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**WOMEN'S INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND COMMUNITY FOREST
MANAGEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA:
A CASE STUDY WITH THE HUU-AY-AHT FIRST NATION**

By

Nicole Simms

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Geography and the Institute for Environmental Studies
University of Toronto

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**Women's Indigenous Knowledge And Community Forest Management In
British Columbia:
A Case Study With The Huu-ay-aht First Nation**

For the degree of Master of Arts, 2004

Nicole Simms

Graduate Department of Geography and the Institute for Environmental Studies,
University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken in collaboration with the Huu-ay-aht First Nation (HFN) of Vancouver Island's West Coast in an attempt to better understand the role of HFN women and their Indigenous knowledge in the planning and management of a recently developed community forest initiative, which is being undertaken by the HFN in partnership with the neighboring non-Native community of Bamfield. The Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest (BHCF) presents a series of unique cultural and economic opportunities for HFN women, whose extensive forest-related Indigenous knowledge could facilitate the successful harvesting of various Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) within the BHCF. However, HFN women have encountered a number of barriers to their meaningful participation in the BHCF, such that their involvement at present is severely limited. A case study approach is used to assess these opportunities and barriers, and to determine the extent to which they are related to women's empowerment within the community.

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PART ONE: INRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

I. Background and Problem Statement

Although forest management priorities vary among Aboriginal communities in Canada, the commonly shared goal of gaining control over forest resources has often proven incompatible with existing tenure systems; in fact, with their “narrow focus on the technical and profit-driven character of [commercial] forestry operations”, existing systems have often directly opposed First Nations traditional forest use and neglected their broader cultural interests.¹ In an attempt to regain control over a vital resource (and indeed, as part of a larger struggle to maintain their autonomy as a people), Aboriginal communities in Canada have thus begun to consider how new forestry tenure systems might be developed “that would uphold traditional values while providing economic and employment opportunities”.² This swell of interest in forest management has prompted the emergence of several Aboriginal forestry associations at the provincial, territorial, and national level since the mid-1980s.³ Such initiatives have met with varying degrees of success, and many First Nations groups have “begun to regain some of their use and management rights over their traditional lands” in the last 25 years.⁴

Yet even the most promising new management arrangements are limited in several very important ways. There exists a certain degree of uncertainty regarding the extent to which the reassertion of management rights allows for the meaningful involvement of indigenous knowledge in management systems (and the products that are derived from them), despite the

¹ Curran, Deborah, and M’Gonigle, Michael. April 1997, pp. 7.

² Ibid, pp. 2.

³ Bombay, Harry. 1993, pp. 16.

⁴ Mitchell-Banks, Paul. 1998, pp. 120.

fact that the ability of new tenure regimes to “incorporate the traditional ecological knowledge of the Aboriginal people” is often touted as one of their greatest attributes.⁵ The problem lies largely in the fact that even newly emerging tenure regimes tend “to rely preponderantly on the idiom of [Western] scientific management [and subsequently] fail to connect with the knowledge and cultural priorities of...local people”.⁶ As such, First Nations communities are still forced to “conform to a system of forest management that does not [necessarily] accommodate traditional use”.⁷ Thus, although several new forest management arrangements do make a genuine and explicit attempt to incorporate indigenous knowledge (most notably Community Natural Resource Management [CNRM], which is to be the form of tenure focused upon in the case study of this report), the very notion of seeing and treating the forest as a commodity to be harvested and distributed has the potential to conflict (at least in principle) with the tenets of traditional indigenous philosophies as expressed by many First Nations communities, precluding the success of such endeavors.

Moreover, it is not simply a question of the extent to which indigenous knowledge plays a role in determining how the forest gets managed or the types of commodities that are produced as a result; a larger question involves an investigation into whose knowledge is being given a role to play in the first place. Indigenous knowledge “differs from individual to individual, and gender accounts for a lot of those differences”.⁸ Indeed, women and men “possess different knowledge about similar things, use different communication channels to transfer information, and have different interests and needs”.⁹ Women have traditionally played distinctive labor roles in Aboriginal forestry, yet despite the fact that “the gendered division of labor [likely] creates

⁵ Ibid, pp. 129.

⁶ Scott, Colin H., and Webber, Jeremy. 2001, pp. 149.

⁷ Bombay, Harry. 1993, pp. 17.

⁸ Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 38.

⁹ Ibid.

differences in forest species use and knowledge”¹⁰, there is currently “little emphasis... placed on meaningful participation of women in the planning and management of forestry programs”.¹¹

The right of Aboriginal women to contribute to decision-making on forestry issues has often been undermined by the fact that their indigenous knowledge systems have until quite recently been considered at best as being inferior to men’s knowledge, and at worst, as nonknowledge.¹² In attempting to understand how indigenous knowledge, and more specifically, women’s indigenous knowledge, can play a more meaningful role in emerging tenure regimes - and in so doing, contribute to the success of resource management systems that are established under such regimes - the “development of practical case studies from which examples of success can be shared” is imperative.¹³

In an attempt to answer this call, I conducted a case study in May and June of 2004 to investigate the involvement of Aboriginal women in the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest (BHCF), a recently established Community Forest Pilot Project in British Columbia formed through the partnership of the non-Native community of Bamfield and the Huu-ay-aht First Nation (HFN) of Vancouver Island’s West Coast. More specifically, the areas within which the study was conducted include the town of Bamfield, the neighboring Huu-ay-aht reserve at Ana’cla, and the nearby larger town of Port Alberni, “one of the earliest single-forestry towns in the province”, and home to the Huu-ay-aht Treaty Office and many of its off-reserve members.¹⁴

The case study, which is presented in chapters four and five of this report, was undertaken in collaboration with the HFN, and involved the participation of several women

¹⁰ Robbins, Paul. 2000, pp. 134.

¹¹ Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

¹² Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 38.

¹³ Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

¹⁴ Barnes, Trevor J. *et al.* 2001, pp. 2135

from the community who are either formally or informally involved in forestry (or have been in the past), members of the Board of Directors of the Bamfield Huu-ay-ahy Community Forest Society (BHCFS), and various cultural sources. In chapter four, the BHCF initiative is explored through discussions with BHCFS Board members, from which it was determined that perceptions of the Community Forest on several fronts are often divided along Native/non-Native lines, indicating in many cases a lack of trust between the community of Bamfield and the HFN. However, Board members from both communities agreed that women's participation in the BHCF is lacking. This claim is further explored through discussions with several HFN women and cultural sources in chapter five of this report, where women's gender roles, both within the community more generally, and regarding the forest in particular, are also investigated. This investigation reveals that Indigenous knowledge is often differentiated along gender lines in the HFN community, and that women possess extensive IK about the forest which could be helpful in determining what types of Non-Timber Forest Products could be successfully harvested from the Community Forest in the coming years. However, Indigenous knowledge is not simply differentiated along gender lines: IK varies among women of different ages in the HFN, and gender interests themselves vary among those women living at home on the reserve, and those living away from home in Port Alberni. Moreover, it was ultimately found that the majority of the women interviewed are not, in fact, participating in the BHCF, not least because most of them do not understand the initiative; in some cases, the women interviewed had not even heard of it.

These findings and their implications will be addressed in detail in later chapters; in the remainder of this chapter, I will identify the research questions which motivated this research, and examine the reasons for which the HFN was selected as a case study collaborator in the first place. Finally, the various methodologies employed throughout the course of this study will be

described, including a detailed account of my interaction and relationship with the Huu-ay-aht First Nation leading up to and throughout the fieldwork. The second section of this report, which includes chapters two and three, consists of a literature review that examines the relevant literature on indigenous knowledge, resource management, gender, and political ecology. In the paper's third section, the case study is presented, with chapter four examining the BHCF itself, and chapter five focusing in on the role of HFN women in the community and in the forest. Chapter six offers a summary of the major findings presented throughout the report, and presents some potential avenues for further study.

II. Research Questions

The research in question was initially motivated by the following primary question:

Where tenure regimes are rearranged to reflect increased Aboriginal autonomy, and more specifically, when CNRM is the form of management in question, how can women's indigenous knowledge make meaningful contributions to the planning and management of emerging Aboriginal forestry systems and the products produced therein?

In addressing this query, the following sub questions presented themselves and were investigated to varying degrees (a particular emphasis was placed on questions of knowledge and gender):

1. Is CNRM conducive to the meaningful incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into the forest management system? And if so, what is the extent to which Indigenous knowledge is used to determine which forest species are harvested and for what purposes?
2. In which ways might participation in commercial forestry under rearranged tenure regimes such as CNRM conflict with traditional indigenous philosophies, and how might these conflicts be resolved?
3. How is traditional knowledge differentiated along gender lines in a given community, especially with respect to forests?
4. If Indigenous knowledge is found to be differentiated along gender lines, does women's indigenous knowledge vary according to age, or any other factor(s)?

5. How can an understanding of the importance of women's indigenous knowledge surrounding forest-related activities contribute to women's participation and empowerment within Aboriginal communities?

III. Selection of Case Study

Based on the nature of these questions and in response to the call for a greater number of practical examples that illustrate the role of women's indigenous knowledge in forest management detailed earlier in this chapter, a case study approach was selected. Several First Nations communities engaged in community based forest management were considered, but the Huu-ay-aht First Nation of British Columbia's Vancouver Island was ultimately asked to participate in the study for a variety of reasons.

First, as one of four community forests awarded a Community Forest Pilot for a plot of land 425 hectares in size in June of 1999, and with the Tenure Agreement to establish the Community Forest having been signed in September of 2001¹⁵, the BHCF exemplified the initiation of a so-called participatory tenure regime in Canada, as "this new forest tenure was designed to allow more communities and First Nations to participate directly in the management of local forests".¹⁶

Second, as a resource management initiative being undertaken by both a Native and non-Native community, the BHCF offered a unique opportunity to investigate the potential successes and failures such a partnership might entail given the range of perspectives presumably involved.

Third, The BHCF's emphasis on the importance of Non-Timber Forest Product (NTFP) harvesting on behalf of local entrepreneurs and commitment to encourage "community

¹⁵ Morgan, Dennis. November 28, 2002, pp. 2.

¹⁶ B.C. Ministry of Forests. June 2003, pp. 1.

involvement and increase participation in small scale forestry”¹⁷ indicated the potential for real opportunities for community members to become involved in the Community Forest; this was thought to be especially relevant for women’s participation, as their knowledge of the forest usually consists of knowledge of smaller-scale, non-timber resources.

Fourth, the fact that harvesting has yet to begin in the BHCF presented an opportunity to examine the level of women’s involvement in the Community Forest from the outset, when their participation could more easily be integrated should it be found lacking. Conducting research from the outset also meant that it could act as a foundation upon which future comparative research of the BHCF could be built after the commencement of harvesting.

Fifth, because the roles of women in forestry, both formal and informal, are overt and largely accepted by all members of the community, the concerns about risk to participants that are often present in gender-focused studies were eliminated.

Finally, and most importantly, the HFN felt that there was a need for research of this nature, and offered its support and blessing in the hopes that the work could assist in treaty negotiations by demonstrating women’s traditional use of the forest as one component of the research.

Having selected and gained the approval of the Huu-ay-aht First Nation to conduct the study, the initially posed research question as it was presented in the last section of this report was re-worked so as to be more case-specific. The question was altered in the following way:

Where a community forest tenure regime is adopted to reflect increased local autonomy and community participation in resource management on behalf of partnering Native and non-Native communities, what shape does this regime take, and how successful is it in affording opportunities for women and their Indigenous knowledge to make meaningful contributions to its planning and management?

¹⁷ Morgan, Dennis. November 28, 2002, pp. 9.

The case study with the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla was therefore conducted with the goals of: 1) Gaining a greater understanding of how the BHCF was being planned and managed (and by whom) and; 2) Trying to ascertain the extent to which women in the HFN community were able to participate in this initiative.

IV. Methodology

In undertaking this research with the Huu-ay-aht and Bamfield communities, several qualitative research methodologies were employed, including participant observation, in-depth interviews, traditional use data spreadsheets, and focus groups. In employing these methodologies, a sincere attempt was made to uphold the principles of gender sensitive and culturally sensitive research.

i. Participant Observation

Though at first glance participant observation as a technique appears quite simple, it is often a complex blend of methods.¹⁸ Broadly, it can be defined as “a technique that involves living, working or spending periods of time in a particular ‘community’ in order to understand people’s experiences in the context of their everyday lives”¹⁹, yet what often emerges is “a regular interaction with subjects, direct observation of specific events, formal and informal interviewing, some systematic counting or organizing, recording of documents, and collecting of artifacts or objects”.²⁰

Participant research is extremely useful in understanding the social structures within a group, because members of a group are oftentimes unaware of their role in these structures and

¹⁸ Reece, Robert D., and Siegal, James M. 1986, pp 74.

¹⁹ Valentine, Gill. 2001, pp 44.

²⁰ Reece, Robert D., and Siegal, James M. 1986, pp 74.

are therefore unable to provide adequate information to the researcher should they be questioned about them.²¹ Moreover, while interviewing only provides information from one person's perspective, participant observation allows the researcher to gain a broader perspective.²² The use of informants enables the researcher to overcome the difficulties involved in this technique (namely that it is impossible for the researcher to be in more than one place at a time in order to observe all events relevant to the study, and that some events that are highly relevant to the study have likely already occurred).²³

In the course of the fieldwork, there were limited opportunities to engage in participant observation, as harvesting had not yet begun in the community forest. Moreover, for logistical reasons, I was unable to participate in an outing to collect cedar bark that was organized by The Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women women's group during my stay, and had to rely on interview accounts and photographs of the expedition. However, meetings of various sorts were attended and observed in Bamfield and Port Alberni. One of these was a meeting held by the women's group, during which I was able to watch the women engage in activities (namely crafts of various sorts that were being prepared as prizes for the upcoming Aboriginal Day celebration), and experience their camaraderie first-hand. I was also able to attend a meeting between the Huu-ay-aht First Nation and the Ministry of Forests, as well as a meeting of the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society (BHCFS) Board members, both of which were extremely useful in providing a clearer understanding of the ways in which the First Nation is engaging in forestry on its own, as well as with the community of Bamfield. Each of these experiences served to illuminate relationships and interactions between individuals and institutions which likely would not have been apparent through interviews alone.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Valentine, Gill. 2001, pp 44.

²³ Reece, Robert D., and Siegal, James M. 1986, pp 74.

ii. In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviewing, which is “used to get participants to provide an account of their experiences, of how they view their own world and the meanings they ascribe to it”²⁴, constituted the primary methodology utilized in this research. Generally, interview styles can range from formal to very conversational²⁵; in this instance, a fairly informal approach involving a semi-structured interview process was adopted. This particular style of interviewing was utilized because cross-cultural research often yields the best results when “semi-structured interactive, intensive interviews” are employed, as these are able to reveal the richness and depth of personal experiences.²⁶ As Aboriginal histories are mostly oral histories codified in stories, asking open-ended questions is imperative in allowing individuals to interpret and explore the questions in their own ways. As the lack of structure inherent in this style of interview can sometimes lead to inconsistencies or misinterpretation of data, it is recommended that the researcher fill out a standardized data collection form after each interview to ensure consistent final documentation. The information obtained during the interviews conducted was thus grouped into a standardized format along with the responses of the other participants in an attempt to maintain consistency, as well as to identify potential patterns in the responses. In the case of the women that were interviewed, respondents were grouped according to age to ascertain whether or not patterns in their responses were age specific.

Indeed, women from various age groups (young, middle aged, and elder/elderly) who are either formally or informally involved in forest activities were interviewed (interview questions for this group may be found in Appendix A of this report). The “young” group consisted of four women aged 20-40, the middle-aged group included two women aged 41-60, and the

²⁴ Valentine, Gill. 2001. pp 44.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Skelton, Tracey. 2001, pp. 95.

elder/elderly group was composed of four women aged 60 and up. These groupings were determined and assigned after the fieldwork was completed based on the age range of the participants. For example, as the youngest participant was 21 years of age, it would not have been useful to have a “young” category that encompassed ages younger than 20. Instead, all participants that were included in this group had ages ranging from early 20s to mid 30s, while the two participants in the middle-aged group had ages ranging from early 40s to mid 50s, and the four participants in the elder/elderly group ranged in age from mid 60s to early 80s. The distinctions between the age groups were thus quite apparent from the outset, and it followed that they should be formally grouped into the three separate categories for the purpose of comparison. It is important to note that the “elder/elderly” category has been defined as such because of the difficulty involved in identifying “elders”, as “not all elders are teachers, not all elders are spiritual leaders and not all old people are elders”.²⁷

Along with women from these various age groups, the majority of the members of the Board of Directors for the BHCFS were also interviewed (interview questions for this group may be found in Appendix B of this report), as were individuals who were in possession of relevant cultural knowledge (such as of the women’s group), but were not necessarily involved in forestry (these interviews took on a highly informal character, and were very loosely structured).

Upon first making contact with the Huu-ay-aht community, inquiries were made to employees at the HFN Treaty and Band Offices as to the identities of individuals who were known for their formal or informal involvement in forest activities and/or community politics. Further identification of individuals was made possible after having established contact with the organizer of the women’s group, an experience similar to that of researchers from the Shastri

²⁷ Roderick, Mark. 1985, in *Medicine*, Beatrice. 1987, pp. 147.

Institute in their study of the Dene women of the Hay River, wherein the choice of women to interview was established through contact with the Dene Cultural Institute, which directed them to form a partnership with the Soaring Eagle Friendship Centre.²⁸ The Centre, “which engages in community development activities and is staffed primarily by women, was the ideal partner institution”.²⁹

During the interviews with individuals who had been initially identified, the respondents were questioned as to whether or not they knew of any other individuals who might also be able to answer the questions at hand, and I was able to acquire further contacts and engage in subsequent interviews using this “snowball” technique. While establishing the identities of these individuals through these various means was fairly straightforward, organizing interviews with several of them proved to be more challenging, mainly for logistical reasons that were for the most part overcome during the course the research. In total, 18 interviews took place, 10 of which were with women from the community involved in forestry in some capacity, 6 of which were with Board members of the BHCFS, and 3 of which were with individuals that held culturally relevant knowledge (one woman that held knowledge of the forest and forestry activities was also on the Board of Directors for the BHCFS, and has therefore been cross-listed in both categories, although her respondent number – as described below – is different in each category so as to protect her identity). Most of the interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, except in cases where the participants were uncomfortable with being recorded; in such instances, written notes were taken during the interview.

In order to protect the identity of the respondents, individual names are not cited in this report. Instead, participants have each been assigned an individual number and are referred to as

²⁸ Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

²⁹ Ibid.

either (Native/non-Native) BHCFS Board Members, Cultural Sources, or Young (aged 20-40), Middle-Aged (aged 41-60), or Elderly/Elder Women (aged 61 plus). A categorization of each number according to group to the which it belongs is available in Appendix C. Please note that in instances when a particular statement is extremely controversial or has the potential to reveal an individual's identity, a respondent number is not provided.

iii. Focus Groups

Group interviews, though they tend to be dominated by individuals who are vocal and/or in positions of authority, have many benefits:

The accuracy of the information and the rate at which it is generated are higher in groups. One or more members of the group will highlight any uncertainty about the information, and the exercise will identify the more knowledgeable members. Less knowledgeable participants will learn something new. The group interview is particularly useful if time is limited, a list of items needs to be generated, or an issue needs to be clarified.³⁰

Conducting group focus sessions allows the researcher “to explore how meanings and experiences are negotiated and contested between participants”.³¹ Although for logistical reasons this technique was rarely employed in this study, its application did prove invaluable in providing the four women at the women's group meeting that I attended with a forum in which to discuss the issues at hand not only with myself, but also with each other. In this way, several issues central to the experiences of Huu-ay-aht women living off-reserve (including their relationship with on-reserve women and the dissemination of information from the reserve to Port) could be identified and approached from a variety of perspectives. A smaller “focus group” was also conducted which shed some light on the ways in which gender interests vary according to age, as it involved the participation of a young woman who had been formally

³⁰ Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 34.

³¹ Valentine, Gill. 2001, pp. 44

involved in forestry in the past, and her middle-aged aunt who had been gathering cedar bark in the forest for most of her life. At the outset, each of the focus groups involved questions similar to those posed in the individual interviews, but the focus group sessions were generally less structured than the individual interviews, so that the groups could focus in on the questions and issues that they found to be of particular importance. For instance, in the case of the women's group, we spent a great deal of time discussing the relationship between on and off-reserve women during the focus group, as this was seen as an important contributing factor to feelings of alienation on behalf of the women living away from home, which had in fact largely provided the impetus for the development of the women's group.

iv. Traditional Use Spreadsheets

Prior to the undertaking of the research, an initial consultation was held between myself and several members of the Huu-ay-aht community at the Treaty Office in Port Alberni in February of 2004 to ensure that the work conducted would be community directed in scope. During this meeting, it was determined that the research should focus not only on the extent to which women's Indigenous knowledge of the forest was being incorporated into the proposed management of the community forest, but also on the knowledge itself, as it was felt that such information had the potential to prove valuable with respect to treaty negotiations. A Traditional Use Data Bank had already been compiled by the HFN, but was not gender specific in nature.

With this guidance in mind, a Traditional Use Spreadsheet was devised for use during the interviews in an attempt to ascertain the following information about each of the forest resources known to the women: the item's English and/or Huu-ay-aht name, the English and/or Huu-ay-aht name of the location(s) in which the item is found, the purpose of the site in

question (i.e. logging, recreational, etc...), a description of the site habitat, the harvesting period and method, the item's use, the processing method, the intended purpose or destination of the item, and the source of the knowledge, which included knowledge of the item (i.e. cedar) itself, as well as knowledge of the processing techniques (i.e. weaving) involved. The completed Traditional Use Spreadsheets were grouped and analyzed according to age (young, middle aged, and elderly/elder) in order to cover women's changing forest uses and gender roles³², and can be found in Appendix D of this report.

v. Gender Sensitive Research

While the aforementioned techniques involve data collection, gender sensitive research focuses on the research process itself. Women have many roles within a community, and a research activity has the potential to interfere with women's daily routines.³³ To ensure female participation, gender sensitive research dictates that women must be consulted by the researcher to determine where, when, and how to schedule research activities (for example, women usually prefer to be interviewed in their homes, as this setting allows them to continue their chores uninterrupted).³⁴ In gender-sensitive research, all statistics are often separated by the researcher according to gender (and often age). Disaggregating the information in this way "helps to highlight any differences between men and women in terms of roles, needs, and access to and control over resources".³⁵ Ultimately, gender analysis is a powerful tool in attempting to "understand the different responsibilities and degrees of power that different actors have in every social situation".³⁶

³² Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

³³ Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 39.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

In keeping with the principles of gender sensitive research, a great deal of care was taken throughout the course of the study to ensure that the women were well informed regarding the aims of the research, and were comfortable with and during the research process. Many of the interviews conducted with the women took place at their homes and offices, and a few took place in a newly opened restaurant on the reserve called Wayne's Diner, all at times specified by the women themselves. The information yielded during the interviews was then analyzed according to age (young, middle aged, and elderly/elder).

vi. Culturally Sensitive Research

Several attempts were made to incorporate more culturally-sensitive research methods into the research framework, yet the difficulties involved in the undertaking of cross-cultural research remain apparent. Although there are an increasing number of Native researchers undertaking work in their own communities, Louise Grenier notes that "IK researchers are often 'outsiders' [for example, urban professionals or foreigners] working across cultures. Cross-cultural considerations are [thus] paramount".³⁷ Yet according to Herman Mitchell, "despite the good intentions of most research, insensitive methodologies have and continue to result in: fragmented truth and reality, distorted histories, distorted identities, assimilative standards and practices, cultural appropriation, and oppression".³⁸ Accordingly, Mitchell advocates the need to "re-introduce indigenous research methodologies that are culturally relevant and respectful".³⁹ Thus, researchers should engage in methodologies that are appropriate to the communities in which they are working.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 32.

