	
1104	460	245.68	- 98	3750.40	5462.08	
-	460	99.60	- 85	470.10	944.70	
1656	1150	215.80	138	1370	4529.80	
2227.03	0	348.60	159	681.27	3415.90	
1472	1150	539.50	125	1650	4936.50	
1104	460	99.60	- 83	3750.40	5331	
1840	460	90.00	-200	1000	3190	
1840	737	286.35	100	1120	4083.35	
-	575	1301.44	1385	1949.12	5210.56	
TOTAL	19707.03	10838	6224.53	4276	27003.99	68049.55
AVERAGE	1313.80	722.53	414.97	285.07	1800.26	4536.64

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7b. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 18-35 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
6 wks	9 wks
18 wks	8 wks
18 wks	16 wks
4 wks	40 wks
10 wks	16 wks
18 wks	8 wks
16 wks	24 wks
4 wks	4 wks
8 wks	12 wks
4 wks	5 wks
6 wks	14 wks
18 wks	24 wks
12 wks	8 wks
16 wks	8 wks
4 wks	44 wks
TOTAL 162 wks	240 wks
AVERAGE 10.8 wks	16 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7c. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers
18-35 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

WELFARE & OLD AGE PENSION	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	TRAPPER WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	1	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
-	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL 12	15	3	8	15	
PERCENT 79%	100%	20%	53%	100%	

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7d. Available job options undertaken by trappers 18-35 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Work for Band	2
Winter Road	6
Carpentry Work	7
Commercial Fishing	7
School Chaperone	-
Ice Harvest	2
Fish Processing Plant	1
Airport Operator	1
Odd Jobs	1

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7e. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 18-35 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

	CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	1	-	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	1	-	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
TOTAL	2	13	15
PERCENT	13%	87%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7f. Income from all sources received by trappers 36-55 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	NET INCOME TRAPPING	NET INCOME OTHER JOBS	TOTAL INCOME
368	885	771.90	243.15	4000	6268.05
2208	575	365.20	442.00	-	3590.20
2208	-	-	-	-	2208
1840	460	257.30	223.45	1120	3900.75
552	885	215.80	184.30	3120	4957.10
1656	1150	564.40	327.40	1370	5067.80
TOTAL 8832	3955	2174.60	1420.30	9610	25991.90
AVERAGE 1472	659.17	362.43	236.72	1601.67	4331.98

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7g. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 36-55 years of age in Red Sucker

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
2 wks	40 wks
16 wks	-
-	-
12 wks	8 wks
12 wks	36 wks
16 wks	12 wks
TOTAL 58 wks	96 wks
AVERAGE 9.6 wks	16 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7h. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 36-55 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

WELFARE & OLD AGE PENSION	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES TRAPPING FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	TRAPPER WORK OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	-
1	1	1	1	-	-
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
TOTAL 6	6	1	4	5	4
PERCENT 100%	100%	16%	66%	83%	66%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7i. Available job options undertaken by trappers 36-55 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Work for Band	-
Winter Road	3
Carpentry Work	-
Commercial Fishing	1
School Chaperone	1
Ice Harvest	-
Fishing Processing Plant	-
Airport Operator	-
Ice House Building	1
Odd Jobs	2

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7j. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 36-55 years of age in Red Sucker Lake

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK*
1	-	1
-	1	-
1	-	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	1
TOTAL 2	4	3
PERCENT 33%	67%	50%

*Revealed preference refers to preference for other work during the trapping season (October-May).

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7k. Income from all sources received by trappers 56 years of age and over in Red Sucker Lake

WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPERS NET INCOME	OTHER JOBS NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
2208	716	1377.80	1330.65	-	5632.45
2208	1425	1210197	1314.45	-	6158.42
736	766	381.80	301.98	4000	6185.78
2403.60	575	1585.30	1466.40	-	6030.30
2208	460	512.11	532.10	-	3712.21
2403.60	0	84.66	- 150.00	-	2338.26
2208	-	-	-	-	2208
1802.70	-	-	-	1250	3052.70
TOTAL	16177.90 3942	5151.67	4795.58	5250	35318.12
AVERAGE	2002.24 492.75	643.96	599.45	656.25	4414.76

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7L. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 56 years of age and over in Red Sucker Lake