³⁸ Mitchell, Herman, 1999, pp. 1.

³⁹ Ibid.

These concerns were foremost in my mind at the outset of my study design. I was especially aware of myself as an “outsider”; as a white woman seeking to work with Aboriginal women, I found myself questioning the validity of my proposed research: what right did I have to be asking these sorts of questions in the first place? Was it even possible for me to devise a culturally appropriate study design? And if so, where did *I*, as an “outsider”, fit into it? As I struggled to complete the methodology section of my proposal with the sources on qualitative and quantitative research techniques I had checked out of the library, I realized that I was completely unprepared to answer these questions. The limitations of the advice offered by these sources were glaringly apparent to me. In them, I encountered statements such as the following: “the criterion measure of appropriateness is whether or not the methodology will yield useful evidence with regard to the statement of the problem. Thus, the choice is always directly related to the problem statement”⁴⁰. According to the same source, there are four inquiries that should determine the research methodology selected: “what is (a) the most practical, (b) the most efficient, (c) the most promising, and (d) the most readily available way to solve the research problem or answer the research question?”⁴¹. The authors did not mention that the same methodology that might fulfill some or even all of these criteria might be inappropriate in light of cross-cultural concerns.

I was very fortunate in that at the time I was struggling with these questions, a course was made available at the University of Toronto through the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) entitled “Indigenous Research Methodologies”. In it, various aspects of employing methodologies that were culturally respectful and appropriate were discussed, such as the use of sharing circles, or the offering of tobacco in exchange for knowledge.

⁴⁰ Mauch and Birch, 1998, pp. 122-123

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 116.

During these discussions, the issue of “insider”/“outsider” was often raised, as those of us in the class who were non-Native were unsure as to whether or not it would be appropriate for us to initiate these methodologies. However, it was generally agreed by all members of the class that as long as these methodologies were employed in sincere and respectful ways, they could and should be used by both Native and non-Native researchers alike. Moreover, the distinction between “insider” and “outsider” itself became blurred as the course progressed via our course discussions and readings, many of which questioned the validity of this distinction in the research process by emphasizing the heterogeneity of both “groups”⁴². Though it would be untruthful to claim that my struggle to situate myself within the research ended then and there, these discussions and readings were extremely helpful in providing me with a frame of reference in which I could examine my place in the project.

However, at the very same time that I was learning about the applicability of various Indigenous methodologies to community-directed research, I was also confronted with the difficulties that often accompany their employment. According to Herman Mitchell, formally adopting Indigenous research techniques into one’s study design is indeed a complicated endeavor:

Because universities are historically the preserve of the white, male, European middle class elite, there is a hidden message that First Nations ways of gathering knowledge are somehow flawed, inferior, and coercive because they do not adhere to recognized research norms. This eurocentrism serves as the ideological basis for maintaining the prevailing attitude of supremacy over the lives of First Nation people. It is an explicit act that maintains the status quo and continued oppression of First Nation people through the promotion of mainstream culture and practices.⁴³

⁴² Lopez, Gerardo, 1998.

⁴³ Mitchell, Herman, 1999, pp. 7.

There is, of course, the possibility of leaving Indigenous research methodologies out of the study design when submitting a proposed project to an ethics review process, then implementing them in the field; this is especially tempting in cases where to include them would put the acceptance of the project in jeopardy. Mitchell himself discusses the possibility of not having included his intention to offer tobacco in return for knowledge on his ethics application, stating that he:

...could've gone 'underground' and not [disclosed] this part of my methodology. But doing so would go against my Cree values and teachings of honesty and respect. To conform to the university's standards and ethics of conducting research meant turning my back on everything that I believed in as a Cree person. I had no choice but to abandon my study⁴⁴.

One does not have to be Cree to feel that it is imperative to always uphold the principles of honesty and respect, and to be truthful on an ethics review application for that reason alone. Moreover, in choosing not to mention one's intention to adopt Indigenous research methodologies into one's study design, and choosing instead to turn a valid Indigenous research methodology into something covert, one is only helping to maintain the status quo. The more frequently Ethics Review Committees are faced with research methodologies that defy "the norm", the sooner universities will have to accept them as valid ways of gathering knowledge. It is thus the responsibility of both Native and non-Native researchers seeking to do work in Native communities to explicitly state their intention to adopt Indigenous research methodologies into their study designs from the outset. It is simultaneously the responsibility of Ethics Review Boards to be more open and inclusive in their understanding of what constitutes valid knowledge and ways of knowing.

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 2.

Not only can methodologies be “Indigenous”; they can (and should) also be flexible. In her discussion of the research methodologies she chose to employ in her investigation into the potential development of a locally based curriculum grounded in Ojibwe culture, Mary Hermes notes that:

The ways in which I did the research, the “methods”, were not clearly delineated before I started the work. Instead, the goal of exploring a problem that was relevant to the community, in a way that was responsive to that particular context, guided my research....Methods were not held as a constant but rather were continually changing....the methods acted as a situated response”.⁴⁵

Thus, the research methodologies employed by the researcher must be accommodating, because the ultimate role of the researcher in employing them should be to serve the community itself, and the community’s goals and expectations for the project may change over time. This relates to another important point that was emphasized in the course on Indigenous research methodologies; namely that a researcher should take the time to get to know the community in which they are going to conduct research, so as to be able to make appropriate decisions about the types of research methodologies that should be utilized. In my discussions with the HFN during my preliminary visit to Port Alberni in February of 2004, I requested guidance as to which research methodologies would be the most suitable for working with the community. It was suggested that the best way to receive and share information with individuals from the HFN was to have discussions over tea, in places where the respondents would feel comfortable, such as at their homes. Although this research methodology might not at first glance appear to be an *Indigenous* research methodology, it may be considered culturally sensitive because it was prescribed by the community itself, rather than the researcher. Similarly, the use of the Traditional Use Spreadsheets as a means of collecting the data articulated as important by the

⁴⁵ Hermes, Mary, 1998, pp. 155-157.

HFN during our initial consultation is another example of how a study design can be modified to take into account the goals and aspirations of the community in question. Of course, to a large extent the work itself already fit well with the goals of the community from the outset, or the HFN would not have been receptive to my original research proposal.

I also attempted to engage in culturally sensitive research not only in terms of how I asked the questions, but also in terms of the types of questions that were asked. For example, I was told at the outset that knowledge of medicinal plants was sacred knowledge that was held within families and not shared with others.⁴⁶ When the women being interviewed were asked to complete the Traditional Use Spreadsheets, questions about the specific plant and tree species of which they held IK were deliberately open-ended so that they would not feel pressure to disclose any sacred knowledge about medicinal plants. Indeed, such information would have contributed to the depth of my study, but because it is considered sacred, I made a conscious decision to be respectful of the community's values, and to not ask for this knowledge if it was not offered willingly by the participants.

Researchers should be bound not only by a commitment to engage in research that is culturally appropriate, but also by an understanding of the role of that research within the community. In Trauma Trails: Recreating Song Lines, Judy Atkinson writes of her experience as a researcher, during which she learned the importance of:

...learning to stay within the flow of a community in which the river of need and sharing would sometimes flow slow and deep, and at other times be fast and turbulent. At all times, the role of the researcher was to listen and stay with where the people themselves needed to go, to take the direction they took as their experiences were defined and redefined, as they found for themselves their own stories and their own healing paths.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

⁴⁷ Atkinson, Judy, 2002, pp. 22.

During my own research, for example, certain issues that I had not thought of or taken into account while planning my study design and interview questions ended up playing an extremely important role in the research, whereas some of those things I had initially thought would be significant ended up having very little import. The tense relationship between on and off-reserve women – and its implications for women's empowerment and participation within the HFN community – was only built into the study once the fieldwork had commenced and the participants identified it as an issue. Conversely, many of the detailed questions I had planned on asking the women about the Community Forest turned out to be irrelevant, as a more general understanding of the BHCf was found to be, for the most part, lacking.

vii. Building a Relationship of Trust

Conducting culturally sensitive research is part of building a relationship of trust with the community with which one is working. Indeed, there are many ways in which the relationship between the researcher and the community is shaped and defined throughout the course of the study, and it is likely that this relationship has a significant impact on the research process and results. My own process of relationship building with the HFN was lengthy, but ultimately successful. I learned of the BHCf initiative through my supervisor at the University of Toronto, who was acquainted with the BHCf's former Executive Director. However, while my supervisor was instrumental in putting me in contact with this individual, all subsequent correspondence between myself and the BHCf and the HFN were undertaken by myself, and this likely contributed to feelings of comfort and trust both about and within the relationship. This correspondence began in the early summer of 2003, and was conducted primarily through email with two of the HFN members of the BHCf, and the Community Development Coordinator, although some telephone calls were made closer to the date of my arrival in British

Columbia. Initially, my attempts to correspond with the community were unsuccessful, but I was persistent in sending emails until I received a response. However, even after I did receive a response indicating interest in the research on behalf of the HFN, it took several months before we were able to coordinate preliminary meetings, as the HFN was extremely busy with treaty negotiations. The meetings ultimately took place in February of 2004 at the HFN Treaty Office in Port Alberni, and at the HFN Band Office in Ana'cla.

My supervisor kindly accompanied me on this preliminary visit to meet with the HFN and discuss the direction of the research, but after some discussion, we decided it would be best if he did not attend the meetings with the community. We felt that his presence in the meetings, both as a male and as my supervisor, could serve to undermine or shift the relationship I had been building with the community over several months; I therefore attended the meetings on my own. At the first of two meetings I attended (which took place in Port Alberni at the HFN Treaty Office), I met with the Community Development Coordinator, the Chief Councilor, an HFN member of the BHCFS (who was also the former head of HFN Forestry and current head of HFN fisheries), and a hereditary whaling chief who is involved in a number of HFN resource management initiatives, and writes and speaks extensively about these around the world. It was at this point that the HFN emphasized its interest in collecting specific information about women's forest-related IK through my research. I was shown (and given) an example of one of the Traditional Use Studies (TUSs) that had been conducted within the HFN community, and it was upon this example that the Traditional use Spreadsheets employed in this research were based. This information was seen as significant by the HFN because of its implications for treaty negotiations: it was felt that such information could be useful in demonstrating women's traditional use in the forest, and hence the HFN's rights to their traditional territories. I was of course happy to incorporate this goal into my study design, and emailed the Traditional Use

Spreadsheet I had developed to the HFN upon my return from British Columbia for their approval.

During my preliminary visit, I also met with the Band Office Manager in Ana'cla, with whom I largely discussed the logistics of my stay: who I would speak with, where I would speak with them, where I would stay, and when the best time would be for me to come out to conduct the fieldwork (and for how long). Ultimately, I did not return to conduct the fieldwork until mid May of 2004 for a variety of logistical reasons, which means that it took approximately one year from the point of initial contact with the community to the initiation of the fieldwork. I found lodgings in West Bamfield, not far from the reserve at Ana'cla (where I was unable to stay due to a lack of accommodations).

Making contact with the women that had been identified as being either formally or informally involved in forestry proved to be extremely difficult upon my arrival, and the fieldwork got off to a very slow start. This slow start can be attributed to three factors: first, I realized upon my arrival that with the exception of the Band Office Manager, everyone whom I had been in contact with and made arrangements with had been male, because the individuals in the positions of authority whose blessings I had to receive in order to engage in the research were all men. As such, I had developed virtually no female contacts of my own. Second, while many of the women I wanted to interview lived and/or worked in Ana'cla, several others were located exclusively in Port Alberni. Organizing interviews with the women in Port Alberni was difficult for logistical reasons, as Bamfield and Ana'cla are quite isolated, and are only connected to Port Alberni via a four hour ferry ride that operates three times a week, or a dangerous unpaved logging road. I ended up having to make two separate trips out to Port Alberni throughout the fieldwork to speak with the women (and BHCFS Board members) who lived there. Third, the Community Development Coordinator, who had promised to put me in

touch with women in the community upon my arrival, was unfortunately away during the first week of the fieldwork. However, upon his return, he was extremely helpful in connecting me with several of the women in the community. He did this by taking me around to individuals' homes on the reserve, and introducing me to the women I needed to talk to, as well as emphasizing to me the importance of my spending time on the reserve so that the people there could become comfortable with my presence. Having this "in" was crucial in building trust between myself and the HFN women I sought to interview, as they were able to meet me through someone that they already trusted. Moreover, as I began to interview more and more women in the community, the level of comfort between both myself and the women I was interviewing increased, which led to a more productive relationship. Ultimately, despite the initially slow start, I was able to interview almost all of the women I had set out to speak with before my departure in mid June.

It is important to note that because the research timeline was delayed, at the time of submission, this thesis has yet to be reviewed by the HFN. Any changes that the HFN feels are in order will be made to the document, which will then be at their disposal for whatever purposes they see fit. On this end, I will not publish material from this research without the consent of the HFN. This commitment is another way in which trust had been built and maintained between myself and the HFN community.

V. Conclusion

In attempting to ascertain the role of women's indigenous knowledge in community forest management, a community directed case study approach was selected in which participant observation, in-depth interviews, traditional user spreadsheets, and focus groups were employed in a gender sensitive and culturally sensitive manner amongst women of the Huu-ay-aht First

Nation either formally or informally involved in forestry activities, as well as amongst members of the Board of Directors of the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society, and several Cultural Sources.

In this section, the immediate political and methodological contexts of the research have been laid out. Attempting to situate this work within a larger context requires a review of some of the literature on indigenous knowledge, resource management, gender, and political ecology, which constitutes the focus of Part Two of this report, which will be followed by the presentation of the case study itself.

PART TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER TWO : Indigenous Knowledge and Resource Management

I. Introduction

In this chapter, a variety of sources that discuss indigenous knowledge and resource management are reviewed. Particular attention is paid to defining the terms in question, exploring the distinctions and similarities between Aboriginal and Western resource management systems, and examining the emergence and characteristics of Community Natural Resource Management (CNRM), and its relevance to Aboriginal resource management in Canada.

II. Terminology

In reviewing the literature on indigenous knowledge and resource management, what first becomes apparent is the lack of consensus on the meaning and origin of “indigenous knowledge”, or “IK”. The term “indigenous knowledge” is often used interchangeably with the term “traditional ecological knowledge”, or “TEK”, yet as Fikret Berkes notes, “the use of [the term] *traditional ecological knowledge* is limited to more explicitly *ecological* knowledge and is considered a subset of indigenous knowledge”.⁴⁸ Berkes defines IK itself as “the local knowledge held by indigenous peoples or local knowledge unique to a given culture or society”, while TEK can more specifically be understood as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural

⁴⁸ Berkes, Fikret. 1999, pp. 8.

transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment”.⁴⁹

Berkes also discusses the ambiguity of the term “traditional”.⁵⁰ While the term is sometimes associated with terms such as “time-tested” and “wise”, “tradition” is often interpreted as “an inflexible adherence to the past”.⁵¹ Henry Lewis similarly discusses the “unfortunate” implications involved when the term “traditional ecological knowledge” (and especially its acronym TEK) is invoked:

One can foresee TEK being considered the opposite of “high tech”. In part, too, the problem is that “traditional” may be seen as something “old” or “outdated” and contrasted with “modern”, “contemporary” or (for scientists and technicians) “scientific”. Worse, it may be dismissed or denigrated because the custodians of such knowledge are no longer considered “traditional” by outsiders, particularly those in positions of power and authority. At the same time, officials may ignore TEK because they also consider it inappropriate or too arcane for contemporary environmental concerns.⁵²

There have been various responses to these concerns in the literature. Chief Robert Wavey emphasizes the distinction between TEK and the body of traditional ecological knowledge, with the former being “an instinctive adaptation taking place within a few short years”, and the latter being a body of knowledge “accumulated for specific lands and handed down over generations”.⁵³ Martha Johnson advocates the use of the term “indigenous ecological knowledge” (IEK) instead of “traditional ecological knowledge” as a way to emphasize indigenous people while avoiding the debate about tradition”.⁵⁴ Berkes and Carl Folke seek instead to distinguish between traditional resource management systems (which are based on knowledge that is historically and culturally continuous) and “neo-traditional resource

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 5.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Lewis, Henry T. 1993, pp. 8.

⁵³ Wavey, Robert. 1993, pp. 13.

⁵⁴ Johnson, Martha. 1992, pp.4.

management systems” (or “newly emergent resource management systems”), which are defined as “local resource management which does not have historical continuity but which is based on observations, experience and local knowledge of resource users themselves (as opposed to government scientists and managers)”.⁵⁵ Thus, neo-traditional resource management systems are based on indigenous knowledge that is constantly changing and adapting.

Louise Grenier also stresses the dynamic nature of IK systems, claiming that they not only have the ability to innovate from within, but are also able to internalize and adapt external knowledge that is appropriate for local situations.⁵⁶ She defines indigenous knowledge as “the unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographic area”.⁵⁷ This definition (which Grenier acknowledges can also be applied to non-Indigenous people living off the land) emphasizes the geographic origin of IK, which is similar to Berkes description of TEK as having evolved by “adaptive processes”. John Scott further corroborates this view of IK by commenting on the nature of indigenous agrarian practices. He notes that although many assumptions have been made that have blinded colonial officials and their successors to the dynamism of indigenous agriculture, these have been inaccurate, and “far from being timeless, static, and rigid, indigenous agricultural practices were constantly being revised and adapted”.⁵⁸

Yet these definitions of IK or TEK ignore the spiritual origins of such knowledge systems. In contrast, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) states that the “spiritual aspect of knowledge is central to the North American intellectual tradition. Knowledge is sacred, a gift from the creator. This affects how knowledge is used, as well as

⁵⁵ Berkes, Fikret, and Folke, Carl. 1998, pp. 5.

⁵⁶ Grenier, Louise, 1999, pp. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Scott, James. 1998, pp. 285.

how it is acquired and validated”.⁵⁹ RCAP does acknowledge, however, that although “for many Aboriginal people, knowledge- like all things- emanates ultimately from the creator”, there is a distinction between two types of teachings: “objective knowledge” consists of knowledge derived directly from the Creator, while “subjective knowledge” consists of knowledge “acquired by doing”.⁶⁰

The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound similarly emphasizes the spirituality of TEK, citing it (along with the principle of interconnectedness and the emphasis on non-objectivity) as one of three factors that distinguish TEK from scientific knowledge.⁶¹ The Panel states that TEK is:

...rooted in a social context that sees the world in terms of social and spiritual relations among all life forms. All parts of the natural world are infused with spirit. Mind, matter, and spirit are perceived as inseparable. Traditional ecological knowledge, in practice, exhibits humility and a refined sense of responsibility; it does not aim to control nature”.⁶²

In the same way that the “traditional” component of TEK lends itself to accusations of backwardness, the spiritual component of IEK often leads to its dismissal by the mainstream society. Indeed, in his analysis of the relationship between environmentalism and work, Richard White notes that the divorce between the two is the result of a failure “to examine and claim work within nature”.⁶³ White attributes much of this confusion to “the mythical first white man” and the implications of his arrival in North America.⁶⁴ He states that:

⁵⁹ Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Volume 4: Perspectives and Realities. 1996, pp. 114.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 115.

⁶¹ Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound. 1995, pp. 16.

⁶² Ibid, pp. 15.

⁶³ White, Richard, 1996. 172.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 175.

[Whites] are pious toward Indian peoples, but...don't take them seriously...[and] don't credit them with the capacity to make changes. Whites readily grant a "spiritual" or "traditional" knowledge that is timeless. It is not something gained through work or labor; it is not contingent knowledge in a contingent world. In North America, whites are recognized as the original bearers of sin, because whites alone are recognized as laboring. But whites are thus also, by the same token, the only real bearers of history. This is why [their] flattery (for it is usually intended to be such) of "simpler" peoples is an act of such immense condescension. For in a modern world defined by change, whites are portrayed as the only beings who make a difference.⁶⁵

Yet Grenier notes that this flattery has recently given way to a more genuine interest in IK on behalf of outsiders, as IK is increasingly "lauded as an 'alternative collective wisdom relevant to a variety of matters at a time when existing norms, values and laws are increasingly called into question'".⁶⁶

Berkes also remarks on the convergence of Indigenous knowledge and Western science in recent years, but states that "the spiritual dimensions of traditional ecological views are unlikely to be embraced by ecologists [although] some of the other lessons may be relevant".⁶⁷ Yet Michael Anthony Hart notes that Aboriginal "philosophy and actions appear to be intrinsically liked".⁶⁸ The separation of the practice of TEK from its philosophical underpinnings as advocated by Berkes may therefore be neither a logical nor productive distinction, and Harvey Feit warns against this very type of separation by arguing that "the aim [of incorporating TEK into non- Aboriginal management systems] must not become to extract tidbits, but to link individuals, groups, communities and local institutionalized practices in

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Berkes, 1993, cited in Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 6.

⁶⁷ Berkes, Fikret, *et al.* 1998, pp. 412.

⁶⁸ Hart, Michael Anthony. 1996, pp. 61.

culturally appropriate and empowered decision-making processes that operate both locally and nationally”.⁶⁹

It is important to note that the validity of Western knowledge is also questioned by Aboriginals; much of the literature points towards a mistrust of Western scientific paradigms and ways of knowing. RCAP, for example, states that “in many Aboriginal cultures, knowledge is often suspect if it is founded on events outside one’s personal experience”, which directly counters Western science’s emphasis on objectivity and abstraction.⁷⁰ The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound similarly implies a distrust of Western scientific knowledge as a result of its *lack* of spiritualism:

Traditional ecological knowledge is profoundly spiritual (the Creator made all things one). The approach we call science abandoned spiritualism as an explanatory approach during the Renaissance (Hoare *et al.* 1993) and devised an impersonal method that was “inter-subjectively testable” (Popper 1959); that is, any individual repeating the experiment should obtain the same results.⁷¹

III. Indigenous and Western Resource Management Systems

The attitude toward spirituality is only one of a number of differences that distinguishes Indigenous knowledge from Western scientific knowledge. Such differences carry over to the resource management practices that are derived from these knowledge systems, and these are emphasized by several authors in an attempt to question the compatibility of Indigenous and Western resource management systems. In the context of this report, this question is especially interesting as it has the potential to reveal areas of contention between the Native/non-Native communities engaged in the BHCF initiative regarding the way in which the Community Forest is managed. Moreover, the extent to which Indigenous management systems are accepted and

⁶⁹ Feit, Harvey A. 1998, pp. 13.

⁷⁰ Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Volume 4: Perspectives and Realities. 1996, pp. 115.

⁷¹ Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound. 1995, pp. 16.

incorporated into the management of the BHCF will determine the significance of IK to the Community Forest's management.

Jackie Wolfe-Keddie and Fikret Berkes offer similar accounts of the differences between the two systems. Wolfe-Keddie emphasizes the importance of cooperation between the state and Aboriginal groups in the struggle to increase Aboriginal representation in management, and examines five characteristics that distinguish Aboriginal resource management systems from Western systems, including knowledge systems, land tenure and access to the resource, user characteristics, identity of the resource managers, and mechanisms for regulation and control.⁷² Wolfe-Keddie compiles the work of other authors in discussing the differences between TEK and Western scientific knowledge; such differences include the oral versus written transmission of knowledge, observation versus abstraction, the spiritual versus the inanimate, interdependence and equality versus domination and control, and holism versus reductionism, respectively.⁷³ Berkes, however, warns against such simplistic distinctions, stating that such "generalizations simply do not hold up to evidence...including the alleged inability of traditional systems to use controlled experiments, to collect synchronic (simultaneously observed) data, and to use quantitative measures".⁷⁴

According to Wolfe-Keddie, land tenure also differs between Aboriginal and Western (or state) management systems. Aboriginal systems traditionally operate under a closed-access property regime, "in which access to use of the land and rights to harvest the resource are limited to a specific group within a known and bounded territory. Neither the community as a whole nor families nor individuals own the resource".⁷⁵ Conversely, the form of land tenure imposed by the state depends on the nature of the resource; as such, access can be open, limited,

⁷² Wolfe-Keddie, Jackie. 1995, pp. 66-67.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 67.

⁷⁴ Berkes, Fikret. 1999, pp. 10.

⁷⁵ Wolfe-Keddie, Jackie. 1995, pp. 68.

or closed.⁷⁶ Thus, while Aboriginal resource users can be broadly defined as “a geographically localized kinship group with shared norms and values”, users in the state system can be private or public corporations, or a combination of these.⁷⁷

Wolfe-Keddie goes on to distinguish between resource managers in Aboriginal versus state management systems. She notes that in Aboriginal communities, “the resource steward is invariably the resource user”, while “in the state system, decision-makers, managers, and users are deliberately separated”.⁷⁸ Berkes elaborates on the importance of this point, stating that because resource users are themselves the managers in Aboriginal management systems, “they identify themselves as members of a local community and not as individual scientists or resource users answerable to their peers or to an anonymous government agency”.⁷⁹

Finally, Wolfe-Keddie distinguishes between the social arrangements and sanctions (such as gossip or shunning) that exist within Aboriginal communities to encourage sustainable resource use, and the formal and legalistic methods imposed by the state to ensure compliance with management systems.⁸⁰ In their study of community-based tenurial systems in Mexico, Janis Alcorn and Victor Toledo also stress the importance of religious institutions in reinforcing community cohesion, noting that “ritual obligations, rights to community resources, and obligations to manage those resources are linked”.⁸¹

i. Management System Compatibility

That Indigenous and state management systems are different to at least some meaningful degree is widely accepted in the literature; what is contested, however, is the compatibility of the two systems, and indeed, the desirability of such a combination in the first place. Berkes’

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 69.

⁷⁹ Berkes, Fikret. 1999, pp. 9.

⁸⁰ Wolfe-Keddie, Jackie. 1995, pp. 69.

⁸¹ Alcorn, Janis B., and Toledo, Victor M. 1998, pp. 228.

suggestion that Indigenous conservation be viewed as “complementary” to Western conservation⁸² is criticized by Vine Deloria, who emphasizes the importance of Indigenous knowledge in and of itself, and not simply because it “helps to bolster the existing and approved [Western] scientific doctrines”.⁸³ Deloria condemns Western science for its arrogance, reductionist tendencies, and conservatism, and suggests that if an exchange of views is ever to occur between Indigenous and Western science, a “fundamental struggle over the question of authority” must occur wherein two things must be done: first, scientific misconceptions about Aboriginals must be eliminated through “corrective measures”, and; second, “there needs to be a way that Indian traditions can contribute to the understanding of scientific beliefs at enough specific points so that the Indian traditions will be taken seriously as valid bodies of knowledge”.⁸⁴

Chief Robert Wavey and Winona LaDuke similarly criticize Western knowledge systems for being unable to provide a viable foundation for sustainable resource management strategies. Chief Wavey states that “non-Aboriginal management systems have created an era of unprecedented opportunity for widespread ecological catastrophe”, and stresses the importance of linking non-traditional Western scientific management approaches with TEK in attempting to find solutions to these catastrophes.⁸⁵ LaDuke agrees with Wavey’s assessment of the origin of the current ecological crisis, yet disagrees with his proposed solution; instead, she dismisses Western scientific management systems entirely and advocates the superiority of TEK as “the clearest empirically based system for resource management and ecosystem protection in North America”.⁸⁶ She goes on to argue that “native societies’ knowledge surpasses the scientific and

⁸² Berkes, Fikret. 1999, pp. 155.

⁸³ Deloria, Vine. 1995, pp. 47.

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 60.

⁸⁵ Wavey, Robert. 1993, pp. 11-12

⁸⁶ LaDuke, Winona. 1994, pp. 127.

social knowledge of the dominant society in its ability to provide information and a management style for environmental planning”.⁸⁷

Like Wavey, Johnson is more optimistic about the possibility of integrating the two knowledge systems, though she acknowledges that this is a “distant goal”.⁸⁸ If such integration is to occur, Johnson claims that the following conditions must be met: first, financial support for the comprehensive documentation of TEK at the political, bureaucratic, scientific, and local levels must be made available; second, governments and the scientific community must recognize the validity of alternative knowledge systems; third, training programs and hands-on learning which encourage support for cross-cultural education of Western and Aboriginal peoples must be available to both groups, and; fourth, Aboriginal claims to land and resources must receive political recognition.⁸⁹ Chief Ed John, in an interview by Jon Kosek, also emphasizes the importance of working with industry and government in light of increasing forest exploitation on behalf of timber companies.⁹⁰ Yet John acknowledges that such an initiative is limited in two ways; first, “there are philosophical differences with government policy”, and; second, in attempting to sustain the community by extracting resources, they are “getting involved in a type of development that, in some ways, conflicts with [their] values”.⁹¹

In light of this conflict, Chief John tells the community that:

We are moving away from our traditional lifestyles into a new way of using the land, but we must remember we can't abandon the past in exchange for what this new resource development will do for us...If we are going to be involved in forestry, we have to make some decisions as to how we are going to do it, how to recognize certain situations, and how far we are prepared to compromise. These are decisions the community has to make, and they are important issues to deal with.⁹²

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Johnson, Martha. 1992, pp. 18.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁰ Kosek, Jon. 1993, 23.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

James McCarthy points to yet another dimension of the debate on Indigenous resource access and management in stating that “traditions, customs, and collective identities are often either invented or significantly reinterpreted in order to bolster the specific claims at stake”.⁹³ McCarthy elaborates on this statement by noting that “another common tactic along these lines is [the] strategic manipulation of Western environmentalists’ often romantic assumptions regarding indigenous groups’ relations with nature”.⁹⁴ David Harvey picks up on this theme in his discussion of the “incredible political diversity to which environmental-ecological opinion is prone”.⁹⁵ Harvey criticizes the notion that Indigenous ecological practices are superior to Western ecological practices simply because Indigenous groups “possess discourses that avow respect for nature rather than the modern ‘Promethean’ attitude of domination or mastery”.⁹⁶ Harvey cautions against the uncritical acceptance of “ecologically conscious” sounding statements, as such statements are often politically misleading.⁹⁷ He further notes that:

Native-Americans may well have strong claims to land rights, to use the landscape as a mnemonic upon which to hang their sense of historical identity, but the creation of an “ecologically conscious” rhetoric about a privileged relation to the land to support them is...an all-too-familiar and dangerous practice.⁹⁸

This statement, combined with Harvey’s assertion that “the thesis of ‘mastery over nature’...does not necessarily entail destructiveness; it can just as easily lead to loving, caring, and nurturing practices”⁹⁹, undermines LaDuke’s emphasis on the superiority of Indigenous resource management systems and indeed any such claims of the viability of Indigenous resource management systems based on Indigenous philosophies of the land. There is of course value in McCarthy and Harvey’s warnings against romanticizing the Indigenous relationship to

⁹³ McCarthy, James. 2002, pp. 1292.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Harvey, David. 1996, pp. 177.

⁹⁶ Ibid, pp. 189.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

nature and Harvey's emphasis on the legal dimension of Aboriginal land rights, yet such statements serve to undermine attempts made on behalf of Aboriginal communities to assert the importance of Indigenous knowledge (especially as a spiritually derived body of knowledge) in resource management. The struggle on behalf of Aboriginal communities to play a meaningful role in resource management is thus accompanied by a myriad of decisions and conflicts.

IV. Community Natural Resource Management (CNRM)

i. Characteristics of CNRM

The multiplicity of decisions and conflicts involved in attempting to reconcile Indigenous and western management systems is made apparent in reviewing the literature on Community Natural Resource Management (CNRM). Stephen Kellert *et al.* attempt to unify the various expressions of CNRM (which include “social and community forestry, community wildlife management, cooperative or comanagement, buffer zone management, participatory multipurpose community projects, communal area management for indigenous resources, and others”¹⁰⁰) by listing their shared characteristics, such as:

- A commitment to involve community members and local institutions in the management and conservation of natural resources;
- An interest in devolving power and authority from central and/or state government to more local and often indigenous institutions and peoples;
- A desire to link and reconcile the objectives of socioeconomic development and environmental conservation and protection;
- A tendency to defend and legitimize local and/or indigenous resource and property rights, and;
- A belief in the desirability of including traditional values and ecological knowledge in modern resource management.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Kellert, Stephen, *et al.* 2000, pp. 705-706.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 706.

ii. Implementation of CNRM in Canada

Kellert *et al.* point to the difficulties involved in successfully achieving the goals of CNRM as a result of complications and organizational challenges.¹⁰² This is because the effective implementation of CNRM involves a “careful and difficult blending of local, national, and sometimes international interests and institutions, as well as reconciling multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives”, while state resource management systems (though faced with a number of smaller difficulties) are “often less complicated and difficult”.¹⁰³

Such a statement treats state and Aboriginal systems as isolated entities and ignores the fact that the state is often the primary contributor to the “difficulties” involved in attempting to implement viable CNRM strategies. In fact, James Scott blames early state administrative routines for the decimation of original forms of local resource management, because the state, in its rush to homogenize measurement systems in the interests of “state security”, ignored Indigenous peoples as well as their common-property regimes.¹⁰⁴ According to James Scott, “the state’s case against communal forms of land tenure...was based on the correct observation that it was fiscally illegible and hence financially less productive”.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, “the very concept of the modern state presupposes a vastly simplified and uniform property regime that is legible and hence manipulable from the center”.¹⁰⁶ Elinor Ostrom offers a similar analysis in her discussion of state manipulation of the deep-sea fishery off the eastern coast of Canada.¹⁰⁷ Ostrom forecasts the deterioration of the locally evolved system should “Canadian authorities continue to try to develop a single policy for all fisheries along the entire east coast”.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Ibid, pp. 707.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Scott, James, pp. 49.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 39.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 35.

¹⁰⁷ Ostrom, Elinor. 1990, pp. 177.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Many authors argue that recent efforts to implement CNRM in Canada have been undermined by this very form of manipulation. Colin Scott claims that “state-imposed regimes of political jurisdiction and property...severely restrict the right of Aboriginal societies to regulate or share in the benefits of development”, and argues that these regimes require a “major redefinition” if Aboriginal agendas for autonomous development are to be realized.¹⁰⁹ However, in their analysis of the significance of Cree participation in forest management under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA), Harvey Feit and Robert Beaulieu demonstrate that even when redefinition is thought to have occurred, such is not always the case. Feit and Beaulieu note that “to date, neither the provisions of the JBNQA...[which include the] establishment of a new forestry regime in Quebec [and] company payments to stewards...nor those for provincewide public participation in forestry decision making have been effectively implemented”.¹¹⁰ Instead, the authors argue that these initiatives have focused on simply creating the *appearance* of Aboriginal consent and participation in resource management as part of a larger project to legitimate “the existing decisions of governments and corporations”.¹¹¹ Forestry companies have essentially been using “participation” to meet the following two goals:

- To tie the Cree (and environmentalists) to a set of procedures and incentives that change forestry practices very modestly, if at all, and;
- To clear away public distrust, international protests, and marketplace anxieties by claiming that those groups who have legitimate claims have participated in and consented to what is happening.¹¹²

Yet despite the fact that participation is actually being used by governments and corporations to limit the extent to which the public and various interest groups are able to contribute to the decision making process surrounding the management of Quebec’s forests, Feit and Beaulieu

¹⁰⁹ Scott, Colin. 2001, pp. 6.

¹¹⁰ Feit, Harvey, and Beaulieu. Robert. 2001, pp. 143.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

recognize that the frustration produced as a result acts as an impetus for further action by strengthening public opposition and motivating “specific groups to develop diverse and complex strategies to seek meaningful changes”.¹¹³ Similarly, Colin Scott notes the necessity of periodic confrontation insofar as it is able to generate media attention and public support for change.¹¹⁴

David Haley and Martin Luckert investigate some of the changes that *have* occurred in the ways in which public forests in British Columbia have been perceived and managed in recent years.¹¹⁵ One such change involves growing support for the reallocation of user rights away from industrial corporations and towards individuals, groups, and public agencies whose goals are better able to reflect larger societal objectives.¹¹⁶ The authors note a particular enthusiasm for the establishment of community forests, wherein “those who are most directly affected by forests should be given responsibility for their management”.¹¹⁷

It is within this context that the Community Forest pilot project was initiated by the B.C. Ministry of Forests in 1997, when a Community Forest Advisory Committee (CFAC) was appointed “to make recommendations on the features of a community forest tenure”, to select community forest pilots, and to develop “a process to monitor and evaluate the pilots. CFAC includes representatives from communities, First Nations, forest workers, industry, environmental groups and academia”.¹¹⁸ The community forest tenure is, according to the Ministry of Forests “intended to provide new opportunities for community management of Crown forest land. By providing communities with greater flexibility to manage local forests”, [the] government hopes to:

¹¹³ Ibid, pp. 144-145.

¹¹⁴ Scott, Colin. 2001, pp. 423.

¹¹⁵ Haley, David, and Luckert, Martin K. 1998, pp. 123.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 144.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 146.

¹¹⁸ B.C. Ministry of Forests. 2003 (Project History).

- provide long-term opportunities for achieving a range of community objectives, including employment, forest-related education and skills training and other social, environmental and economic benefits;
- balance uses of forest resources;
- meet the objectives of government in respect of environmental stewardship including the management of timber, water, fisheries, wildlife and cultural heritage resources;
- enhance the use of and benefits derived from the community forest agreement area;
- encourage co-operation among stakeholders; and
- provide social and economic benefits to British Columbia¹¹⁹.

However, although community forests and local interests may be better able to represent broader social values (in terms of their ability to reflect the “diverse nature of social welfare” and to potentially “alleviate problems associated with industrial concentration¹²⁰) than existing industrial tenures, Haley and Luckert echo Kellert *et al.*’s warning that “the promise and rhetoric [of CNRM] represent one reality, and the implementation and delivery on optimistic aspirations and pronouncements quite another”¹²¹ in citing the many difficulties associated with the actual establishment of community forests in British Columbia. The authors include among these the political difficulty involved in defining communities (and hence the beneficiaries of the benefits derived from community forests) and the anticipated political unacceptability of the devolution of provincial government powers to local interests.¹²²

Despite these difficulties, however, existing forestry tenure regimes must be changed, for as Harry Bombay notes, such systems “recognize neither aboriginal and treaty rights nor the local economic benefit of subsistence activities”.¹²³ Colin Scott further critiques existing tenure

¹¹⁹ Ibid (Project Objectives).

¹²⁰ Haley, David, and Luckert, Martin K. 1998, pp. 146-147.

¹²¹ Kellert, Stephen, *et al.* 2000, pp. 706-707.

¹²² Haley, David, and Luckert, Martin K. 1998, pp. 146.

¹²³ Bombay, Harry. 1993, pp. 17.

regimes as enabling the state to maintain colonial control over Aboriginal peoples.¹²⁴ In order to legitimize claims that the state no longer does exercise colonial control over Aboriginals, and indeed, in order to meet human rights standards of self-determination, Colin Scott emphasizes the necessity of “a sharing of sovereign powers with Aboriginal peoples- including a veto over policies affecting them”.¹²⁵ To this end, Colin Scott comments on the counter-productivity of so-called “half-measures” that attempt “to limit Aboriginal governments to municipal-like status, or to confer upon them only narrow jurisdictional functions that pose no threat of competition to provincial or federal governments”.¹²⁶

In light of these limitations, Deborah Curran and Michael M’Gonigle note that “the outlook in Canada is not promising”.¹²⁷ Their assessment of Aboriginal rights and forestry in the Canadian context emphasizes the fact that:

First Nations have no direct management control over activities on traditional lands except by participating in the existing tenure system...[which] is characterized by volume-based timber extraction by large corporations with little or no regard for the maintenance of either ecosystem integrity or the quality of the life of the community in which they are operating.¹²⁸

The ability of either specific new tenure regimes or general treaty negotiations to increase community control over forests in Canada is questioned by Curran and M’Gonigle, as such initiatives may be insufficient to allow First Nations to “retain that historic connection to the land and to support those social controls that will ensure community regulation of an ecosystem-based forestry regime”.¹²⁹ Moreover, the ability of such initiatives to allow for the meaningful participation of all members of a given community in the resource management system is

¹²⁴ Scott, Colin. 2001, pp. 418.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid, pp. 422.

¹²⁷ Curran, Deborah, and M’Gonigle, Michael. 1997, pp. 13.

¹²⁸ Ibid, pp. 7.

¹²⁹ Ibid, pp. 13.

unclear. As such, the particular role of CNRM in facilitating community participation and development in Bamfield and Ana'cla will be assessed in the case study portion of this report.

V. Conclusion

Within the literature on Indigenous knowledge and resource management, there is a great deal of debate regarding the definition of "Indigenous knowledge", the character of Aboriginal resource management systems, the compatibility of Aboriginal and Western resource management systems, and the value of CNRM and other so-called "participatory" tenure arrangements emerging in Canada. The literature on gender and political ecology, which is the focus of the following chapter, is no less diverse.

CHAPTER THREE: Gender And Political Ecology

I. Introduction

Any attempt to assess the opportunities for participation that are - or have the potential to be - accorded to Aboriginal women through existing or emerging tenure regimes requires a review of some of the literature on gender and political ecology. Various definitions of the term “political ecology” will be explored in this chapter, as will be the role of the discourse of development in shaping the futures of Indigenous peoples. The remainder of the chapter will focus on gender, including a description of the traditional place that women held in Aboriginal societies and a discussion of the division of labour along gender lines (both traditionally and at present). Women’s Indigenous knowledge, and the unfortunate lack of power that such knowledge tends to hold in many Indigenous communities at present, is also investigated.

II. Political Ecology

Political ecology is defined by Raymond Bryant as “the attempt to understand the political sources, conditions, and ramifications of environmental change”.¹³⁰ Bryant further clarifies the term by citing Blaikie and Brookfield’s definition of political ecology as a combination of “the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. Together, this encompasses the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within society itself”.¹³¹ Yet Bryant acknowledges that this interpretation often lends itself to economic reductionism and a subsequent simplification of reality and diminishing of analytical accuracy; as such, he advocates that political ecology be understood as inclusive, taking into account the significance of environmental factors, state and

¹³⁰ Bryant, Raymond L. 1992, pp. 13.

¹³¹ Blaikie and Brookfield (1997), cited in Bryant, Raymond L. 1992, pp. 13.

interstate forces, and socially disadvantaged groups.¹³² To this end, Bryant argues that Third-World political ecology be “premised on the view that it must be sensitive to the interplay of diverse socio-political forces, and the relationship of those forces to environmental change”.¹³³ Peet and Watts further call into question the theoretical coherence of political ecology as a field of study, arguing that the approach appears to be fraught with “tensions and heterogeneities”.¹³⁴ While Peet and Watts recognize the usefulness of political ecology in advancing the understanding of nature-society relations by largely dispelling the notion that resource degradation is exclusively related to population pressure or mismanagement of the resource, they also cite a number of limits and weaknesses of political ecology which began to emerge in the late 1970s.¹³⁵ These include the approach’s narrow emphasis on poverty rather than affluence/capital as the main cause of ecological destruction, its bias towards agrarian, rural, Third World issues rather than urban matters, and the fact that it often privileges land over other resources.¹³⁶ In response to these criticisms (especially the poverty-centered aspect of the analysis), the authors advocate the need for “a theory capable of explaining how the poverty of specific land managers is reproduced through determinate structures and by specific relations of production”.¹³⁷

Thus, akin to Bryant’s assertion that political ecology must be made to be more inclusive of a diversity of factors which contribute to ecological degradation, Peet and Watts argue for the extension of the frontiers of political ecology, so that the connections between capitalist growth and environmental outcomes are made more explicit, the roles played by political action and the institutions of civil society in shaping resource access are better understood, the importance of

¹³² Ibid, pp. 13-14.

¹³³ Ibid, pp. 14.

¹³⁴ Peet and Watts. 1996. pp. 6.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pp. 7.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

the production and reproduction of knowledge and discourse is acknowledged, and “ecology” is redefined in a manner which “is especially sensitive to rethinking space-time relations to understand the complex dynamics of local environmental relations”.¹³⁸

Bryant converges with Peet and Watts in his criticisms of political ecology in its current conception on several levels. First, although Bryant does not believe that the struggle for access to resources began with capitalism and colonialism, he acknowledges the importance of colonialism and capitalism in redefining the struggle over access to resources in the Third World.¹³⁹ Second, Bryant states that “a more adequate inquiry...must deconstruct commonly used terms that typically conceal more than they reveal (‘peasant’, ‘state’, ‘TNC’) in order to expose the complex reality embedded in them”.¹⁴⁰ Third, Bryant discusses the role of the socially-disadvantaged in presenting “a potentially potent challenge to local, national and even international political processes” via the overt strategies of collective resistance manifested in environmental movements.¹⁴¹ Fourth, Bryant discusses the troubles that arise when such movements focus solely on the local, stating that “the location-specific focus of the environmental movement weakens, and may ultimately limit, their ability to redefine prevailing power structures”.¹⁴² Similarly, in discussing the role of social movements in contributing to a new “liberation ecology”, Peet and Watts comment on the largely local purview of the environmental movement literature, and note with surprise that “little is said in the ‘environment as social movement’ literature about the conditions under which local movements transcend their locality, and hence contribute to the building of a robust civil society”.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Ibid, pp. 9-12.

¹³⁹ Bryant, Raymond L. 1992, pp. 23.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 27.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Peet and Watts. 1996, pp. 35-36.

Although Bryant and Peet and Watts concur in their critique of political ecology, they offer different solutions. While Bryant's proposal for change is more compartmentalized, focusing on providing specific solutions for specific problems¹⁴⁴, Peet and Watts attempt to redefine the field of political ecology as a whole; what emerges is a new "liberation ecology", wherein:

The intention is not simply to *add* politics to political ecology, but to raise the emancipatory potential of environmental ideas and to engage directly with the larger landscape of debates over modernity, its institutions, and its knowledges [via] a discourse about nature [that is] Marxist in origin, poststructural in recent influence, politically transformative in intent, but subject still to the fiercest of debates.¹⁴⁵

Bryant and Peet and Watts take for granted that political ecology is to be applied in a developing world context, yet James McCarthy uses the example of the Wise Use movement of the rural United States to illustrate the potential applicability of this approach to environmental conflicts in advanced capitalist countries. McCarthy claims that such disparate cases can be united by a "shared focus on certain themes in the study of rural resource conflicts"; according to McCarthy, it is the presence of these themes that defines political ecology, more so than "any consistent theoretical or methodological *approach* to them".¹⁴⁶ Such themes include:

Access to and control over resources; marginality; integration of scales of analysis; the effects of integration into international markets; the centrality of livelihood issues; ambiguities in property rights and the importance of informal claims to resource use and access; the importance of local histories, meanings, culture, and 'micropolitics' in resource use; the disenfranchisement of legitimate local users and uses; the effects of limited state capacity; and the imbrications of all of these with colonial and postcolonial legacies and dynamics.¹⁴⁷

McCarthy argues that despite its situation in the First World, Wise Use's claims of being "a grass roots social movement, rooted in regional culture, responding to overtly intrusive

¹⁴⁴ Bryant, Raymond L. 1992, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴⁵ Peet and Watts. 1996. pp. 37.