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT FROM TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
20 wks	0 wks
20 wks	0 wks
12 wks	32 wks
18 wks	0 wks
16 wks	6 wks
4 wks	0 wks
-	-
-	10 wks
TOTAL	90 wks
AVERAGE	11.4 wks
	48 wks
	6 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7m. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers
56 years of age and over in Red Sucker Lake

PENSION & WELFARE	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
1	1	-	1		
1	1	-			
1	1	-	1		
1	1	-		1	1
1	1	-	1		
1		-		1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	1		
TOTAL 8	7	0	5	3	3
PERCENT 100%	87.5%	0	62.5%	37.5%	37.5%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 7n. Available job options undertaken by trappers 56 years
of age and over in Red Sucker Lake

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Work for Band (Odd Jobs)	1
Winter Road	0
Carpentry Work	0
Commercial Fishing	0
School Chaperone	0
Ice Harvest	1
Fish Processing Plant	1
Ice House Building	0

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 70. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 56 years of age and over in Red Sucker Lake

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
-	1	-
1	-	-
1	-	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
-	1	1
1	-	-
1	-	-
TOTAL 5	3	2
PERCENT 63%	37%	25%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8a. Income from all sources received by trappers 18-35
years of age in Shamattawa

WELFARE	GOVT.GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPING NET INCOME	OTHER JOB NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
1050	0	448.80	310	4088	5896.80
1050	0	862.40	117.40	4088	6117.80
1200	0	1390.40	353.60	2630.40	5574.40
900	0	1073.60	490.70	3945.60	6409.90
1800	0	1144.00	299.10	-	3243.10
1800	0	126.72	107	-	2033.72
1350	0	413.60	- 31	925	2657.60
1200	0	783.20	1000	2630.40	5613.60
1050	0	343.20	- 52	2240.20	3581.40
600	0	123.20	-163	5260.80	5821
900	0	1768.80	1553	3945.60	8167.40
-	0	70.40	75	5300	5445.40
1500	0	105.60	150	1315.20	3070.80
1650	0	545.60	300	536	3031.60
600	0	-	-	5260.80	5860.80
TOTAL15600	0	9199.52	4509.80	42166	66407.72
AVERAGE1040	0	657.10	300.65	2811.06	4427.18

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8b. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 18-35 years of age in Shamattawa

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT FROM TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT FROM OTHER JOBS
20 wks	16 wks
-	18 wks
22 wks	16 wks
22 wks	24 wks
22 wks	-
6 wks	-
22 wks	12 wks
18 wks	16 wks
6 wks	20 wks
6 wks	32 wks
12 wks	24 wks
4 wks	48 wks
8 wks	8 wks
22 wks	4 wks
-	32 wks
TOTAL 190 wks	270 wks
AVERAGE 12.6 wks	18 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8c. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers
18-35 years of age in Shamattawa

WELFARE	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	TRAPPER WORKS AT OTHER JOB
1	1			1	1
1	1			1	1
1	1			1	1
	1	1	1	1	1
1	1		1	1	1
1	1			1	
1	1	1	1	1	
1	1		1	1	1
1	1	1		1	1
1	1			1	1
	1	1	1	1	1
1	1		1	1	1
1	1			1	1
1	1			1	1
1	1			1	1
TOTAL	13	14	4	6	15
PERCENT	86.6	93.6%	26.6%	40%	100%
					86.6%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8d. Available job options undertaken by trappers 18-35
years of age in Shamattawa

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Reserve Clean-up	1
*Constable	1
*Carpentry Work	7
*School Janitor	
Air Strip Construction	2
*Wood Cutting	1
Warehouse Work	1
*Ice House	2

*Job may conflict with trapping season (October-May 30).