¹⁴⁶ McCarthy, James, 2002, pp. 1283.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

outsiders” attempting to threaten their historical, privileged access to federally owned lands in the American West through regional restructuring embody “many features often said to be diagnostic of social movements centered on resource use and access in the global South”.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, McCarthy notes links between the factors which motivate actors to seek control over resources in both the developing and developed worlds, the importance of local-scale politics and informal and community property rights in shaping access to and control over resources in both contexts, the limited ability of the state in the developing and developed worlds to comprehensively monitor resource use and enforce laws and regulation due to a lack of coherence, the emphasis in both regions on the development of moral economies with strong traditional and normative elements rather than capitalist modernity, the role of local culture and cultural politics in legitimizing claims for rights of access, and the lingering role of colonialism in shaping access to resources in both the First and Third Worlds (though this role is far more prominent with respect to the latter).¹⁴⁹ McCarthy believes that the failure to recognize the connections between these claims has severely limited attempts to analyze resource use and conflicts in the United States.¹⁵⁰ Though the actual validity of such claims in the United States’ Wise Use movement is questionable, the fact that the movement appealed to them in attempting to further its agenda illustrates that “the core concerns and approaches of political ecology are directly relevant to research on environmental politics in First World locales”.¹⁵¹ Such would unquestionably be the case in areas of the First World which sustain Third World conditions, including many Aboriginal reservations and territories.

Despite the fact that McCarthy attempts to apply political ecology to First World resource conflicts, his work continues to illustrate one of the criticisms leveled against political

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, pp. 1282-1283.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, pp.1284-1296.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 1287.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 1297.

ecology literature by Peet and Watts; in stating that “a shared focus on certain themes in the study of rural resource conflicts” is what largely defines political ecology as a field of study, McCarthy’s work illustrates Peet and Watts’ earlier critique of political ecology as being biased towards rural, agrarian issues, rather than urban matters. Moreover, though his comparisons between the issues raised by the Wise Use movement in the United States and the broader issues raised by the “global South” are helpful in illustrating the potential applicability of political ecology in a First World context, McCarthy tends to downplay the very different manifestations and scales of these issues in the North and South; as such, his comparisons seem somewhat contrived at times.

III. Discourse and Development

According to Peet and Watts, the “Western, modernist discursive foundation [which]...has as its dynamic theme the core concept of ‘development’....[has seized] control of the discursive terrain, subjugating alternative discourses which Third World people have articulated to express their desire for different societal objectives”.¹⁵² Yet Anthony Bebbington, in his study of the role of popular and non-governmental organizations in promoting rural social change and agricultural development in Ecuador, goes to great pains to illustrate the notion that “academic understanding of alternatives may be neither appropriate nor congruent with that of rural people”.¹⁵³ Instead, Bebbington argues that “modernization, far from being a cause of cultural erosion, is explicitly seen as a means of cultural survival”¹⁵⁴ because only in alleviating rural poverty by increasing local income opportunities can Indigenous communities and their knowledge survive. As such, any attempts to propose farmer-first, IK-based solutions to environmental problems and dismiss projects of development and modernization fail to take the

¹⁵² Peet and Watts. 1996. pp. 17.

¹⁵³ Bebbington, Anthony. 1996, pp. 90.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 101.

socio-economic, political, and cultural context into question.¹⁵⁵ Bebbington proposes that IK be understood as “a dynamic response to changing contexts”, wherein wider processes such as development and modernization “provide resources and ideas that are taken in and reworked by indigenous peoples”.¹⁵⁶

Similarly, Haripriya Rangan argues that the rise of the Chipko movement in India was motivated not by desires for “environmental protection or alternatives to development”¹⁵⁷, but by a desire to promote economic development in the Garhwal Himalayas. Moreover, she attempts to “challenge some contemporary views that see new social movements in the Third World as grassroots agents seeking alternatives to development” by arguing that “social protests in post-independence India are, contrary to these views, centrally concerned with access to development, and forcing the state to assume greater responsibility in addressing problems of uneven regional development and social inequity”.¹⁵⁸ In fact, Rangan notes that “development” in India is a term charged with the promise of creating greater prosperity and social equity for all.¹⁵⁹ As a result of this symbolism, the discourse of development “confuses (or perhaps condenses within it) the conceptually rigid boundaries between state, markets, and civil society. It simultaneously creates a space for institutional participation and provides the language for radical critique”.¹⁶⁰

However, the Chipko movement was ultimately romanticized to the point that it became detached from its initial demands for local economic development.¹⁶¹ Moreover, “environmentalists in India and elsewhere, rapt and slavish in their adoration and assiduous pursuit of romance with Chipko’s ecological reincarnation, have been oblivious to the process of

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, pp. 91.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 104.

¹⁵⁷ Rangan, Haripriya. 1996, pp. 205.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 206.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 207.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 209.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 217.

marginalization continuing in the region”.¹⁶² Internal demands “for an expanded moral economy that *includes* development, democracy, and social justice” are thus being undermined by contemporary scholarly debates calling for a “post-development” or “alternate-development” era.¹⁶³

These assertions call into question the oft-cited distinction and tension between First Nations indigenous philosophies towards the land on the one hand, and capitalist resource extraction agendas on the other by indicating that many Indigenous communities do want to engage in profitable development projects. This is especially apparent in the case of the BHCF, where it is the HFN community, rather than the non-Native community of Bamfield, that is often perceived as and accused of wanting to engage in unsustainable forestry in exchange for a quick financial payoff.

IV. The Traditional Role of Aboriginal Women

Women played a central role in the unfolding of the Chipko movement, and indeed, Indigenous women have traditionally played very important roles in their communities in general. Clarkson *et al.* dismiss ethnocentric anthropological portrayals of Indigenous society wherein Aboriginal women are depicted as leading “hard and laborious” lives while the lives of Aboriginal men are shown as being “full of gamesmanship and revelry”.¹⁶⁴ Instead, they argue, men hunted and women worked around the camp out of survival necessity; the presence of these roles was a “survival requirement”, and it is only by today’s Western standards that women’s traditional roles have been interpreted as demeaning and sexist.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the authors argue that the current treatment of Aboriginal women is a reflection not of traditional Indigenous history,

¹⁶² Ibid, pp. 222.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Curran, Deborah, and M’Gonigle, Michael. 1997, pp. 13.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 9.

but rather of Indigenous contact with Western society.¹⁶⁶ Although most of the work that women contributed was “in the context of the immediate environment of the camp”, the authors claim that it was not devalued as in Western society because:

Women were the ones who had the ability of Creation, they could bring life into the world. Their role was defined by their biology to some degree. As the creators of life, they were charged with the sacred responsibility of caring for the needs of the next generation...In fact, we are told that women should be afforded the utmost respect, for it is only they who have the capacity to create new life. They are closer to the Creator than men could ever hope to be. Balance is natural to them while men struggle each day of their lives to achieve and maintain this.¹⁶⁷

This sentiment is repeated often to varying degrees within the literature. Margaret Sam-Cromarty, for example, states that “there is a reason why Mother Earth is called a female. There’s a special power in a woman and a mother”.¹⁶⁸ In her discussion of the authority of women in relation to Treaty 6 (the “Peace and Friendship Treaty” of 1876 signed between the Crown and the Cree, Assiniboiné, Saulteau, and Dene Peoples), Sharon Venne supports Clarkson *et al.*’s accusations of eurocentrism and expands upon the spiritual connection with Mother Earth indicated by Sam-Cromarty.¹⁶⁹ In reference to eurocentrism, Venne states that “it is sometimes assumed that Indigenous women held the same inferior status as non-Indigenous women of the same time period. Nothing could be further from the truth”.¹⁷⁰ Instead, she (like Clarkson *et al.*) argues that this view of women in Aboriginal society “is often the result of applying a Eurocentric model to historical material”.¹⁷¹ Venne goes on to examine the role of women in the treaty-making process and explains the importance of the fact that women did not sign the treaties. She notes that a result of their “spiritual connection with the Creator and

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Clarkson, *et al.* 1992, pp. 8.

¹⁶⁸ Sam-Cromarty, Margaret. 1996, pp. 102.

¹⁶⁹ Venne, Sharon. 1997, pp.191.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

Mother Earth, it is the women who own the land”.¹⁷² As such, she argues that the men knew they did not have the right to sign away possession of traditional lands to the Crown; they thought instead that they were agreeing to share the land.¹⁷³

V. The Gendered Division of Labor

In discussing the traditional division of labor in Aboriginal societies, Clarkson *et al.* note that it was based on need, survival, and family structure.¹⁷⁴ Louise Grenier also discusses the organization of labor along gender lines, noting that “women and men’s knowledge reflect their labor responsibilities”.¹⁷⁵ Women, for example, are often the daily managers. She cites Simpson in describing the many activities that are assigned to different gender and age groups in a community, which include “caring for livestock, cultivating specific food and cash crops, collecting wild fruits and leaves, processing, preparing, and preserving food, selecting seeds, and propagating plants”.¹⁷⁶

Several recent studies support this conception of the traditional division of labor along gender lines. A study conducted by the Shastri Institute from May 1999 to March 2001 examined the changing roles of Aboriginal women in forestry in both Uttara Kannada, India, and among the Dene population of the Hay River area in Canada’s Northwest Territories.¹⁷⁷ Researchers categorized women by age in an attempt to better understand the way in which women’s gender roles in relation to forest uses change over time.¹⁷⁸ Past gender roles of women were found to include childrearing, preparing meat, gathering wood, berries and medicinal plants, preparing hides, making clothing crafts, and educating daughters, while men’s roles

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid, pp. 191-192.

¹⁷⁴ Clarkson, *et al.* 1992, pp. 8.

¹⁷⁵ Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 38.

¹⁷⁶ Simpson, 1994, cited in Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 38.

¹⁷⁷ Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

involved hunting big game, attending to trap lines, and educating sons.¹⁷⁹ Several activities, such as fishing, making nets and snares, hunting small game, gathering wood, and attending to rabbit snares were traditionally shared by both men and women.¹⁸⁰

In contrast, the study defines present gender roles as consisting of childbearing, gathering berries and medicinal plants, and sewing, embroidery and crafts for women, while men remain responsible for hunting big game.¹⁸¹ Fishing, preparing the meat, trapping, hunting small game, and full-time, part-time or seasonal work are now shared to varying degrees by both men and women¹⁸². Importantly, the study found that “historically women had a community management role” that was undermined by political influence through moral persuasion.¹⁸³ As a result, the participation of women in recent co-management initiatives “has been largely superficial and their indigenous knowledge regarding forests has been ignored”.¹⁸⁴

The work of Judith Carney points not towards the traditional division of labor along gender lines, but to the creation of such divisions as the result of recent political-economic changes. In her study of wetland change in Gambia, Carney acknowledges that “class as well as non-class struggles over resources are frequently mediated in the idiom of gender”¹⁸⁵ and points to the “multiple ways in which women contest and renegotiate their access to resources”.¹⁸⁶

According to Carney:

A poststructuralist emphasis on gender and household relations offers political ecology a better conceptualization of the complex and historically changing relations that shape rural land-use decisions...This emphasis brings attention to the crucial role of family authority relations and property relations in structuring the gendered division of labor and access to rural resources.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Carney 1996, 165.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 183.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 165.

Carney's analysis of the environmental transformation of the wetlands in Gambia focuses on a series of political-economic changes that "resulted in an increasingly specialized use of agricultural space and a more gendered division of labor".¹⁸⁸ Carney notes that this gendered division of labor was initially the result of male involvement in cash cropping and women's involvement in rice cultivation (the dietary staple) in the commodity production of the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁹ Colonial forces further imposed on local agrarian practices during the Green Revolution, forcing women to reach the limits of subsistence rice cultivation; the involvement of men was desperately needed, yet men resisted and continue to resist repeated attempts on behalf of the colonial and post-colonial state to force them into working in rice cultivation, attempting to "deflect the labor burden in rice growing onto their wives and daughters while simultaneously making new claims to the surpluses produced by female labor. They have facilitated this objective by manipulating customary tenure 'laws' to reduce women's individual land rights in developed wetlands".¹⁹⁰ For women "'development' has thus meant the delivery of female labor for intensified rice farming without concomitant income gains", as the increasing concentration of land within the communal land tenure system has denied women benefits from rice production.¹⁹¹ The result has been a gender conflict centered on the steady erosion of women's rights to own crops and increasing female militancy.¹⁹² Carney attributes these conflicts over resource access and control to the many meanings associated with the Mandinka term "*maruo*".¹⁹³ In referring "simultaneously to the household landholding as well as to the labor obligations of family members towards collective food production", "*maruo*"

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 168.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 170.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 173-174.

¹⁹² Ibid, pp. 170-171.

¹⁹³ Ibid, pp. 171.

creates confusion between family and communal ownership.¹⁹⁴ Ultimately, a form of enclosure which utilized the *maruo* designation has been able to “weaken women’s customary rights to rural resources so that male heads of households can capture their labor for individualized accumulation”¹⁹⁵, illustrating the relationship between discursive elements and access to property. Similarly, in the case of the HFN, it was found that the discourse surrounding forestry tended to dissuade women from engaging more formally in forestry initiatives, and indeed, in even taking an interest in such initiatives, insofar as forestry is framed discursively as being a “man’s world”. The implications of this discourse will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

VI. Women’s Indigenous Knowledge

The finding that women do possess specific Indigenous knowledge regarding forests is also noted in Paul Robbins’ study of political ecology and environmental knowledge at the Kumbhalgarh Wildlife Sanctuary in India.¹⁹⁶ Robbins argues that “differing ‘knowledge communities’ are occupied by both state servants and local producers...[that correspond] to different livelihoods, resource endowments, career trajectories, and positions relative to axes of power”.¹⁹⁷ According to Robbins, different groups produce their own local knowledge about the forest, and the most powerful of these are seized and reproduced by the state.¹⁹⁸ Robbins identifies four distinct knowledge groups that value the forest for very different reasons; these four groups “can further be distinguished by the species they use and the kinds of uses they

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, pp. 184.

¹⁹⁶ Robbins, Paul. 2000, pp. 127.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

understand, their accounts of environmental change, and by class, caste, gender, and livelihood differences that parallel these differences in knowledge”.¹⁹⁹

In analyzing the constituents of the first and largest knowledge group, that which “prefers species with medicinal value or importance of famine food”, Robbins notes the presence of a large percentage of women from a mix of caste and class backgrounds.²⁰⁰ He explains why the women in this group hail from mixed backgrounds while the men hail largely from marginal castes and tribes by inferring that “it is likely that the gendered division of labor, in even middle and upper caste and class households, creates differences in forest species use and knowledge”.²⁰¹ A number of women from the pastoral Raika caste are also members of Robbins’ second knowledge group, which “show[s] a preference for forest grasses and trees with value as fodder”. According to Robbins, this finding suggests that “it would seem that gender matters greatly in explaining environmental knowledge but that other axes of difference, like livelihood, are important for explaining the knowledge of any given woman”.²⁰² It is for this reason that the Report of the Working Group on Women, Tenure, and Agroforestry recommends that “in all ongoing and future agroforestry research, all data should be disaggregated by gender, age, class and type of production system”.²⁰³

Grenier claims that because knowledge does vary along gender lines, neither men nor women have the ability to represent the knowledge of their community to its full extent when their knowledge is taken separately; only when taken together can a knowledge system “specific to local conditions and priorities” be formed.²⁰⁴ Research that aims to engage local knowledge systems must therefore “capture the different sets of knowledge and pay particular attention to

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 133.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, pp. 134.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid, pp. 136.

²⁰³ Report of the Working Group on Women, Tenure, and Agroforestry. 1985, pp. 370.

²⁰⁴ Grenier, Louise. 1998, pp. 39.

whose knowledge is being included...researchers need to pay greater attention to listening to and learning from men's and women's different experiences, needs, and knowledge".²⁰⁵

VII. Knowledge and Power

Unfortunately, Grenier notes that women's Indigenous knowledge systems have until recently been considered as inferior to men's knowledge, and have even been regarded at times as nonknowledge.²⁰⁶ Dianne Rocheleau and Larry Ross' account of the role of trees "as instruments of power and as tools of empowerment deployed by a diversity of actors at national, regional, local, and household levels" in the Dominican Republic demonstrates a rather recent example of this phenomenon, but their analysis provides a more critical evaluation of gendered knowledge as a social construct.²⁰⁷ The authors note that "the gendered division of work, resources, responsibilities, and rewards in households, communities, and regional institutions" has been shaped by uneven power relations between men and women.²⁰⁸ Women's knowledge of fruit trees and cash crops has been dismissed by men in their pursuit of timber tree production, which is regarded as requiring "a man's skill, sense, and strength".²⁰⁹ Thus, the authors note that "ideological constructs of gendered knowledge and authority have influenced the material distribution of benefits from timber production".²¹⁰

In order to avoid this type of outcome, Rocheleau emphasizes the importance of securing women's legal rights to the land and resources.²¹¹ She notes that changes in the interpretation and enforcement of legal codes are likely necessary in ensuring women's "access to decision-making about land and trees, and to land and trees as goods"; such changes:

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Rocheleau, Dianne, and Ross, Laurie. 1995, pp. 408.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 415.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Rocheleau, Dianne. 1987, pp. 100.

...may be as sweeping as a national legislative reform to improve women's legal status as property owners and claimants. [They] may also be as simple as a change in interpretation of existing national laws in order to facilitate internal reforms of customary law, by ethnic group, to broaden and/or protect and formalize women's rights of ownership and access to land and trees.²¹²

Either way, Rocheleau claims that a broader approach to tenure security is required if women's concerns are to be addressed.²¹³

In a similar study by Richard Schroeder and Krisnawati Suryanata, the authors attempt to "redirect attention to agroforestry as a site of contentious political struggle", rather than simply assume (which is often the case) that policies and practices related to agroforestry are beneficial to all local interests.²¹⁴ The authors claim that because agroforestries are by nature spatially enclosed systems, they "often encapsulate the social conflicts that permeate societies".²¹⁵ Schroeder and Suryanata focus their inquiry on agroforestry initiatives in West Africa and Indonesia; both cases illustrate "the contradictions of efforts to stabilize the environment through the market as commoditization leads to shifting patterns of resource access and control".²¹⁶

In Gambia, the attempt to add trees to low-lying women's gardens resulted in male interest in planting fruit orchards in the same location; the men were able to appropriate this land because "rights of access are granted on a usufruct basis to groups...under circumstances such as the gardens in question, where the tree planter is also the landholder, the tree crop takes precedence over other forms of cultivation".²¹⁷ However, the would-be orchard owners were also dependant upon the labor of women's groups; as such, no one group had total control over

²¹² Ibid, pp. 103.

²¹³ Ibid, pp. 102.

²¹⁴ Schroeder, R., and Suryanata, K. 1996, pp. 189.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 200.

²¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 190-191.

the land in question.²¹⁸ As the women growers began to profit from complex intercropping strategies, the male landowners began to balk at the perceived sense of legitimacy and permanence that fruit production was conferring on women's usufruct rights.²¹⁹ A number of women participated in demonstrations to uphold their usufruct rights; their interests shifted in favor of growing vegetables, while male landowners began to embrace fruit growing where they could "'capture' a female labor force to water trees, manure plots, and guard against livestock incursions within the fenced parameters".²²⁰ An attempt at compromise was undermined by the landholders, which subsequently led to a retaliation by the female growers.²²¹ Gender conflict between husbands and wives in Gambia has thus "grown out of multiple tenure claims to patrilineal land which intensified with the commoditization of fruit trees".²²²

In Java, the development of agroforestry based on apple growing in the village of Gubugklakah in the 1970s has been hugely popular.²²³ Yet despite the fact that land tenure rights in Java are not customarily distinguished along gender lines, the economic boom conditions produced by the apple-based agroforestry produced a conflict between apple growers and vegetable gardeners similar to that found in Gambia.²²⁴ The separation of tree tenure from land tenure was reinforced by the high commercial value of apples, and "a new class of 'apple-lords' emerged as the village's dominant power".²²⁵ Tree tenure began to be transferred in many cases without the transfer of the land itself; in such cases, spatial conflict between vegetables and apple trees has increased, as apple workers frequently trample vegetable gardens.²²⁶ As a result, "many fields have effectively turned into monoculture apple orchards which deprive

²¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 191.

²¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 192.

²²⁰ Ibid, pp. 193.

²²¹ Ibid, pp. 194.

²²² Ibid, pp. 201.

²²³ Ibid, pp. 196.

²²⁴ Ibid, pp. 197.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid, pp. 198-199.

landowners of access to their own land”.²²⁷ Moreover, “the tree boom in upland Java was the cause of an inter-class tenure conflict as commercialization polarized the village’s peasantry”.²²⁸ Rather than assuming that agroforestry is universally beneficial to all citizens, the authors thus point out the multiple ways in which a neglect of social relations in devising and implementing agroforestry schemes can lead to gender and class conflicts.

VIII. Conclusion

In reviewing some of the relevant literature on Indigenous knowledge and resource management, community natural resource management, and gender and political ecology, it becomes apparent that the relationships between Indigenous knowledge and tenure regimes require further investigation; in particular, the relationship of women’s Indigenous knowledge to emerging tenure regimes is crucial if such regimes are to represent something other than the sorts of “half-measures” that are currently being implemented across Canada. To this effect, a case study of the involvement of Native women in the newly established Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest in British Columbia, Canada, was undertaken, the results of which are presented in the following two chapters.

²²⁷ Ibid, pp. 199.

²²⁸ Ibid, pp. 201.

PART THREE: CASE STUDY

CHAPTER FOUR: The Bamfield Huu-Ay-Aht Community Forest (BHCF)

I. Introduction

For a period of five weeks commencing in May of 2004, I conducted a case study with the communities of Bamfield, Ana'cla, and Port Alberni of Vancouver Island's West Coast in an attempt to better understand the planning and management of a recently devised community forest in the area, an initiative undertaken by the Native and non-Native communities in partnership with each other. Designed as a community directed management system, the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society (BHCFS) is officially composed of 9 Board members – most of whom operate on a strictly voluntary basis – who determine the direction of planning for the BHCF, and will oversee its management once harvesting has begun. The BHCFS “is geared towards sustainable forest practices within a rural community, giving local residents opportunities for management, employment, and education”.²²⁹

The extent to which these “opportunities” are allowing for the meaningful participation of HFN women in the Community Forest will be the focus of the next chapter; here, the BHCFS will itself be investigated as a management entity. In so doing, the goal is to provide one example of the practical shape participatory resource tenure regimes are taking in Canada, as well as to investigate areas of contestation and convergence between the Native and non-Native communities involved in the BHCF. The chapter will begin by providing background information about the communities of Ana'cla and Bamfield, and a brief account of forestry in the region, both historically and at present. The BHCFS will then be addressed, centering on an

²²⁹ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^a.

account of the Board members' ideas and perceptions of the partnership between the two communities, community participation, goals and visions, and the role that non-timber forest products will ultimately play in the BHCF.