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8e. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 18-35 years of age in Shamattawa

	CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IT IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
	-	1	1
	1	-	-
	-	1	1
	-	1	-
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	1	-	-
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	-
	-	1	-
	-	1	1
	-	1	1
	-	1	-
TOTAL	2	13	9
PERCENT	13%	87%	60%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8f. Income from all sources received by trappers 36-55
years of age in Shamattawa

WELFARE	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPER NET INCOME	OTHER JOB NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
1200	-	519.20	-160	2630.40	4189.60
1200	2150	1091.20	680	2630.40	7751.60
750	-	220	287	4123.20	5380.20
1200	-	158.40	50	2630.40	4038.80
1050	-	1337.60	771.50	3288.00	6447.10
1200	1650	862.40	269.25	2630.40	6612.05
1200	1650	932.80	- 50	2630.40	6363.20
750	-	719.84	200	4123.20	5793.04
1350	-	76.76	97	925	2448.76
1350	-	1029.60	568	925	3872.60
900	1050	264.00	92.50	3945.60	6252.10
300	1300	1126.40	643.10	2125	5494.50
1650	-	-	-	536	2186.00
TOTAL 14100	7800	8338.20	3448.35	33143	66829.55
AVERAGE 1084.61	650	641.40	287.36	2549.46	5140.73

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8g. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 36-55 years of age in Shamattawa

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
12 wks	16 wks
14 wks	16 wks
4 wks	28 wks
4 wks	16 wks
22 wks	20 wks
16 wks	16 wks
12 wks	16 wks
16 wks	28 wks
-	12 wks
18 wks	12 wks
-	4 wks
4 wks	28 wks
8 wks	40 wks
TOTAL 130 wks	252 wks
AVERAGE 10 wks	19.3 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8i. Available job options undertaken by trappers 36-55 years of age in Shamattawa

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Reserve Clean-up	3
*Constable	0
*Band Councillor	1
*Carpentry Work	9
*School Janitor	0
*Air Strip Construction	2
*Wood Cutting	0
*Warehouse Work	1
*Ice House Construction	1

*Jobs may conflict with trapping season (October-May 30).

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8j. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 36-55 years of age in Shamattawa

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
	1	
	1	1
	1	1
	1	
	1	1
	1	
	1	1
	1	
	1	1
	1	1
	1	1
TOTAL	0	13
AVERAGE	0	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8k. Income from all sources received by trappers 56 years of age and over in Shamattawa

WELFARE OR OLD AGE PENSION	GOVT. GRANTS	INCOME IN KIND	TRAPPING NET INCOME	OTHER JOB NET INCOME	TOTAL INCOME
1350	1550	1980	2329.30	925	8134.30
1800	-	17.60	19.19	-	1836.79
1800	-	352	87.50	-	2239.50
1800	1400	476.80	573.45	-	4250.25
2403.60	-	-	-	-	2403.60
2403.60	-	-	-	-	2403.60
TOTAL 11557.20	2950	2796.40	3009.44	925.00	21268.04
AVERAGE 1926.20	1475	466.06	501.57	154.16	3544.60

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8L. Level of employment devoted to trapping and other types of work by trappers 56 years of age and over in Shamattawa

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT TRAPPING	LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OTHER JOBS
18 wks	12 wks
-	-
18 wks	-
12 wks	-
-	-
-	-
TOTAL 48 wks	12 wks
AVERAGE 8 wks	2 wks

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8m. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers
56 years of age and over in Shamattawa

WELFARE OR OLD AGE PENSION	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES TRAPPING		TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	TRAPPER WORKS AT OTHER JOBS
		SPRING	FALL		
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	1	1	-	-
1	1	-	1	1	-
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	-	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	2
TOTAL 6	3	2	3	3	3
AVERAGE 100%	50%	33%	50%	50%	33%

SOURCE; Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8n. Available job options undertaken by trappers 56 years
of age and over in Shamattawa

JOB DESCRIPTION	# EMPLOYED
Reserve Clean-up	1
*Constable	0
*Band Councillor	0
*Carpentry Work	0
*School Janitor	0
*Air Strip Construction	0
*Wood Cutting	0
*Warehouse Work	0
*Ice House Construction	0
*Lay Preacher	1

*Job may conflict with trapping season.

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8o. Work satisfaction from trapping of the trappers 56 years of age and over in Shamattawa

CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	NOT CONTENT WITH TRAPPING SITUATION AS IS	REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR OTHER WORK
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	-
-	1	1
-	1	-
-	1	-
TOTAL 0	6	1
AVERAGE 0	100%	16%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 8y. Variables which influence the family lifestyle of trappers 36-55 years of age in Shamattawa

WELFARE UIC	TRAPPING	FAMILY GOES FALL	TRAPPING SPRING	TRAPPER CAPABLE OF OTHER WORK	TRAPPER WORKS AT OTHER JOB
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	1	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	1	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	-	-	-	1	1
1	1	-	-	1	1
-	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL 12	11	3	5	13	13
PERCENT 92%	84.6%	23%	38%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Trapper Questionnaire (appendix 1).