II. The Huu-ay-aht First Nation (HFN)

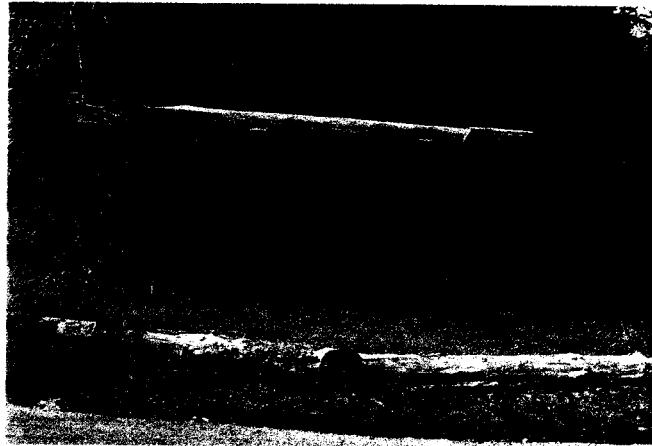
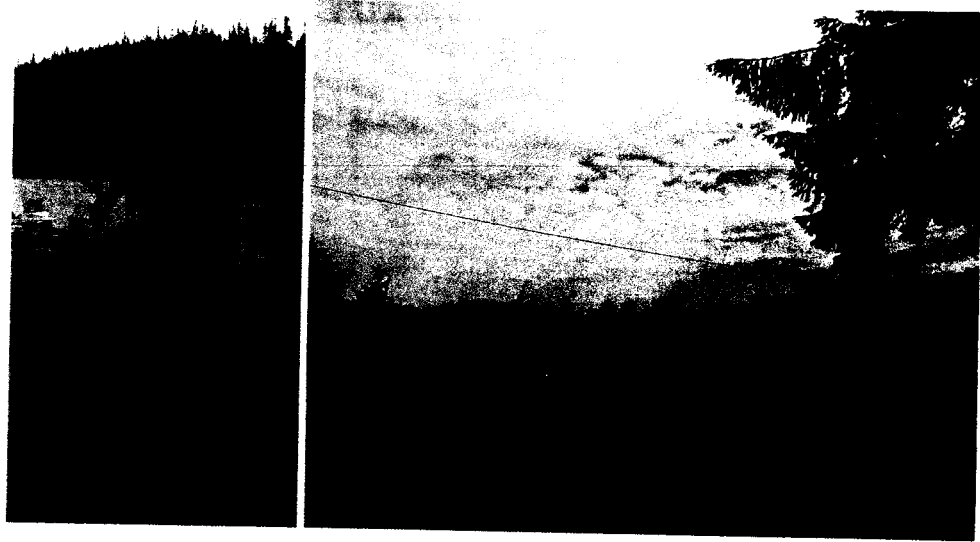


Figure 1: The HFN Reserve at Ana'cla

The Huu-ay-aht First Nation (sometimes referred to as the Ohiat) is one of the Nuuchah-nulth speaking communities, the populations of which are estimated to have declined by more than 90% between 1780 and 1950 as a result of disease.²³⁰ At one time, the HFN population dropped to below 250, but has since increased to approximately 500.²³¹ A little over 100 Huu-ay-ahts live at Pachena Bay on Vancouver Island's West Coast on a reserve known as "Ana'cla" (pictured below); others live elsewhere on the Island and the mainland, with the highest concentration of off-reserve Huu-ay-ahts located in the nearby town of Port Alberni.

²³⁰ Arima. 1991, pp. 2, in Shoreline Archaeological Services. 1997, pp. 10.

²³¹ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Healing the Heart).



Figures 2 and 3 : The Reserve at Pachena Bay

The HFN is a community still suffering from the legacy of colonialism; the residential school system in particular has left lingering effects that have been passed on through generations, such as a continued loss of culture and language, as well as a loss of individual confidence and self-worth.²³² The community is also divided along on-reserve/off-reserve lines, so that those who live “at home” are often unsympathetic to the needs of those who live “away from home”, and vice versa. Numerous community initiatives, including the offering of cultural courses, the publication of a Nuu-chah-nulth phrasebook, and the recent development of a women’s group have been undertaken with the goal of overcoming these obstacles before they become even more deeply entrenched.²³³

Politically, the community is governed by a traditional head chief (*Ta’yii Ha’wilh*) and chiefs (*ha’wiith*), who are responsible “for the welfare and well being of their hereditary lands, the *hahoothlee* (chiefly territories), and for the extended families of which they are leaders”.²³⁴ The community is also run by an elected Band Council, which consists of 5 councilors, each of

²³² Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Culture and History).

which is responsible for their own portfolio (i.e. forestry, aquaculture, etc...).²³⁵

The HFN *hahoothlee* “encompass some of the richest portions of [a] remarkable environment. Islands, bays, beaches, streams, rivers, and vast forests, hills and mountains, all form part of this remarkable landscape”.²³⁶ As a result of the availability of these resources, sustainable small-scale traditional resource harvesting was practiced in various forms in the past, but has been jeopardized over the past century by destructive commercial logging and fishing practices. The First Nation itself is increasingly involved in resource management on its traditional territories, but according to the HFN, this activity is “based on [their] cultural values of good stewardship, sustainable use and sharing”.²³⁷ Essentially, resource management on behalf of the Huu-ay-aht is described as being undertaken in the context of “*Hishuk Tsawak*”, an HFN concept meaning “all is one”.²³⁸ *Hishuk Tsawak* “describes the essential balance of nature, or the ‘web of life’. Many Huu-ay-aht histories tell of the complex and strong relationship between humans and all of nature”.²³⁹

The Huu-ay-aht First Nation is currently in the process of negotiating a Treaty with a group of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council and the Provincial and Federal Governments, which the HFN hopes to settle within the next year (this is an admittedly ambitious estimate).²⁴⁰ During and after the anticipated 10 to 15 year Treaty implementation period, it is anticipated that the terms under which the Treaty is settled will have a great deal of influence over HFN resource management initiatives.²⁴¹

²³⁵ HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

²³⁶ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Culture and History).

²³⁷ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Resource Management).

²³⁸ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Healing the Heart - Hishuk Tsawak).

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ BHCFS Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

III. The Bamfield Community



Figure 4: Bamfield Inlet

Bamfield is an isolated community located on the West Coast of Vancouver Island with a population of approximately 400.²⁴² The village, which was settled by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation, and is divided into East and West Bamfield by the Bamfield Inlet (pictured above), is situated at one end of the West Coast Trail and offers opportunities for various recreational pursuits (most notably whale-watching and diving), making it a popular tourist destination.²⁴³ The village is also unique in that it is home to a community school, a large Marine Research Center, and, until recently, the School for Field Studies. As a result of these various factors, the community “has moved economically from predominately harvesting the natural resources (commercial-scale salmon harvesting once played a huge role in the community’s economy) to a more benign utilization of these resources exemplified by the arts, tourism, educational opportunities and services”.²⁴⁴ The “federally operated coast guard station, the marine station (which receives funding from a consortium of five western Canadian universities, including the

²⁴² Bamfield Community Website (Community Profile).

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

University of Alberta, the University of British Columbia, the University of Calgary, Simon Fraser University, and the University of Victoria²⁴⁵), the sports fishing industry, boating, recreational pursuits, shake block cutting, and commercial shrimp, prawn, oyster, clam, crab fisheries” now constitute the bulk of the Bamfield economy.²⁴⁶

IV. Forestry in the Region

Forestry in the area is dominated by Weyerhaeuser, an American company that bought out the formerly dominant MacMillan Bloedel (a Vancouver-based multi-national²⁴⁷) in 1999.²⁴⁸ As a single-industry town built around forestry, Port Alberni has been particularly vulnerable to the cycles of “boom and bust” that define Canadian resource towns generally.²⁴⁹ After enjoying seemingly boundless success in the 1960s and 1970s, a number of factors combined to create “economic and structural incoherency” in Port Alberni in the 1980s.²⁵⁰ These factors included the recession of the early 1980s, growing concern over the supply of old growth timber, an increase in the support and subsequent efficacy of environmental groups fighting to protect land from the forest industry, rising market competition from countries with lower fiber costs, and the high costs of implementing newly emerging processing technologies.²⁵¹

The town was able to recover from the economic losses induced by these changes to some extent by diversifying the range of products produced, with an emphasis on the production of specialty paper products.²⁵² This, however, required the closure of several mills and a move towards flexible production, which ultimately “resulted in an almost 60% decline of

²⁴⁵ Bamfield Marine Sciences Centre. 2004 (About us).

²⁴⁶ Bamfield Community Website (Community Profile).

²⁴⁷ Barnes, Trevor, and Hayter, Roger. 1994, pp. 297.

²⁴⁸ Barnes, Trevor, *et al.* 2001, pp. 2137.

²⁴⁹ Barnes, Trevor, and Hayter, Roger. 1994, pp. 298.

²⁵⁰ Barnes, Trevor, *et al.* 2001, pp. 2136.

²⁵¹ Barnes, Trevor, and Hayter, Roger. 1994, pp. 298.

²⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 301-302.

employment at the operations at Port Alberni over the period 1980 – 2001”.²⁵³ Community responses to these issues did not appear until the early 1990s, at which point the situation had become “chronic and severe”.²⁵⁴ However, the lack of a centralized coordinating agency resulted in a highly fragmented and ultimately ineffectual movement.²⁵⁵

The forest industry’s operations in Tree Farm Licence (TFL) #44 (the location of which is shown in Figure 6 below), has also had devastating effects within the HFN traditional territories, though in a manner distinct from the troubles of Port Alberni. In Port Alberni, it was the realization of the potential tension “between the fluidity of the market and the rootedness of place” that has the potential to exist under capitalism which led to instability, whereas the Bamfield region experienced the actual physical devastation that accompanies unsustainable resource extraction.²⁵⁶



Figure 5: Location of the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest and TFL # 44
(Provided courtesy of the BHCFS from the BHCFS website)

²⁵³ Barnes, Trevor, *et al.* 2001, pp. 2141.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 2143.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 2144.

²⁵⁶ Barnes, Trevor, and Hayter, Roger. 1994, pp. 290.

A large component of this devastation involves the natural buffer along the channel of the Sarita River (which in the past was the location of numerous villages and other important sites) as well as the upper reaches of the watershed, which were compromised by logging in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁵⁷ The result has been “damage to fish habitat in the river through channel widening, the in-filling of pools, reduced surface flow, and the loss of woody debris”.²⁵⁸

Until fairly recently, the forest industry has also ignored the importance of traditionally used cedar trees to the HFN. Prior to the development of commercial logging in the area, the Huu-ay-ahts used products made from cedar wood and bark in almost all aspects of their lives.²⁵⁹ Thousands of cedar trees still bear the scars left behind by the stripping of bark.²⁶⁰ These trees (known as “Culturally Modified Trees” or “CMTs”) are of great cultural significance to the HFN, yet thousands have been logged.

The issue of over-extraction itself has also been an important concern. A member of the HFN shared their experience of the point at which this concern prompted action on behalf of the First Nation:

In 1995, when I actually started to pay attention to what our Band was doing...actually, even '94...I can't remember when we started into the treaty process. But I started to attend...and I started to listen to what the [Treaty Committee] was saying, because they were looking at our land, and looking at the harvest levels back then, and we were totally alarmed, because our land...it was 78 thousand hectares...it represents 17% of the whole TFL, but they were taking half of the cut, half of their annual allowable cut, out of our little territory. So we started to make noise about that; that's where we started, 'cause we knew that over 50% of our territory had been harvested to that point. Ah, we could see the end of it; we could see the end of the old growth forest in our territory. It was probably, you know, maybe 10, 15 years, and they would be gone, with the exception of the fringe along, you know, the Pacific Rim part, and certain areas that we've saved....So I would say [that we've] got less than 20% of old growth left...Ah, you know, the notion of tree farming, ah, when we get treaty settlement lands, it's...we're gonna be harvesting it,

²⁵⁷ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Upcoming Events).

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Shoreline Archaeological Services. 1997, pp. 4.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

but I think we're gonna be harvesting in a better way, because we...we're gonna be managing for the values that we...feel are important.²⁶¹

The HFN has responded to these problems in an interesting way: by partnering up with Weyerhaeuser. A referral process was developed by the HFN in concert with the Ministry of Forests and Weyerhaeuser wherein forestry development plans in all areas of the HFN traditional territories “are reviewed by the HFN with respect to their rights and interests”.²⁶² The process is based on a streetlight, wherein all cut blocks come in at yellow, which indicates the need for further information.²⁶³ This information is obtained through interviews with local people, and by referring to existing Traditional Use Studies (TUS).²⁶⁴ The color red is assigned to the block if it is determined that no development should take place there, and green is assigned if the development is allowed to proceed.²⁶⁵ The HFN has also partnered up with Weyerhaeuser in its efforts to restore the Sarita River: Weyerhaeuser was given permission to harvest timber from a grove of old growth trees (including many large cedars) in “an ecologically and culturally sensitive manner”, with the profits from the sales of these trees being put towards the Sarita River Restoration Program.²⁶⁶

The relationship between government, First Nations, and industry is therefore constantly evolving, and it is within this context (and in many ways as a response to it) that the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest initiative has developed. The BHCFS constitutes the focus of the remainder of this chapter, wherein the perceptions of the Board members of the BHCFS are investigated in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the ways in which the Community Forest initiative is unfolding.

²⁶¹ BHCFS Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁶² Huu-ay-aht First Nation. 1998, pp. 5.

²⁶³ BHCFS Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ HFN Woman (6), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

²⁶⁶ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Healing the Heart).

V. The Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest (BHCF)

Prior to the inception of the BHCF in 1999, the land that now constitutes the Community Forest was vacant Crown land adjacent to TFL #44. Research was initially carried out by local community members with the intention of creating a woodlot, but upon uncovering the existence of the decidedly preferable Community Forest Pilot Project program established by the NDP Government (wherein the Pilots would act as a new form of tenure “designed to allow communities direct management responsibility, as defined by community priorities, for select local lands”), a Management and Business Plan was submitted on their behalf to the Ministry of Forests (MoF).²⁶⁷ The application was accepted by an MoF review panel, and the BHCFS was subsequently awarded the Pilot in principle in June of 1999. Following two years of tenure negotiations, “the BHCFS and the MoF signed a formal Tenure Agreement for a 5-year (Pilot) period renewable to 25 or 99 years” in September of 2001.²⁶⁸

The BHCF is 425 hectares in size, with approximately 85% of the Community Forest composed of old growth, and approximately 11% composed of second growth, resulting largely from logging that took place in the 1940s.²⁶⁹ As illustrated by the figure below, the Community Forest is surrounded to the east and north by TFL #44, while the Pacific Rim National Park and I.R. 9 (otherwise known as “Kii’xin”, which was once the HFN’s capital community) lie to the south and west, respectively.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^a.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Morgan, Dennis. November 28, 2002. pp. 4.

²⁷⁰ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^b. pp. 1.

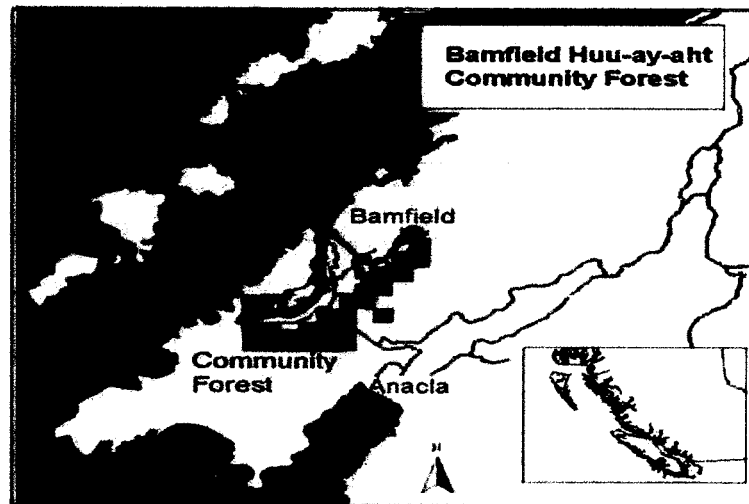


Figure 6: Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest
(Provided courtesy of the BHCFS from the BHCFS website)

The following account of the location is provided in the Forest Development Plan #1, wherein the BHCF is described as being:

...entirely located within the Windward Islands Mountain ecosection and the Coastal Western Hemlock biogeoclimactic zone...The BEC phase is Cedar-Hemlock (CH) characteristically dominated by western red cedar (often spike-topped) with western hemlock subcanopy and frequent dense salal understory...[More specifically,] the forest profile is dominated by western red cedar (68%) followed by Western hemlock (27%). The remainder of the profile is made up of relatively equal proportions of sitka spruce, western white pine, lodgepole pine, amabilis fir and pacific yew. Douglas-fir are likely present in very low numbers. Deciduous tree species present include cascara, willow and red alder...There are very few riparian, wetland, or sensitive site net downs within the Community Forest due to the topography and relatively low number of fish streams...The topography can be generally summarized as fairly flat to rolling with occasional knobs and wet depressions with many areas directly adjacent to salt water. The highest point is located on the Western side near the airport with an altitude of 80m...The BHCF is entirely within the Traditional territory of the Huu-ay-aht first Nation and contains several traditional use and culturally sensitive sites.²⁷¹

This particular area was seen as a desirable location for a community forest for various reasons that were articulated by members of the Board of Directors of the BHCFS during their interviews. Several respondent cited the simple availability of the Crown land as the primary

²⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 1-3.

reason for initiating research on potential tenure opportunities, noting, for example, that it was “politically possible to...have the government give that over to somebody other than a major forest company”²⁷², and that because “the Crown land...was available, [we agreed] it would be a good thing to tie up for community values”.²⁷³

Community values themselves also played a crucial role in motivating research on tenure opportunities, especially greenspace values, which ranked highly in importance in discussions with members of the BHCFS. One respondent categorized the proposal and development of the BHCF as a response to the destructive logging practices taking place in the region, noting that “we’re all surrounded by [resources]. We have a resource town...you just see all this stuff that’s happening, clear-cutting and everything, [and] people are concerned about that”.²⁷⁴ According to another participant, greenspace values also played an important role in influencing the decision to pursue community forestry as the tenure of choice:

What inspired me was the fear that somebody else would get the subject land, the land that eventually became the Community Forest, and that [they] might not have the same ideas about how to log the local region here. We started with an application for a woodlot, a different form of tenure, and we were moving forward on that, then the opportunity for the community forest came along, which seemed a lot more appropriate “‘cause woodlots are fairly...the government takes a bigger role in deciding, especially how much to cut, and we weren’t into basically being forced to cut more than we wanted, and with the community forest tenure, we could decide our own cut.”²⁷⁵

This agenda to maintain greenspace in the forest has combined with a desire for economic diversification and “an acceptance of the reality of a small land base and low AAC” to shape the character of the BHCF such that management plans for the Community Forest are not limited to

²⁷² BHCFS Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

²⁷³ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

²⁷⁴ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

²⁷⁵ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

timber extraction alone.²⁷⁶ Plans to “harvest well below the natural growth rate through the use of selection logging techniques”²⁷⁷ have been combined with a commitment to:

... integrate many other activities, including the sustainable harvest of Non-timber forest products, community based value-added wood manufacturing, ecologically-based silviculture, education, research, training, restoration, ecotourism/interpretation (cultural and natural), recreation and small business facilitation.²⁷⁸

However, according to the members of the Board, such activities will not be initiated or even planned to any great degree of detail until after harvesting is well underway, as the revenues anticipated from the logging are required to begin to pay off the 50 thousand dollar debt that has accumulated during the planning and permitting stage of the Community Forest, and because “these other activities take money to get off the ground”.²⁷⁹

During the interviews, a variety of figures regarding the amount of money expected to be generated from the first annual harvest were put forth by the BHCFS Board members: these ranged from \$50,000 up to \$100,000 gross profit. It was generally agreed that harvesting would begin sometime in mid July, although start dates as early as June and as late as “the fall” were also mentioned. In actuality, as of September 3, 2004, harvesting had not yet begun in the BHCF due to permitting delays, caused in large part by the need to apply for a BceID number.²⁸⁰ The BceID is an electronic permit submission process developed under the Electronic Forest Management (e-FM) Initiative that was implemented by the Ministry of Forests in April of 2004 in an attempt to “improve the profitability of the province’s forest industry by reducing costs of doing business...by replacing cumbersome paper based business methods with more efficient electronic methods [and by reducing] the Ministry’s own costs”.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^c, pp. 2.

²⁷⁷ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^a.

²⁷⁸ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^c, pp. 1.

²⁷⁹ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

²⁸⁰ Email correspondence with BHCFS Board member.

²⁸¹ Ministry of Forests, Government of British Columbia. 2004.

In a process found to be extremely frustrating and time-consuming by those members of the BHCFS in charge of it, all paper permits must therefore be transferred to electronic format, then re-submitted under the BceID number once it has been obtained.²⁸²

Despite this setback, the BHCFS has taken several steps forward. At the time of writing, a Cutting Permit has been obtained for the area of the Community Forest near the airport (area 03-2), as have Road Permits for 03-2 and the Kii'xin Road. Construction on these roads in areas in and around fish bearing streams will have to be completed by September 15th of 2004, after which time the Fisheries Window closes and it is possible that spawning salmon will return.²⁸³ After the completion of these sections of road, the rest of the road can be built around them, and harvesting can then commence in the area.

VI. BHCFS Board of Directors

Decisions about the planning and management of the BHCF are made by Board members of the Bamfield Huu-ay-ahy Community Forest Society (BHCFS), a non-profit society initiated by volunteer members. The BHCFS is composed of 9 individuals, one of whom acts as Chair. Of the remaining 8 members, four are volunteers from the community of Bamfield, and the other four are nominated by the HFN (although at the time of writing, one volunteer from the Bamfield community had recently stepped down, and one Huu-ay-aht Board member had not been attending any meetings, having been appointed in honor of his traditional position within the community). The BHCFS thus represents in theory an equal partnership between the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla.