APPENDIX 9. Alternative sources of employment undertaken by trappers by community

GARDEN HILL	JOB DESCRIPTION	WAGE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IF NOT SPECIFIED
	House Construction	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
	Band Store	\$9.00/mo.	12 months
	Winter Road	\$3.50/hr.	2.5 months
	Gas Depot	\$6.00/mo.	12 months
	*Odd Jobs	-	-
	*Soapstone Carving	-	-
	School Transportation	\$6250/yr.	10 months
	Guiding	\$20/day+10%	2 months
	Constable	\$5600/yr.	12 months
	Waterline	\$4.11/hr.	12 months
	Warehouse Work	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
	+Commercial Fishing	-	-
	Hudson Bay Store	\$450/mo.	12 months
	Mines+Resources	\$105/wk.	5 months
	Sawmill	\$700/mo.	12 months
	Chief	\$600/mo.	12 months
	Band Councillor	\$1200/yr.	12 months
	Fire Fighting	\$13/day	30 days
NELSON HOUSE	JOB DESCRIPTION	WAGE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IF NOT SPECIFIED
	Road Construction	\$3.00/hr	4 months
	House Construction	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
	+Commercial Fishing	-	-

APPENDIX 9. Continued

NELSON HOUSE

Chief	\$600/mo.	12 months
Band Councillor	\$1200/yr.	12 months
Brush Clearing (Hydro)	\$5.00/hr.	2 months
Geophysical Work	\$3.50/hr.	2 months
Fire Fighting	\$13/day	25 months
Boat Bldg Course	\$400/mo.	1 month
*Odd Jobs	-	-
School Construction	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
School Committee Chairman	\$100/mo.	10 months

LITTLE GRAND
RAPIDS

JOB DESCRIPTION	WAGE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF EM- PLOYMENT IF NOT SPECIFI
Sawmill	\$2.50/hr.	4 months
Logging	\$2.50/hr.	4 months
Carpentry Course	\$120/wk.	3 months
House Construction	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
Commercial Fishing	\$800	1 month
Wild Rice Harvest	\$500	2 weeks
School Clean-up	\$3.30/hr.	3 1/2 months
Guiding	\$20/day+10%	2 months

RED SUCKER LAKE

JOB DESCRIPTION	WAGE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF EM- PLOYMENT IF NOT SPECIFI
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+Commercial Fishing	-	-
Ice Harvest	\$250	2 weeks
Winter Road	\$3.50/hr.	10 weeks
House Construction	\$4.11/hr.	4 months

APPENDIX 9. Continued

RED SUCKER LAKE

Air Terminal	\$200/mo.	12 months
Work For Band	\$500/mo.	-
*Odd Jobs	-	-
Band Councillor	\$1200/yr.	-
Constable	\$5300/yr.	12 months
School Transportation	\$4000/yr.	10 months
Pool Hall Manager	\$500/mo.	12 months
Fish Processing Plant	\$800	4 months

SHAMATTAWA	JOB DESCRIPTION	WAGE	AVERAGE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IF NOT SPECIFIED
	Ice House Building	\$3.35/hr.	2 weeks
	House Construction	\$4.11/h4.	4 months
	Air Strip Construction	\$3.11/hr.	3 months
	Reserve Clean-up	\$925/man	3 months
	*Wood Cutting	-	-
	Warehouse Work	\$4.11/hr.	4 months
	Constable	\$5300/yr.	12 months
	Band Councillor	\$1200/yr.	12 months

+ - wage and length of employment specific to each individual

* - accurate information unavailable.

SOURCES: Personal communication with:
 Department of Northern Affairs, Thompson
 Department of Indian Affairs, Winnipeg
 Department of Indian Affairs, Thompson
 Dept. of Mines Resources & Environmental Management, The Pas
 Freshwater Fish Marketing Board, Winnipeg
 Ken Bishop and Associates, Consultants, Winnipeg
 Falcon Bridge Mining Company, Waboden
 Trappers in Garden Hill, Nelson House, Little Grand Rapids
 Red Sucker Lake, Shamattawa.