²⁸² BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁸³ Email correspondence with BHCFS Board member.

i. Partnership

In the past, the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla had each independently applied for community forest tenure in the region, but had been denied for reasons that most of the respondents were unable to articulate during their interviews. However, all members had a clear understanding of why a joint community forestry venture between the two communities was proposed and initiated:

First off, they're part of our community, even though they [are] separated geographically, they are very much part of our community. We also realized that given...treaty negotiations, that this was their traditional land, and without them being on-side and supportive, it wasn't gonna happen. So when...when they became interested and involved, then really we had both...both segments of our community working together and everybody was on-side...we got a letter, a formal letter of support from the Band Council, which made everything run smoothly. And I think the values that...the community of Bamfield saw, and that Huu-ay-aht First Nations saw were identical.²⁸⁴

In a similar response, another BHCFS Board member noted that the partnership was “the only way. Anything to do with natural resources in BC you have to have First Nations participation or consent in some way, otherwise it won't happen. There's too many tree related issues there, they have to have a voice in that kind of stuff”.²⁸⁵

When Bamfield community members approached the HFN with the proposal to create a Community Forest partnership, the First Nation's reaction was unanimously described as being positive. One reason the joint venture was welcomed was that “the Chief Councilor saw it as a real potential show piece of this Native/non-Native partnership, as a way of showing that these communities can [work together]”.²⁸⁶ Another respondent similarly explained that:

²⁸⁴ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

²⁸⁵ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

We're all headed in the same direction, or as...our Chief Councilor says, "we're all paddling in the same canoe", so...there wasn't any hesitation. There certainly [were]...some concerns, and we expected them, just like there were concerns from the Bamfield community about how this was gonna work, and...that's a legitimate question always, because you are responsible to the community, you know. But no, they've been, they've been very supportive.²⁸⁷

A third respondent discussed the importance of the strong relationship already existing between the two communities in facilitating the BHCFS partnership.²⁸⁸ Other participants had similar perceptions of the relationship between Bamfield and Ana'cla as a strong one; many attributed this strength to the fact that prior to the creation of the reserve at Pachena Bay, there was only one community. Families from both villages therefore share a common history, although the level of familiarity between the two is seen as having decreased somewhat as a result of the separation. However, there is still a high degree of collaboration between the two communities (for instance, there has been a great deal of collaboration on the community school, which children from both communities attend), which strengthens "the relationships that get built when we work together....it's been really neat...really positive".²⁸⁹

One BHCFS Board member provided a particularly positive account of the relationship and its implications for resource management by describing it as:

Old, as in historic. Especially with the elders of both...they've known each other all their life...you might even say unique, because the communities are so close, because they share these historic ties, that there's just an element of trust and familiarity that you don't necessarily get in some other situation where there's two separate communities. And also both communities make efforts to invite each other to their various gatherings. So its pretty cool, I mean, we do get asked a lot about that, the partnership of the Community Forest and how we managed to get such an effective Native/non-Native partnership, and its mostly for all of those reasons I think.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

²⁸⁸ BHCFS Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

²⁸⁹ BHCFS Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, Ana'cla, June 3, 2004.

²⁹⁰ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

However, some responses from the Huu-ay-aht perspective indicated that although the two communities are currently working well together, such was not always the case:

I guess growing up, I've always...I've noticed a...divided community. Ah, I think more recently in the last...6 to 10 years it's...we've built some bridges, and...I think there's...there's been appreciation of both sides, over the years, that...when we work together, we can accomplish so much more, and...I guess that's a model for other...other areas, other communities throughout the...province. So...I would say it's getting better in general.²⁹¹

Well, I think historically...when Bamfield became a community...it was certainly...the Huu-ay-aht community was surprised...by the European contact, and...the church, had a big influence there, but I think that...after about the 60s, like...mid 60s or so...I feel that the communities started to recognize that they're all friends and they're neighbors, and today, I think that both communities get along very well with respect to each other.²⁹²

Despite these earlier misgivings, it would appear that the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla are currently engaged in a largely positive and effective relationship.

The BHCFS members also perceived their own relationships with each other to be largely positive and effective. Although meeting attendance, communication, and organization were cited as issues of contention by different Board members, the positive aspects of the partnership outweighed these:

Generally the level of respect on the board is good, that's really key, and I think generally too, the vision of the board...well, maybe we haven't articulated it in so many ways, [but] it's definitely there, and understood, and so...having that sort of...foundation helps the Board move forward and get things done and be respectful to each other.²⁹³

Respect was also seen as a key factor in facilitating an equal balance of power between the Native and non-Native partners.

Interestingly, however, although the majority of the Board members felt that power over the BHCF was shared equally between the Bamfield and Huu-ay-aht communities, two

²⁹¹ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁹² BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁹³ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

Bamfield Board members felt that the balance of power rested with the HFN, while one HFN member expressed their opinion that until very recently, Bamfield had held the power. The former group felt that the HFN's extensive individual involvement and subsequent strength in forestry meant that they "are able to take control of that whole end of things, as they have [their Forestry Department has been contracted to do much of the work in and on the Community Forest]. That's essentially the main financial end of it, so that's a powerful end of it", and this resulted in fears that there would be an attempt to completely move the planning and management of the Community Forest to Port Alberni, where the Huu-ay-aht Forestry Department is located.²⁹⁴ The latter individual was of the opinion that until very recently, when the position of Executive Director (held by a non-Native Board member) had to be dissolved as a result of a lack of funds, the power had not been shared equally; instead, they felt that "it was just Bamfield. You know, with input from...some of the Huu-ay-aht First Nation people".²⁹⁵

The partnership between the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla, both historically and currently, is therefore perceived differently (often along Native/non-Native lines) by the BHCFS Board members. These differing perceptions, along with those aspects of the partnership over which opinions converge, merit further exploration in subsequent sections of this chapter. For example, many of the participants indicated that a shared set of values regarding the forest were integral to the partnership's success; the nature of these values and the particular goals and visions (and ensuing planning and management strategies) for the Community Forest into which they have evolved will be investigated. As well, the notion that there is a power struggle of sorts between representatives from both communities, though not unanimously held as evident, does raise important questions around trust that will be further addressed in a discussion of conflicts and conflict resolution mechanisms. Prior to these discussions of vision and conflict, however,

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ BHCFS Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

an examination of the BHCFS Board members' perceptions of the reasons for participation (or lack thereof) in the Community Forest, both on behalf of themselves and the Bamfield and Ana'cla communities at large, will be undertaken.

ii. Participation

The factors which influenced the Board members of the BHCFS to participate in the BHCF varied from individual to individual. Some members cited a strong educational or professional background in forestry and/or resource management as providing the impetus for their involvement. Others indicated professional and political aspirations as motivating factors. A few Board members lightheartedly puzzled over their involvement in the BHCF, as they had no formal training in forestry; however, these individuals ultimately cited a commitment to community as the main reason for which they decided to participate.

It is important to note that while Bamfield community members volunteer for positions on the BHCFS Board of Directors and are elected at the Community Forest Annual General Meeting (AGM), Huu-ay-aht Board members are appointed by the HFN. As such, at least one of the Board members described their involvement on the Board as being "by fluke. It was the community forest...AGM, and so I wanted to attend to see what was going on...I was trying to basically just catch up. And...and then they...voted new directors in, and there was only one Huu-ay-aht...Board member at the time...So I got on 'cause I was there!'"²⁹⁶ According to one HFN Board member, this system has been implemented in the Huu-ay-aht community because:

Nobody wants to [be on the Board of Directors]...I'm not too sure on [why that is], although I think...people are...it's a hard thing to stand up in front of people, and to say what you're gonna say to people, and so I think that there's that...I think that, you know, First Nations are....like to keep to themselves. Um, and there's not very much commitment, I think, is [the case] for some people in Ana'cla. [And] there really isn't that many people down there. Um...I think that there's just not enough people

²⁹⁶ BHCF Board member (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

who...who are very interested.²⁹⁷

This lack of interest is apparent on behalf of both communities (but especially on behalf of the HFN), and is seen as problematic by all of the Board members.

There are especially few women that attempt to get involved in the BHCFS; in June of 2004, one of the female Board members decided to leave Bamfield and subsequently stepped down from the Board, leaving only one female on the Board of Directors. When asked to comment on the level of female participation in the BHCF, the respondents were all quick to acknowledge a gender imbalance (as well as the need to establish a balance), but were less able to identify the cause. Some individuals stated that they simply did not know or understand why so few women were participating. Others offered different explanations as to why this was the case. A common theory was that various time commitments were preventing women from getting involved:

I don't think it's a lack of interest, its lack of time, as in other commitments...like the women [in Bamfield] are definitely interested. Probably on a per gender basis, I think the women in this town are certainly as actively involved as the men, which means that its difficult to...you can't tap them too much...I can't really speak for Ana'cla. I mean the opportunities are [there]...but frankly there hasn't been a lot of participation from the people of Ana'cla aside from the politicians of Ana'cla. First off, they've got a ton of stuff going on. That's just they way it is. I mean, they know about the community forest, but the general involvement isn't there.²⁹⁸

However, the question remains as to why women choose to devote their time and energy to other initiatives, and not to the BHCF. Some respondents speculated that forestry is perceived as being a labor intensive "man's world", in which there is no place for women. This is a perception that the one female Board member claimed to have encountered since beginning her involvement on the Board of Directors:

²⁹⁷ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

²⁹⁸ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

People have misconceptions of the community forest, and maybe what exactly the role is, and so a lot of people think – oh, I guess women – [think that] forestry here is basically cutting down trees, and you know, you have to know all these...you have to have degrees or whatever...but it's not...it's not like that. So I think most of it is just misunderstanding.²⁹⁹

One respondent corroborated this statement by speculating that “[women] think ‘forestry’ and they think ‘logging’. And now, that’s machines, and it’s...chainsaws, [and they’re] not really interested in that”.³⁰⁰ Another thought that “part of it is [that] forestry is kind of a man’s world in some ways...the management end anyway; I think [at] the research end there’s lots more women represented”.³⁰¹ These discursive representations of forestry as male dominated may therefore serve to undermine women’s desire and ability to become formally involved in forestry initiatives like the BHCFS, and are in keeping with similar findings from studies of gender and resource access cited chapter three of this report.

However, HFN women are involved to quite a large extent in the Traditional Use Studies (TUS) and Culturally Modified Tree (CMT) studies that play a large role in the HFN’s dealings with Weyerhaeuser. However, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, even these women have very little knowledge of or interest in the Community Forest initiative. When asked to explain the impetus for her involvement in the BHCF as well as on various other Boards, the female BHCFS Board member stated that she was motivated to do so:

Because...it’s a part of my future too, it’s a part of my...child’s future. Um, it’s not just a job ‘cause I’m [out there as] a Huu-ay-aht member, so...it’s always for the betterment of...the people. And, there are a lot of people that, um, choose not to get involved just because they um, maybe don’t feel they can, or don’t know how, or...I don’t know, so I feel like...I’m the voice for...for a lot of people, and then I can...they’re comfortable to come in and ask me questions and I can...I can answer them [to] the best of my ability, and, I don’t know, try helping instead of

²⁹⁹ BHCFS Board member (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

³⁰⁰ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³⁰¹ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

[just providing them with a] hundred page document that they're not really gonna want to read. So I guess that's what motivates me.³⁰²

This question of participation as it relates to Huu-ay-aht women will be further investigated from the perspective of these women in the next chapter.

With regards to general community participation, many members of the BHCFS Board of Directors felt that community members would be motivated to get involved in the Community Forest only when they are able to see the tangible outcome of all of the work that has gone into the planning of the BHCF; in other words, once harvesting and other Non-Timber initiatives have begun. This notion was articulated in statements such as "if you can't see something tangible, how do you know [about it]?"³⁰³, and "I think that if we just persevere, and we actually *show* something, then that will spark interest in people. And if we continue to interest people, and inform people, then down the road, it should just snowball into people being more informed at a community level".³⁰⁴ In keeping with these ideas, another respondent expressed the opinion that:

I think it's just a matter of, again, the Community Forest has to have some activity to attract the interest for people to ask questions about what's going on, and...how they can be involved...I think it'll come, but it might not be, like, immediate. But as soon as we're building something, other than knocking trees down and dragging [them] out of the woods, I think there should be some more interest.³⁰⁵

These notions that involvement will increase once activity commences within the Community Forest are predicated upon the belief that community members are simply not interested in the BHCF at present, but there also exists a possibility that the current lack of participation is rooted not in disinterest, but in the simple fact that the larger Bamfield and Huu-ay-aht communities do not know much, if anything, about the Community Forest. When asked

³⁰² BHCFS Board member (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

³⁰³ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³⁰⁴ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³⁰⁵ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

to describe the extent to which they felt that community members were informed about the BHCFS, the respondents offered several (sometimes conflicting) opinions that ran the gamut of these possibilities. One Board member stated that they knew that both communities were well-informed because “they make occasional comments [about it]...and through the Board members we have that are Huu-ay-aht...it’s discussed at the general gathering of the Huu-ay-aht...and mostly just word on the street: people...ask me what’s going on, and they want to get a log for carving or whatever it is.”³⁰⁶ Conversely, another respondent categorized the extent to which the communities are informed as:

...sporadic, I think...because...it’s taken so long, people’s interest has gone up and down...[We] had planned to be harvesting at least a year ago, and then [we] got into this situation where...[we weren’t able to] log because [the land was] still untenured, and...so [we] kind of lost a whole year there. And people...if there’s something happening...then, you know, people kind of take...notice, so they keep informed. But [if] the idea is that “oh well, we can’t do anything for a year”, then everybody says “well, [we] can’t do anything, so, there’s nothing happening”, so there’s very little communication.”³⁰⁷

Although this response is interesting in that it points to a lack of communication as being responsible for uninformed community members, it ultimately implies that the responsibility to stay informed rests with the community members themselves, and not the BHCFS. This implication was echoed in the following respondent’s statement about the Huu-ay-aht community in particular:

I think that [the Huu-ay-aht community members are] informed...but I don’t think that they choose to inform themselves very well. I feel that they’re just...not really that interested, and this is why they’re not that well informed; they choose not to be interested, yet they will stand up in the community and...speak off about it. They’re just not informing themselves, and not...not understanding the issues, not understanding the processes that we’re having to go through, and we could certainly use their support.”³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁰⁷ BHCFS Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁰⁸ BHCFS Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

While this response indicates that knowledge of the BHCF is held (and disregarded) homogeneously among Huu-ay-aht community members, one BHCFS Board member felt that the Huu-ay-aht community did not in fact share an even understanding of the Community Forest initiative. Rather, this respondent noted that “if [one were to] ask, down on the reserve, there’d be about 20% that might have a fairly good handle on it. The rest of it just doesn’t mean anything to anybody”.³⁰⁹ Thus, while some community members may indeed be informed (or even well-informed) about the BHCF, others do not have any understanding of the initiative.

There have been several attempts on behalf of the BHCFS to better inform both communities about the Community Forest. At one time, the idea of a newsletter was experimented with, but it was ultimately decided that a monthly article providing updates about the BHCF in the local newspaper, *The Beacon*, would have a farther reach.³¹⁰ Posters, television ads, and the AGMs are also used to inform the communities about the BHCF to some extent.³¹¹ The BHCFS website is another means by which community members can access up-to-date information about the Community Forest, however, it should be noted that not all community members can readily access the internet, and also that many of the documents on the website are quite lengthy and technical in nature, rendering them somewhat inaccessible to the larger public.

More personalized attempts to both inform and engage community members in the Community Forest were also discussed during the interviews; one respondent suggested that “direct invitation to be on the board and solicitation of memberships” would be effective.³¹² Attempts to inform community members via word-of-mouth were also regarded as extremely important by most of the BHCFS Board members, especially Huu-ay-aht members, to whom the responsibility of keeping the HFN community informed falls. One Huu-ay-aht Board member

³⁰⁹ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³¹⁰ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³¹¹ BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³¹² BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

initially stated that they did not know how to get people involved in the Community Forest to a meaningful degree, but then changed their mind, noting that: “actually, I shouldn’t say that; I do know how you do it. You know how you do it? You go door-to-door, and you sit down and you have tea with people, or coffee, and talk”.³¹³ Another Huu-ay-aht Board member elaborated on the importance and efficacy of this approach:

I just...talk to people, and...a lot of people don’t like to be bombarded with a whole bunch of papers. And even if I...wrote something out on the community forest, because [they didn’t understand something]...they might feel it’s...it’s a dry topic...it’s easier just to...to talk with them and tell them in a group or one on one...and it comes up very...casually. I could be at somebody’s house for lunch, and it [would] come up, or we could be in a meeting [of some sort]...and someone...will ask a question, and...I’ll just answer the best I can, I’ll give out as much information as I can.³¹⁴

The same respondent did note that there have been difficulties in employing a word of mouth approach to inform the Huu-ay-aht community about the BHCFS, because community members were hearing different (and sometimes conflicting) information about the Community Forest from the various Board members. It was thus decided to limit the number of those conveying information about the Community Forest to two Board members.

In light of an acknowledged lack of participation (which is attributed to various factors by various members of the BHCFS), and more generally as part of an ongoing endeavor to include the community in “community forestry”, various strategies have thus been employed by the BHCFS to inform the communities of Bamfield and Ana’cla about the Community Forest initiative, the efficacy of which will be explored in the next chapter. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the values held by the BHCFS Board members, and how these have translated into both conflicts and convergence regarding the planning and management of the Community Forest.

³¹³ BHCFS Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³¹⁴ BHCFS Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

iii. Goals and Vision

The values that have informed the direction in which the planning and management of the BHCF has evolved and which have ultimately shaped the Board members' overall vision for the Community Forest are embodied in the Bamfield Community Vision statement and The Huu-ay-aht Guiding Principles of Sustainability, which are as follows:

Bamfield Community Vision

We are a spirited, friendly, and caring community with diverse backgrounds and interests, in a secluded west coast setting.

We value the beauty of the natural and cultural environment and our connections to it.

We also value the special opportunities that exist within our community for understanding, appreciating, and utilizing natural and cultural resources.

We are dedicated to preserving and sharing these values.

The Huu-ay-aht Guiding Principles of Sustainability

Managing forest and fishery values to meet the present needs without compromising the needs of future Huu-ay-aht Generations.

Managing forests based on Huu-ay-aht values "*Hish Uk Tsa Wak*" (Everything is One).

Balancing forest values to meet the economic and cultural needs of peoples within the *Ha-Houlthee* of the Huu-ay-aht *Hawiih*, including the Huu-ay-aht First Nations Peoples.

Restoring the damaged Ecologies and 35 watersheds within the *Ha-Houlthee* of the Huu-ay-aht *Hawiih* Conserving biological diversity, soil, water, fish, wildlife, scenic diversity and other forest resources within the *Ha-houlthee* of the Huu-ay-aht *Hawiih*.³¹⁵

³¹⁵ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society (Vision Statements). 2003^a.

The influence of the values and principles expressed in these manifestoes is evidenced in the participants' answers to questions about their personal vision(s) and/or goal(s) for the Community Forest, which did not vary significantly in nature among Native and non-Native Board members. Instead, similar themes were identified in all of the responses. In particular, three areas - namely sustainability, alternate sources of revenue, and community (all of which were found to be bound up with each other)- were found to be of great importance to the respondents' ultimate visions for the BHCF initiative.

Statements about the importance of sustainable forestry in the BHCF were present in almost all of the responses. For example, one participant's "honest wish [that] we're gonna do sustainable logging, and that it will be low impact"³¹⁶ was similar to another respondent's desire "to manage it so that it...is a sustainable forest forever"³¹⁷, and to yet another's "hope [that] we don't cut very many trees. I hope we can be viable economically with very low impact...and that probably means other sources of revenue".³¹⁸

The importance of these other sources of revenues, particularly recreation, tourism, and education, was also frequently asserted in the BHCF Board members' responses. These activities were ascribed value in and of themselves, but also insofar as they would contribute towards the initiative's sustainability as well as its economic success. To this end, one respondent stated that:

...what I'd like to see is the recreation and the tourism and the education side exploited...The Marine Science Center's talking like the terrestrial biology will become more of a significant factor in their activities, which would tie in very nicely, and then from the recreational and tourism side, I mean, we've been talking about a tree platform, multiple tree platforms...hiking trails...biking trails...Frisbee golf...just about anything that...that would make use of it but not....not impact it adversely...we're all...very supportive of.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³¹⁷ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³¹⁸ BHCF Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

³¹⁹ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

In a similar response, another individual described their aspiration that in the future, the BHCF end up “pretty much, well, where it is in a sense, but with two main streams of revenue, one being timber and one being recreation...and maintaining the same cut as we have now, but on an annual basis so that wood is available not in big bursts, but regularly”.³²⁰

The development of tourism and recreation was often cited as key in encouraging economic development. One BHCFS Board member emphasized the economic opportunity afforded by the location of the Community Forest, which is situated:

...at one end of the West Coast Trail already, so you’ve got 8,000 people that are coming out there just for the rugged beauty of the West Coast. So if we...have something else they can do at the end of their journey when they enjoy...a hotel and a hot shower, and a hot meal, [and] they can actually go and do something else, like a day hike, or a two hour hike...that’s where I’d like to see it.³²¹

The same Board member also discussed the possibility of engaging these same tourists in an educational exploration of HFN traditional forestry by:

[Staging] some of the things that we used to do in the past, like old plays or something, like...have people walk you through a...trail, [and] when it’s key times, have, you know, a carver there or somebody there chipping away at a...tree that’s gonna be a canoe, or...splitting plants the old, traditional way...I think that...if we do stuff like that, that it’ll be huge...it’ll be very renowned.³²²

Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) were cited as another form of potential revenue by many of the Board members; these will be discussed at length in the final section of this chapter.

That the Community Forest prove beneficial to the communities of Bamfield and Ana’cla on economic social, cultural, and political levels (on both a local and global scale) was also a widely held desire. The BHCF was described by one Board member as:

³²⁰ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³²¹ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³²² Ibid.

A forest that's going to be for the community...and allow for the [development of] smaller...companies in the area of Bamfield and Ana'cla, you know, the...the one or two...man-shows that can go in, and...and, you know, build a road, or deactivate a road, or take out a couple pieces, or [a] couple [of] logs that are on the ground or whatever to harvest on their own personal mills, whether they're going to sell it, or whether it's gonna be for something else, I guess that's what my thought is for the community forest.³²³

To this end, another respondent expressed the wish that the community be aware that the “wood’s always available for local people to buy and use, and [that] hopefully enough income [is] generated that we can support other things in town. I’d like to be able to write checks to the recreation project, or the school, or whatever...”³²⁴ The potential relationship between the BHCF and the school was described in other than financial terms by another respondent, who noted that they would “certainly...like to see young kids out planting trees [in the] Community Forest so that they’re also part of that Community Forest, and then...you know, like that’s the way I see it: a community”.³²⁵

The notion that the BHCF has the potential to affect the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla on a deeper level was expressed by one respondent, who noted that:

...it seemed like what was happening, you know, during the whole colonization thing was that...the white people exploited all the economic opportunities, and the First Nations people [were] kind of shoved aside....[So] I hope that there’s a real partnership [in the BHCF], and...that the Bamfield itself can build a relationship with [the HFN], and...and have...a real...strong relationship for the land, and...with the forest, you know, [and] that it’ll go through time....So we’ll see, you know, we’re just kind of at the first stages right now.³²⁶

This response was unique in its implication of the BHCF as not just a community-based initiative, but also a community-building one.

³²³ BHCF Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³²⁴ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³²⁵ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³²⁶ BHCF Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

Finally, two responses were interesting in that they broadened the understanding of “community” from the local to, in one instance, a provincial scale, and in another, a global scale. In the first case, the respondent was also in isolation in making a connection between the BHCF initiative and another resource management initiative in which the HFN is involved, namely the rebuilding and improvement of fish habitat as part of an ongoing salmon-stock rebuilding program. The program was initiated in 1983 in response to the devastation left behind by the destructive logging practices of the 1950s and 1960s which “left little or no riparian buffer along most of the fish bearing portions of the stream. Fish habitat destruction can be attributed to channel widening, channel/bank instability, infilling of pools with gravel, reduced surface flow, and loss of wood”.³²⁷ Despite the fact that millions of dollars are still needed to carry out the required initiatives (which include assessments, removal of log jams, and construction of side channels, a fish way, riffle-pool sequences and multiple Woody Debris structures to maintain and create a deep pool habitat), in recent years, funding has ceased due to government funding cuts.³²⁸ As such, the respondent in question noted that they would:

...like to see...some of the harvesting that we do benefit our salmon enhancement work we're doing within our territory...For example, we used to have to go through [a] huge process in the Ministry of Forests to get, ah, large woody debris, which is just an old log with a stump on it. To go through processes...just cost us a fortune. Well, if we can get them right out of our back yard, and, you know, put them in, like, places like the Pachena River, or even clear them out, well, that...then I think we're getting close to...to, you know, where I think it needs to be. I think it needs to benefit the people from Huu-ay-aht and Bamfield, and...and one of the things that benefits everybody, and not just those two communities, but all the British Columbians that come out here to go fishing. If our salmon enhancement efforts are fruitful, well then the rest...everybody benefits. It's...it's what I call a win/win/win situation. So, that's where I'd like our community forest to be.³²⁹

³²⁷ Huu-ay-aht First Nation Website (Upcoming Events).

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

In the second instance, the importance of the relationship between the BHCf and the HFN community in particular was situated beyond the local context through a respondent's speculation on the potentially global benefits that might accrue to the HFN through the BHCf initiative:

I would hope that we become certified, that we are recognized...around the world...and that other people, by recognition, would want us to come to their community forests in their respective countries, possibly to help them...set up theirs something like ours, or help them through some of the hurdles that they're going through...I can see the community forest benefiting the Huu-ay-ahts by...giving a networking opportunity on a global scale, and it would put us on the map a little bit better than we already are...I can see some local employment coming out of it. And, I can see...proud people.³³⁰

To this end, the BHCFS has engaged in the Global Caucus on Community Based Forest Management, a global movement funded by various organizations (most notably the Ford Foundation) "that advocates and promotes the rights of local communities and Indigenous Peoples to manage their forests in ways that are socially just, ecologically sound, economically viable and culturally respectful".³³¹ The Global Caucus provides communities engaging in community based forestry with the opportunity to meet bi-annually to share their stories and learn from each other's experiences.³³² However, although it is a relatively new initiative, having been established in 2002, the continuance of the Global Caucus is currently threatened by funding and organizational uncertainty.³³³

Although these final two responses are unique in their broadened notions of "community", the emphasis on the importance of community upon which they are based runs parallel to the responses offered by the other BHCFS Board members. In fact, in their vision statements, the Board members all ascribed similar importance not just to the notion of

³³⁰ BHCf Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³³¹ Global Caucus on Community Based Forest Management. 2002.

³³² Meeting of the BHCFS, June 2, 2004.

³³³ BHCf Board member (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

“community”, but also to the importance of sustainability and alternate sources of revenue. However, the extent to which these vision statements have been realized, especially as they concern sustainability, has been contested by several Board members, leading to a number of conflicts that will be investigated in the next section.

iv. Conflicts and Conflict Resolution

Despite the many convergences around vision, several conflicts have emerged since the BHCf’s inception in 1999. These conflicts may be grouped into two categories. First, existing conflicts were identified, some of which are logistical in nature, but which largely center around questions of sustainability and power. There was also a less apparent conflict uncovered in defining “community”, which could have implications for the successful implementation of CNRM in this context. Second, potential conflicts, which may emerge where Indigenous knowledge conflicts with Western science in determining how the Community Forest gets managed, and where Non-Timber Forest Product harvesting conflicts with timber extraction, were identified. These conflicts, as well as their proposed solutions, constitute the topic of this section.

Basic organizational issues centering on infrequent meeting attendance, the partial fulfillment of Board member responsibilities, and lack of funds were cited as existing problems by almost all of the respondents. However, in discussing areas of conflict, a much greater emphasis was placed on the importance of struggles around issues of sustainability and power. With respect to sustainability, there was a fear on behalf of several Board members that over-extraction would be engaged in as a way to pay off the substantial debt that has been incurred by the BHCFS over the past several years:

I guess it’s as we get to the point of generating money and we’ve got all this stress about the loan - tiny loan in the big scheme of things - people are getting more nervous, and there’s a big tendency to go for the quicker

and easier pay out. So for example, one big contract with Weyerhaeuser where we just stump it and dump it, they cut it and we get a check in the end. Which will not maximize our revenues, but it will give us a big check. So I think that's one of the fundamental areas of conflict, recently.³³⁴

Given the fact that First Nations' resource management strategies are often said to be romanticized by non-Natives, it is interesting to note that these concerns about sustainability have for the most part been directed towards the Huu-ay-aht community. Moreover, this finding may speak to similar observations about the centrality of development to Indigenous communities rather than "alternate" or "post" development strategies cited in the previous chapter. The three HFN Board members were well aware of the perception on behalf of the Bamfield community that the Huu-ay-aht wants to engage in non-sustainable timber extraction in the Community Forest; one respondent described the problem as such:

I hate say "us" and "them", the Huu-ay-aht and the Bamfield community, [but] I believe that there's a perception that we want to take it over and clear cut. Well, it's kind of like, if...if we said we're gonna go get a whale, how people would think "we don't want another industrial whaling age". I don't know how you change that [perception].³³⁵

The other HFN participants attributed this perception to the Bamfield community's knowledge of the partnership between the HFN and Weyerhaeuser regarding other forestry initiatives:

Well, we certainly have conflicts with...how we want to log, and people are...very aware that...we don't want any Weyerhaeuser involvement; Weyerhaeuser is "the big monster that is eating up the land". So there's some conflict there, because...the Huu-ay-aht First Nation deals with Weyerhaeuser, and so we make offers with the Board of Directors from the Huu-ay-aht perspective to the Bamfield community, and they...don't like this involvement that we're having.³³⁶

The practical implications of this perception were discussed by another HFN respondent, who noted that "past Board members that aren't with us on the Board anymore felt that because of our association with Weyerhaeuser, we just wanted to basically log the forest, which...was not

³³⁴ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³³⁵ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³³⁶ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

our intention at all”.³³⁷ Another non-Native respondent supported the idea that this particular conflict around sustainability has had a serious impact on the relationships between individuals involved in the BHCF; they mentioned that one individual who had once participated to a large extent in the initiative ceased to be involved because they were concerned that “the forest management was going to be more interested in...just felling timber than maintaining the integrity of the forest.”³³⁸ It should be noted, however, that others attributed this individual’s departure to a conflict of interest.³³⁹

Along with issues of sustainability, conflict within the BHCFS has centered on questions of power that are manifested in concerns about where the planning and management of BHCF take place. At the time of writing, many of the decisions about the Community Forest were being made in Port Alberni, where the HFN’s Forestry Department is based. However, meetings of the BHCFS were still being conducted in Bamfield. While some BHCFS Board members were worried that the Community Forest operations would move entirely from Bamfield to Port Alberni, others saw this as a natural and desirable progression, as the HFN’s Forestry Department is based in there. In this conflict, as in the conflict around sustainability, “sides” were taken along Native/non-Native lines, with Bamfield Board members expressing concern about a move to Port Alberni, and HFN Board members unsure as to why the move constitutes an issue.

From the perspective of one of the Bamfield Board members, a potential move to Port Alberni would have negative consequences for local employment and community participation in general:

³³⁷ BHCF Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³³⁸ BHCF Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

³³⁹ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

It looks to me that there's at least one person who wants to move this thing to Port Alberni, which I think is just ridiculous. It has to stay here, in Bamfield and Ana'cla. It can't move to Port. 'Cause the whole idea is to be in touch with the land base that you're managing and to be in touch with the communities that you're managing it for, and having an Office in Port that runs it works for neither.³⁴⁰

Another Bamfield Board member indicated that the struggle over the location of the BHCf relates back to a larger power struggle within the BHCFS:

You might have caught the comment last night [at the meeting of the Board of Directors, where] somebody said "well, I...I hope the community forest office doesn't move to Port Alberni", ...that's where the Huu-ay-aht have their forestry office, in Port Alberni, right...So the comment about "we don't want the community forest office to move to Port Alberni" was...sort of relative to that question [about power relations]... I hope [the power] doesn't just...shift by default or by any...like, without real intent, like I hope it doesn't just shift to the Ohiat because they happen to be doing forestry, and maybe in Bamfield there really isn't forestry.³⁴¹

Conversely, the Huu-ay-aht Board members felt that the continued shift of the BHCf's operations to Port Alberni would be productive, but were well aware of the perception that initially, "some people might have felt that, ah, we were trying to take it over, which, ah, was not the case at all."³⁴² In fact, the Bamfield community's reluctance to contract work out to the HFN Forestry Department was strongly voiced.³⁴³ Regardless, they HFN Board members felt that the initial shift towards Port Alberni had been necessary because:

[The members of the BHCFS] were trying to [plan and manage the BHCf] as a sole entity by itself, but there...you know, like there's so much to learn and then...so I convinced the Board of Directors...especially after we were getting broke, that we really needed to use the expertise that we had in-house. Which...which meant we had to change a one time, um, rule of...of tendering everything out [and] actually going and direct awarding it to our Forest, ah, Department. And...it was quite a challenge to convince everyone of that, because they...they thought we were moving the Community Forest to Port Alberni, where perception-wise, we're planning it up here, but, you know, the community

³⁴⁰ BHCf Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁴¹ BHCf Board member (10), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3, 2004.

³⁴² BHCf Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁴³ BHCf Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

forest is there, it'll always be there, and it will always be there for community input and, you know, the members' input, um...Having said that, though...we have been working on it up here.³⁴⁴

The move to Port Alberni was thus seen as logical on behalf of the HFN “because we have a Forestry Department and Planning Department, we have all the people in place, [and we can] just to push things along, get things along a little bit quicker.”³⁴⁵ The Bamfield Board members (and the larger Bamfield community) condoned the move on these grounds, but the fear that the balance of power will continue to shift towards the HFN and Port Alberni has produced conflict among the BHCFS Board members.

These discussions around Port Alberni are also interesting insofar as they point to the difficulty in defining the “community” involved in the “Community Forest”. The political difficulty involved in defining communities was discussed in chapter two as presenting a barrier to the successful implementation of CBNR strategies, as this renders it difficult to identify the beneficiaries of such strategies.³⁴⁶ The “Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest” implies one community. Similarly, one respondent noted that “I guess in the conversation I’ll have with you, ‘communities’ really means both [Bamfield and Ana’clá]”.³⁴⁷ However, earlier assertions in this chapter emphasize the distinction between the two communities, and the responses in this particular section add a third community of Port Alberni to the discussion. Things are further complicated by the tension between on and off-reserve HFN members that is discussed in the next chapter. Each “community” appears to have its own interests in and ideas for the “Community” Forest, which could lead to further conflict and ultimately compromise the efficacy of the CNRM strategy.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ BHCFS Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³⁴⁶ Haley, David, and Luckert, Martin K. 1998, pp. 146.

³⁴⁷ BHCFS Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

There are, however, no formal dispute resolution mechanisms in place to deal with these existing conflicts. One participant noted that the BHCFS has “talked about putting something formal in place, but so far it’s worked pretty good. Generally speaking, there’s a great deal of respect on the Board for each other, and its pretty clear when an idea just doesn’t take...people aren’t afraid to say what they’re thinking, which is critical”.³⁴⁸ Another noted that when conflicts such as these do arise, the BC Society Act is invoked, or minutes from past meetings of the Board are referred to in order to clarify an individual and/or group stance.³⁴⁹

With respect to potential conflicts, two areas of concern were explored: the potential for conflict between Indigenous knowledge and Western scientific knowledge, and between NTFP and timber interests. It was widely agreed that Indigenous knowledge (which was unanimously described by the BHCFS Board members as traditionally held knowledge passed down orally through generations) should play a role in the way in which the BHCF is managed. There was also a recognition that a conflict between these two knowledge systems was a possibility, although it was widely anticipated to be small if it did, in fact, occur. When questioned as to what might be done if Indigenous knowledge were to conflict with prevailing Western scientific forest management techniques, the respondents offered a variety of suggestions as to how this might be dealt with. One respondent stated that:

I think we’d have to look hard at the scientific evidence and try to rationalize the Indigenous knowledge...how they’re different. I think Indigenous knowledge is oftentimes, because it’s orally passed down, I think there’s room for error there in interpreting and passing down the knowledge. Not to say that science is perfect, but at least there’s record keeping, there’s a clear process [in terms of] how the science was arrived at. It will have to be on a case-by-case basis. I think it would be very difficult for the Board to come up with any definitive statements prior to any conflict between the two knowledge bases.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁴⁹ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

³⁵⁰ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

Although this response emphasizes the role of the BHCFS itself in resolving this dispute, it is especially noteworthy because the notion of IK in relation to Western science expressed in this statement embodies what Fikret Berkes refers to as a “simplistic distinction”, wherein generalizations are made about the inability of traditional knowledge systems to employ quantitative data collection techniques, including record-keeping (see Chapter two of this report).³⁵¹

Other BHCFS Board members also emphasized the importance of the Board members debating and resolving the issue amongst themselves. One Board member explained that this decision-making process would have to be:

...practical and respectful, I think are two key words there. Like practical in the sense that everybody wants this thing to go forward, right? Well, I shouldn't say everybody...certainly the Board. That's where the practical comes in...making concessions that might not be the best in everyone's mind, but that ensure that it goes forward and that we retain control over this little piece of land! You have to be practical sometimes, with a background of respect.³⁵²

Two of the HFN Board members corroborated the opinion that debate and resolution would take place within the Board itself in the case of a conflict, but also noted the unlikelihood of such a conflict, because “the (Huu-ay-aht) cultural aspect is so, um....respected by...the Bamfield community and...and by non-First Nations people³⁵³, and “because I think our Community Forest is more on the environmental side, which a lot of our principles and our philosophies of First nations are already incorporated into that...that way of thinking.³⁵⁴ This same respondent noted that if such a conflict were to occur, and debate within the Board proved unable to resolve

³⁵¹ Berkes, Fikret. 1999, pp. 10.

³⁵² BHCFS Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁵³ BHCFS Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁵⁴ BHCFS Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

it, that the BHCFS would need to implement “a dispute resolution of some sort. And I think, ah, as a Community Forest...the Minister of Forests probably has a pretty big say in it.”³⁵⁵

There was therefore a general consensus that should a conflict arise between IK and Western scientific knowledge, the Board would attempt to deal with it prior to initiating more formal dispute resolution mechanisms. Similar responses were offered with regard to a potential conflict between the harvesting of NTFPs versus timber extraction; these, along with the larger role that NTFPs will play in the BHCF, will be explored in detail in the next section.

v. Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs)

Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) are expected to play an important role in the BHCF, although it is not anticipated that their harvesting will result in a significant revenue stream.³⁵⁶ However, the harvesting of NTFPs is seen as an important component of the BHCF both in terms of encouraging sustainability in the Community Forest, and providing community members from both Bamfield and Ana'cla with opportunities to get involved. These opportunities have the potential to hold a special relevance for HFN women, as women's Indigenous knowledge of the forest often encompasses items other than timber.

Indeed, many such items have already been located in the BHCF; the BHCFS has compiled an extensive list of viable NTFPs (which can be seen in an adapted form in Appendix E of this report), but in the interviews with the BHCFS Board of Directors, shitake mushroom and salal were viewed as the most promising of these (although jams from berries were also mentioned). However, a great deal of research is still required in order to ensure the successful harvesting of these and other NTFPs, including the establishment of the quantity and distribution of each NTFP, the acquisition of a better understanding of the rates at which these NTFPs grow and regenerate, and the development of a permitting and/or leasing system to allow

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Morgan, Dennis. 2002, pp. 21.

community access to the NTFPs.³⁵⁷ Particular confusion exists around questions of access because:

I think when we started and we looked at Non-Timber Forest Products, we were pretty keen...this is after...we were awarded the Community Forest, [we had] to negotiate with the Ministry of Forests people as to what [we] wanted to do, and we told them what we thought [about NTFPs], ...we [thought we] could lease or license people to go into the Community Forest, not [for] a lot of money, but it would be another little revenue stream, and you get local people in the Community Forest, which is a good thing...But of course the Ministry of Forests had all kinds of problems with that [because] we have a tenure on Crown land...on Forest Land now, 'cause it went from Crown land to Forest land...and then, if we were gonna...issue a tenure to say someone like myself to harvest mushrooms or harvest salal, they have a problem with that...because apparently we don't have the legal authority to do that...The Crown (does). And they didn't really pass that right over to us, so...I think the only thing we can do is license individuals to harvest [NTFPs]...and again, this sort of flies...this would be complicated in the community, because I think a lot of people view hunting mushrooms or picking huckleberries or wild blueberries as an activity they shouldn't have to pay for. Certainly for their own consumption. If they're selling it, and harvesting sort of commercial quantities, then it's sort of a different game all together, 'cause you can do damage, then, in terms of knocking the resource down so it can't recover, or it recovers slowly...³⁵⁸

Another Board member felt that “we couldn't really charge people licenses”, and cautioned more generally against charging community members high prices for access to NTFPs in the BHCF, because “if you make those costs to them too high, then they could just go out into all the other acres of Crown land here, and use that instead”.³⁵⁹ This individual noted that unless there was a very large patch of a particular NTFP within the BHCF over which a community member could obtain an exclusive lease, there would be no real impetus for individuals to harvest within the Community Forest.³⁶⁰

Aside from these questions of access, the BHCF Board members also had very different understandings of when NTFP harvesting would begin in the Community Forest, how the

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³⁵⁹ BHCF Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

BHCFS would uphold its mandate (as expressed in Forest Development Plan #1) to “support entrepreneurs in establishing Non Timber Forest Product-based businesses utilizing our resources”, and the sorts of conflict resolution mechanisms through which “potential conflicts between timber and non-timber harvests will be addressed”.³⁶¹ With respect to the first question, it was generally agreed that timber extraction would have to occur prior to the initiation of any NTFP harvesting as a result of the BHCFS’ current lack of funds to support such initiatives; or, as one Board member put it: “logging is going to be the cash cow we’re gonna have to ride, just ‘cause it’s...these other activities take money to get off the ground”.³⁶² Another BHCFS Board member echoed this statement in their response that:

It’s been [made] pretty clear...by quite a few [members] of the Board that they don’t really wanna be just harvesting [timber]. Well...but the plain fact is, we have to harvest first to get some money so we can do other stuff, just...I mean, we found in the last three or four years that money just doesn’t drop out of the sky. So we have to harvest to generate some funds to kick start these...or, you know, maybe provide the seeds for...those initiatives.³⁶³

Estimates as to when exactly the BHCFS might be in a position to facilitate NTFP harvesting in the BHCF ranged from Spring of 2005 to half a decade.

There was also a great deal of ambiguity as to how the BHCFS would, in fact, “facilitate” NTFP harvesting initiatives. Participants were asked exactly what type of “support” would be offered to entrepreneurs wishing to engage in NTFP-based businesses. “Support” was generally defined as being “non-financial” in nature, although one Board member disputed this notion by claiming that support would be financial insofar as it will involve “devoting finances to bringing in guest speakers or workshop facilitators to inform people locally [as well as] some of the stuff

³⁶¹ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^b, 20.

³⁶² BHCF Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³⁶³ BHCF Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

like ecosystem mapping that we've paid for, that assists in showing where it's most likely you will find NTFPs".³⁶⁴

Support was also articulated by several Board members as providing entrepreneurs with marketing information, and allowing NTFPs harvested from the Community Forest to bear a BHCf logo. The potential opportunity for entrepreneurs to have their products branded with a BHCf logo may create a further incentive for community members to apply for exclusive leases within the community forest, as the logo has the potential to act as a marketing tool which will increase product revenues by associating the product in question with a sustainably managed forest.

Some responses were unique in the types of support they proposed. One respondent discussed the possibility of support taking the form of a facility built by the BHCfS in which entrepreneurs could stockpile their NTFPs between harvesting them and transporting them to their respective markets.³⁶⁵ Another felt that "support" simply meant "encouragement", wherein "we would just encourage [people]....you know, not to participate in it, but support, encourage, back anybody that wanted to come in and [harvest NTFPs]".³⁶⁶

Similarly diverse responses were offered when the BHCfS Board members were questioned as to how conflicts between NTFP and timber interests would be resolved. Despite the assertion in Forest Development Plan #1 that conflict resolution mechanisms will be employed in such cases³⁶⁷, respondents were unsure as to the forms that these might take; it is important to note that this uncertainty is due in large part to the fact that most of the BHCfS Board members do not see NTFP harvesting taking place in the near future, and as such have not yet given much thought to the conflicts that may arise as a result of their harvesting, much

³⁶⁴ BHCf Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁶⁵ BHCf Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³⁶⁶ BHCf Board member (11), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁶⁷ Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society. 2003^b, 20.

less the solutions to these conflicts. However, one Board member did indicate that this particular clause in the Forest Development Plan may have been:

...concocted to assure the government, because they're a little nervous about Non-Timber Forest Products...I think the problem stems from the political decision that was made by government to say "we want to encourage community forests, so we're gonna start this pilot project". We discovered shortly after being awarded the pilot project that...that [the government] forgot to inform the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Forests that this was coming at them, so...people and officials within the Ministry of Forests were caught flat-footed, for lack of a better description, and we approached them enthusiastically [about NTFPs, and they said] "what? Non-Timber Forest Products? Well, what [are those]?". They still looked at a...a forest and saw trees that needed to be harvested, not anything else, so...we had to give them some assurance that, you know, we have an annual allowable cut that somebody picking salal wasn't going to affect...That somehow we would find a way to figure that out... And Non-Timber Forest Products are only gonna work if...if there's an economic [incentive]. 'cause if we can point to an economic [incentive] for 'em, then any bureaucrat that might be questioning it, you've answered his biggest question: "Why are you doing this?". There's...there's an economic value to knocking trees on the ground, everybody understands that, but if you can share...show them that salal recovers in 18 months, and you do the arithmetic over 80 years, and it equals knocking trees down, then you have a legitimate argument, economically.³⁶⁸

No other such responses were put forth by the respondents.

There was therefore not a great degree of conformity in the Board member's understandings of how NTFP harvesting would be implemented. However, all of the respondents did feel that NTFPs could provide an avenue by which community members could become involved in the BHCF. According to one respondent:

I can see that there's a lot of potential with non-timber forest products. Um, exactly how great a potential, I think we're only going to know once we get to that stage and start looking at the whole range of products. I mean, we identified I think in...our original proposal, over a hundred species that might have some sort of economic or cultural potential, so...and some of the Huu-ay-aht elders would probably have some very...very sharp ideas as to what would be good and what wouldn't be good, based on what they've done historically, so, again, it's nice to have

³⁶⁸ BHCF Board member (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

them on board, that we can go knock on the door and say “we’re at that stage now, what do you think?”.³⁶⁹

This statement is significant in that it points to a particular opportunity for those who hold Indigenous knowledge of the forest to play a valuable role in decided what NTFPs are harvested. However, members of the larger Huu-ay-ahy community have to date shown very little interest in this possibility. Attempts have been made on behalf of the BHCFS to inform both communities about NTFPs, namely in the form of two NTFP workshops, the first of which was held in May of 2003, and the second of which occurred in February of 2004, and focused solely on salal.³⁷⁰ Although few individuals participated in the first workshop, approximately 15-18 individuals were present at the second one. However, although this was considered a good turn-out, and the participants were composed of an even mix of men, women, and children, they were almost exclusively from the Bamfield community.³⁷¹ This lack of attendance on behalf of members from the Huu-ay-aht community is in keeping with one HFN Board member’s statement that interest in and enquiries into NTFPs have come mostly from “the community of Bamfield. Um, possibly someone from the Huu-ay-aht community...but I definitely know for sure that the Bamfield community has...has expressed some interest there.”³⁷² Reasons for this lack of interest on behalf of women in the Huu-ay-aht community, who are in possession of extensive knowledge of NTFPs and could likely benefit from the opportunity to harvest them in association with the BHCf, will be explored in the following chapter.

³⁶⁹ BHCf Board member (9), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 3/4, 2004.

³⁷⁰ BHCf Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁷¹ BHCf Board member (13), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 5, 2004.

³⁷² BHCf Board member (14), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Bamfield, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

VII. Conclusion

The planning, management, and impending initiation of the BHCF has been an experience of both conflict and collaboration for those involved. That these individuals are so in few in number is of concern, as any community-based resource management initiative should strive to include as many community members as possible. Yet it is acknowledged by all of the BHCFS Board members that the participation of women (and of Huu-ay-aht women in particular) is lacking; it is also widely acknowledged that an increase in women's participation would be beneficial to the Community Forest. However, despite attempts on behalf of the BHCFS to engage both communities in the Community Forest, and regardless of the potential opportunities that NTFP harvesting present, many Huu-ay-aht women remain indifferent to the BHCF initiative. There are several reasons for this indifference, all of which will be explored in the following chapter in an attempt to better understand why this is the case, and how it might be ameliorated.

CHAPTER FIVE: HFN Women in the Forest

I. Introduction

Culturally modified trees...bear scars which result from bark being stripped from young cedar trees. In search of bark, groups of Huu-ay-aht women used to head out together to known groves of good cedars...A prayer of respect would be offered to the tree. On the side with the fewest branches, the woman would make a horizontal cut above the flare of the tree's base, and pry away some of the bark above the cut. The bark was then grabbed, and the woman walked backwards from the tree, pulling off a long ribbon of bark. There was a great deal of knowledge and expertise required to selecting a good tree, and in successfully pulling the bark off the side of the tree.³⁷³

Indeed, Huu-ay-aht women possess a great deal of knowledge and expertise not just of cedar bark stripping and other forest related activities and items, but also of all aspects of life. During lengthy interviews in May and June of 2004, several of these women were kind enough to share some of this knowledge in an attempt to facilitate a better understanding as to how their specifically forest-related knowledge (and they themselves) might come to play a role in the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest. To this end, women's perceptions of the BHCF, as well as opportunities and barriers to their participation in it, were examined. The results of this investigation constitute much of this chapter, and culminate in a series of recommendations (most of which have been put forth by the women themselves) as to how the current gender imbalance found within the Community Forest initiative can be effectively addressed. However, prior to this discussion, a more general investigation of women's traditional and current roles, both within the forest and within the community at large, is presented, beginning with an exploration of the recent development of the Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women women's group.

³⁷³ Happynook. 1996, and Stewart.1984, in Shoreline Archaeological Services. 1997, pp. 4.

II. Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women (CHW)

The Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women is a recently formed women's group that was developed with the explicit intention of reuniting on and off-reserve women in a productive and creative manner. However, the initiative can also be seen within the context of a larger struggle to both honor and maintain Huu-ay-aht culture and autonomy. In an attempt to situate the development of the women's group within this broader context, women's perceptions of their own gender roles within the Huu-ay-aht community will be investigated prior to a discussion of the women's group itself.

As the bearers and first teachers of children, women "have the most – or were traditionally understood to have the most – important influence as the perpetuators of culture, [and] teachers of language."³⁷⁴ The traditional division of labor along gender lines saw men as hunters and women as responsible for bearing and raising children, as well as for caring for the home itself.³⁷⁵ Women were also the primary keepers of knowledge regarding healing and medicinal plants.³⁷⁶ However, there were many activities that were shared between both men and women, such as food preparation and even cedar bark stripping.³⁷⁷

Currently, as indicated by the following discussion on behalf of a cultural source, the division of labor along gender lines is becoming less and less distinct:

In a contemporary situation, you find the same...kind[s] of divisions of labor that you'd find in the non-Aboriginal community, you know, the idea that women, ah, have a fairly narrow role elaborated for them...they just stay home and raise kids. But that's, I think, being increasingly challenged...[with] people getting more and more education...there's a whole, you know, world of opportunities for women...with skills [that allow them to] do things, different things, things that they wanna do. Maybe [these opportunities are] a little bit more restrictive in

³⁷⁴ Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

a...community where employment is...very scarce. We have, ah, I think the statistics are something like, ah, 60% of the Huu-ay-aht's working population are employed, which is, you know, very different [from] many Aboriginal reserves who have like 95% unemployment...But we have, you know, certainly there's a lot of people working for the tribe, there's a lot of people working in the various enterprises, men and women.³⁷⁸

Indeed, all of the employed young and middle aged women interviewed work for the HFN in some capacity. Of the remaining women, only one was self-employed; the others did not hold jobs, but most of these women were in the "elderly/elder" category. In general, when asked about their personal experiences as women in the HFN community, the women did not feel that their economic or cultural activities were presently restricted as a result of their gender, although one respondent did indicate frustration that she had been unable to go hunting with her brothers and cousins as a young girl.³⁷⁹ Instead, there appeared to be a general consensus that today, "women are more career oriented...[and] pretty much everybody is...working".³⁸⁰ In fact, a recent decline in the number of births in the HFN community was attributed to this phenomenon:

[The women] were out for about five years. Um, the community was not...we were not... producing!...I mean, there's not very many, like, young women in the community that, ah, that don't work. Um, pretty much everybody is...working. And...we have women that just recently had children but are, you know, are just maybe on a maternity leave, or they've all applied for jobs that are...coming up, and whatnot. So...Yeah, it's just...more women in the workforce.³⁸¹

However, the seemingly widely held opinion that women now have unlimited access to the workforce was contested in an interesting way by one respondent:

It's hard to say if this is going to go anywhere, but I feel [that] some family members pick their own sides...[a] lot of us feel that way: we have skills that are sitting idle. Well, I don't want to name names, but the people who came after I did, and learned way after I did, and [are working for the Band] ...they have jobs while we don't. Few of us...have

³⁷⁸ Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

³⁷⁹ HFN woman (3), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

³⁸⁰ HFN woman (21), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁸¹ HFN woman (21), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

jobs, and yet, we have the education and the skills, and we're sitting home with nothing to do, while there is people who aren't even dedicated to their work, and yet they have paying jobs. Um, I don't know if that comes from just family, or if it's the men's way of dealing with, ah, putting us women....I can't say it...it's against women, because...women [are] working in the offices.³⁸²

The respondent subsequently went on to claim that although there are women working in positions of power within the community, they have obtained these positions through their familial connections; more specifically, she felt that it was these women's familial connections with powerful men in the community that had opened up these employment opportunities for them.³⁸³

Although none of the other women interviewed mentioned the sort of structural barrier to employment opportunities described by the respondent in the preceding paragraph, two HFN women did indicate that they had experienced a certain degree of discrimination upon entering the workplace. However, they also acknowledged a shift in behavior, wherein the men with whom they worked initially showed disregard or even outright contempt towards them, but became accustomed to their presence over time. One of these respondents described her experience in lighter tones, noting that the men she worked with would “always just laugh, and they'd bug me, and then, you know, we'd just continue on working, and...so it was quite fun”.³⁸⁴ The second respondent, however, described a much more intimidating and challenging experience:

I know a couple of guys [I worked with] had a hard time taking orders from a woman. [If you're in a position where you've] gotta pretty much stand up for what [you] think is right...that's basically what people think [is] a man's job to do, so...it took 'em a while, you know, they'd all get hesitant, or they'd get mad at us for saying no, you know, when they'd ask for something, we'd just give 'em [a] reason, we'd say “no”, you

³⁸² HFN Woman (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ HFN woman (3), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

know, they...they couldn't take no, or they just couldn't take...take listening to a woman giving orders.³⁸⁵

This shift in men's attitudes towards the women with whom they work was also acknowledged in a broader discussion of women's changing gender roles within the HFN community. Women's gender roles have not been static; rather, they have changed over time and continue to do so under the influence of a variety of factors. In keeping with the assertion in the literature that the current (harmful) ways in which Indigenous women are treated are a reflection not of traditional Indigenous history, but instead of the influence of Western culture since contact (see Chapter 3 of this report), one cultural source discussed the damaging effects of colonialism on HFN women, and their subsequent attempts to recover from these effects:

You know, women being...the keepers of the culture, you might say, the bearers of the children, the givers of life...I can't over-estimate this, how important is it in a traditional way, because we've seen it unravel. We've seen, you know, spousal abuse, abuse against women, this kind of thing, but that kind of stuff was never tolerated...in a traditional community. The fact that women gave life, you know, were such a life force...there was never tolerated any kind of abuse against women, and there was no, you know, demeaning, or...You'll find now that even at the Tribal Council where...20 years ago, [there] used to be lots of...jokes, and women were the butt of jokes, [a] lot of sexual jokes and innuendos, and that kind of stuff is being challenged now in public big time...[It involves men] knowing that they have a fundamental obligation to be respectful to women, and that [knowledge] has to be encouraged...in every way, and...children [have to] learn that kind of respect. Because there seemed just so much sadness, and so much of the...of the opposite...So, but that stuff is being challenged, and it's...I've seen, ah, some...some very excellent examples of it...I mean, the fact is that people are talking honestly about it in the community, you know, rather than...pretending it's not happening. Um, it's not traditional. It's part of...the legacy of, you know, the breakdown of family and the breakdown of values. You know, it's part of...where we are, and it's not...where we want to be. So....how do you get healthy? You know, being honest, challenging people's behavior, and not letting people off the hook...it's complex. It's, you know, it's the hardest work in the world.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ HFN woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁸⁶ Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

As an example of one of the more potent and pervasive ways in which the community has suffered at the hands of colonial powers, it was noted that many individuals in the community still suffer from their experiences in residential schools, which have led to feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness, alongside more obvious concerns about the loss of culture.³⁸⁷ According to one of the respondents, her experience in residential school has meant that she does not “really know much about my culture; I always say I was brainwashed.”³⁸⁸

The fear of being brainwashed, however, is unfortunately alive and well within the HFN community; it is partially in response to this fear that initiatives such as the Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women women’s group are being undertaken:

You have a uniformity of cultures and...a marketed...you know, culture as a commodity. And there’s people who resist that. And that’s part of what this...another part of the context for [what the women’s group project of] going back to the woods [to gather cedar bark] is about. You know, to recover....You know, it isn’t “what the heck...you made a little rose out of some cedar bark...what the heck is that...you made a mat, you made a basket”. It represents...a kind of resistance to the...mainstream...I see people hungry for it. I see...people recognizing what is theirs. When they know that “this is ours and nobody else’s”. The pride when people say “well, that’s the way we do it”...I couldn’t tell you numerically or quantitatively what percentage of the community is, you know...understands this and is committed to this. I know that there’s...certainly a sense within the Huu-ay-aht community that these things are important...³⁸⁹

An understanding of the importance of these spaces of resistance is acknowledged by some of the women involved in the Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women (CHW) women’s group, the purpose of which is to allow women living on and off reserve to re-connect with each other and their culture in a non-threatening environment, and encouraging feelings of empowerment and self-worth among women in the HFN community. The CHW is a non-hierarchical group that was initiated by one woman living in Port Alberni. In an interview, she explained that the group

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ HFN woman (7), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 2, 2004.

³⁸⁹ Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

was developed because “we were falling apart and drifting apart is the word we kept coming up with...we just seemed to be drifting farther apart. You run into your own people and there’s no communication, it’s just...it’s not like it used to be”.³⁹⁰

Indeed, most of the eight women currently involved in the group live “away from home”, in Port Alberni, and many find it difficult to stay connected with other HFN members living in Port Alberni. Moreover, most of these women feel disconnected from the larger HFN community and unwelcome by other women when they visit the reserve.³⁹¹ The relationship between those living in Port Alberni and those living in Ana’cla is therefore fraught with a tension that the CHW is mobilizing against with “an attempt to have people who live away from home and live at home to rub shoulders together, to organize as women. That’s...that’s a brilliant strategy, and it seems to be working.”³⁹²

During a focus group session with the CHW, the women themselves were asked to discuss the group’s aspirations to bridge the gap between women living at home and women living away from home:

I...I think it’s gonna take a while, but that’s one of our goals, to, you know...I was saying our first thing is to get reacquainted, you know, get...get comfortable with each other again. And I think sometimes when I visit our people, they’re in denial that there [is] this problem. But it doesn’t take much to see that it’s a definite...you know, it’s a problem.³⁹³

Another CHW member noted that at “any meeting, they’ll say off-reserve, on-reserve, off-reserve, even though we’re all in one. And yet they say...they...stamp themselves “reserve”.³⁹⁴

All of the women were in agreement with this statement, and one of them went on respond to it as follows:

³⁹⁰ Cultural Source (1), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 11, 2004.

³⁹¹ CHW Focus Group, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 10, 2004.

³⁹² Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

³⁹³ CHW Focus Group, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 10, 2004.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

Yeah. 'cause you hear that tone at Band meetings, at the Band, and...if they...if we could realize that we're...we're one nation, and we can't...we're dividing ourselves. We, ourselves, we're dividing ourselves. Nobody else is doing it, but we're doing it ourselves, and that we can find a way for us not...you know, we all can't be home, so...we shouldn't treat people like, you know, that you're...you're different now, you're not home with us. And also, what...why we treat each other like [that,] I don't know...³⁹⁵

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of how women outside of the CHW felt about this issue, each of the women interviewed was asked to describe the relationship between on and off-reserve women. The notion that some members in the community might be “in denial” about the tension between people living at home and people living away from home was only supported by one response, in which the relationship was described as being:

Great. They're...it's...you know, all our members, male and female, on/off reserve, they're...because people are so close and so open, that, you know, you might not see somebody for two weeks, and it's like “hey, I haven't seen you for a while, it's good to see you”. They...they're just...they get along great.³⁹⁶

Otherwise, there was a general consensus that the tension between on and off reserve women was significant to varying degrees: the situation was variously described as involving “kind of a difference” between the way in which on and off reserve women are treated³⁹⁷, and as being “a tough issue”³⁹⁸, and a “difficult...political” issue.³⁹⁹ However, there was no consensus on who should take the blame for creating and/or maintaining the situation. For example, one woman who had recently moved away from home stated that “everybody just kind of distinguishes, you know, well...“she doesn't have a say”, or, you know, I can't say anything, but...I'm still a big part of down there, and, you know, I'm...I'm always gonna spend a lot of time down there”.⁴⁰⁰

This response indicates a belief that those living away from home are being excluded by those

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ HFN woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

³⁹⁷ HFN woman (6), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

³⁹⁸ HFN woman (3), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

³⁹⁹ HFN woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁰⁰ HFN woman (3), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

who live at home. However, the very opposite belief was articulated by another respondent, who felt that “it’s kind of like they’re separating themselves, this is the way I see it. They’re separating themselves from on-reserve...things...anything. But, um, but they’re still Band members, they still have a say into anything”.⁴⁰¹ From this perspective, women living away from home are excluding themselves.

Regardless of the cause of exclusion, the respondents were asked how the situation might be dealt with. Again, responses to this question differed depending on whether or not the respondent lived on or off-reserve. Those who lived in Ana’cla frequently proposed that women living away from home should come to visit more often. Those living in Port Alberni suggested that more frequent newsletters and Band Bulletins be circulated to individuals living away from home. Others discussed the need to stop using the divisive language of “on/off-reserve”, because “it’s not ‘on’ and ‘off’ reserve, you know, we’re just all...all together”⁴⁰², and because “‘on/off’ is...DIA language, so we’re trying to not use DIA language...People live at home. People live away from home”.⁴⁰³ Finally, some respondents simply did not know how the situation should be handled.

The women’s group is, of course, one way in which this particular issue is being dealt with. But its organizer has other aspirations for the group that go beyond re-connecting women at home and away from home. It is hoped that the initiative will help HFN women to address feelings of unworthiness and acknowledge that they are being left out of important decision-making processes, because although perceptions of gender have been changing in positive ways in recent years, there is still a sense that:

I don’t think we’re really taken seriously. And with the women’s committee, hopefully if we get stronger with, like confidence-wise, and, you know, self-esteem, that...that we will be heard, and you know more

⁴⁰¹ HFN woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁰² HFN woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁰³ Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

women will speak up at meetings or gatherings...having healthy communications is what we're going for, in positive ways... so hopefully, you know, in a roundabout way, we'll...we'll make a little bit of a change, even if we grasp at a few younger...younger people and elders, that there might be a little bit of a change. [People might understand] that we're just not, um, homemakers, that we do have a voice, and, you know, we do find some issues important.⁴⁰⁴

In order to strengthen their confidence so that they might feel empowered to speak out about those issues that matter to them (which were variously described as health and child care, education, employment, and socializing) the women in the CHW meet once a week to engage in a number of activities. These activities include just talking amongst themselves, undertaking various arts and crafts projects (many of which are based on traditional HFN art forms), and planning culturally-based initiatives, such as the 2004 Aboriginal Day, which took place in Ana'cla on June 21st, and an expedition to go out into the woods and engage in the traditional activity of cedar stripping with other women and children. This expedition took place on May 28, 2004, and was considered a huge success by all who were involved. The outing was seen as especially positive for the children who participated, as they learned how to cut and wrap the cedar bark (they were not permitted to strip the bark, as this involves the use of a large hatchet or knife), then make cedar roses with little difficulty; "they all learned. It didn't even take them long".⁴⁰⁵ The following pictures from the outing were kindly provided courtesy of the HFN:

⁴⁰⁴ Cultural Source (1), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 11, 2004.

⁴⁰⁵ CHW Focus Group, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 10, 2004.



Figures 7 and 8: Stripping the Cedar Bark



Figures 9, 10, and 11: Cutting and Folding the Cedar Bark

The CHW was initiated in April of 2004, and as such is a very new organization. However, the women involved in it do feel that it has already had a positive impact on their lives. One woman noted that even women who do not usually voice their opinions were all speaking up at the CHW meetings.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, the sheer fun of getting together as a group was described as a healing experience in and of itself.⁴⁰⁷ The women in the CHW therefore perceived the initiative in an extremely positive light. It was also felt that the group was

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

perceived in a more or less positive way by some of the men within the community, although it was also felt that some men had indicated:

Lack of interest. No interest, or a lack of. A few of [the women's partners] said they're interested ...'cause there's that sense "ok, you get away and do *your* thing for a while", so there's a few that, you know, they don't mind at all. And my partner, he's you know, he's happy for me, that I'm...I've got, you know, other things to do...when I get back to him and I'm [like], "oh we did this, and we did that", and then he [says], "that's good", and he said he noticed I'm more relaxed. So I think they're positive, but then you've got the few that are, it's like, you know, "oh, ok". They're not...they're not interested. They're not interested. But we have a few that are. Hopefully they'll see, you know, that it's...it's gonna do good. I think when we wrote [the first newsletter, we wrote in] it that: if we have strong women – because that's where it starts, at home...and you're...you're bringing up the kids, and then the husband's there – and I said, then you've got, um, a strong support group, if women start to take interest...then you've got a stronger community.⁴⁰⁸

Based on this logic, it is possible to imagine how the CHW could play an instrumental role in facilitating women's participation in a variety of initiatives – perhaps even in the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest, an initiative to which several women in the community are particularly well suited as a result of their extensive Indigenous knowledge regarding the forest.

III. HFN Women's Indigenous Knowledge

Women's Indigenous knowledge (IK) influences the types of resources about which they are knowledgeable and deem valuable. It is therefore important to explore HFN women's IK as it relates to the forest in order to determine how women might be able to play a role in the BHCF by identifying Non-Timber Forest Products with both cultural and economic significance. Prior to asking the women specific questions about their personal IK, the participants were asked to define IK more generally, and also to discuss any perceived differences between men's and women's IK.

⁴⁰⁸ Cultural Source (1), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 11, 2004.

Although there exist several (sometimes conflicting, sometimes complimentary) accounts of IK and TEK in the literature, the HFN women interviewed all disclosed a similar (though vaguely expressed) understanding of the nature of IK, its origins, and who exactly was in possession of it within the community. It is important to note, however, that clarification of this term was called for at times; several of the women in question had not heard of “Indigenous Knowledge”, although they certainly understood the concept once it was explained to them.

Indigenous knowledge was almost unanimously understood as belonging to elders, who would then pass it down orally through familial lines. The notion of IK as spiritually derived was not discussed by any of the participants, but one woman did comment on the experiential component of the knowledge to some extent by noting that: “Indigenous knowledge is learning from your elders – your parents and grandparents, and some of it is experiencing it. There is a lot of oral stuff that is taught through stories. The elders are always trying to teach”.⁴⁰⁹ This perception of elders as teachers was combined with a distinction between IK and formal education in one woman’s comment that “Indigenous [knowledge] is just...knowledge, something that’s been passed on from grandparents, and parents, down to their children. Um, it didn’t require any education, it was just teaching, it was just natural in our...in our life to learn from...our elders”.⁴¹⁰

A few individuals expressed IK more broadly, as a knowledge system for Indigenous peoples globally. One respondent noted that IK was:

...not specifically just for...us here on the West Coast, but...would be related to...other...Indigenous people...on the East Coast or in New Zealand...There may be some things, you know, that are just specifically for certain areas or, you know, certain people, but, you know, the why...like the...big picture of it all kind relates to all, you know, all Indigenous people around the world.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ HFN Woman (6), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴¹⁰ HFN Woman (5), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴¹¹ HFN Woman (3), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

This notion of global interconnection among Indigenous peoples was also articulated by the following respondent, who stated that:

Well, when I think of “Indigenous”, I think of...I don’t know if I think of just First Nations, like usually I did think about [that]...but before that I used to think about, you know, the people from...like New Zealand and different places like that, because....we have connected with different groups, like Maori people, and we’ve heard different stories about how their culture is and how it’s almost the same and they go through the same things...[but] it’s just a different location, and...the atmosphere is a little bit different.⁴¹²

All other responses were local in scope.

Only one respondent, an elder, indicated concern about the loss of IK within the Huu-ay-aht culture:

I always say now people are all trying to find out as much as they can, but they’re too late – all the people that knew all that stuff are gone, and I can’t tell you [that stuff], ‘cause I don’t know! You’re a generation late! The people that know all that stuff are gone.[Stuff] about the Indigenous knowledge- the traditional things they did. Because I really can’t tell you anything. For a long time, I wasn’t interested; the way we came out of residential school, we weren’t interested...well, I wasn’t, I guess I shouldn’t include everybody.⁴¹³

Generally, however, IK was seen to be a continuing and everyday element of Huu-ay-aht life; in turn, knowledge of everyday life was seen by all of the women as constituting IK. When describing IK, no one particular subject or field of knowledge was mentioned; instead, there seemed to be a general consensus that “IK encompasses all aspects of life”⁴¹⁴. When asked to describe IK, for example, one women responded: “I don’t know, I guess that would be our...our culture”.⁴¹⁵

Nevertheless, when questioned about distinctions between men’s and women’s IK, most of the women were able to provide concrete examples of Indigenous knowledge, although some

⁴¹² HFN Woman (12), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

⁴¹³ HFN Woman (7), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 2, 2004.

⁴¹⁴ HFN Woman (6), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴¹⁵ HFN Woman (21), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

did not feel that this distinction existed. Many of those that did recognize the distinction were also quick to point out that men and women utilize their distinct IK to help each other and work together.⁴¹⁶ Others were more explicit about the way(s) in which IK is divided along gender lines:

Well, I can't say we're anything like the men, because we have the women things, ah, when they're not home. I can remember my grandmother taking me out into the forest to tell me "this here grows [at] certain [times], and it's good for whatever". And she showed me the, you know, medicinal plants, and she said "it's good just about the whole summer long", and "this is how you do it", and "this is how you apply it". And she showed me the tree; "this is what this is good for". And see, um, the Natives used a lot of cedar; everything was made by cedar – cedar bark, I should say. The clothing, the...basket weaving, the masks, and the ropes, and...[my grandmother] showed me how to get the bark. She would indicate what time of the year it was good. And then she showed me the, ah, the basket material, and she said "it's only good from this month to this month. It grows [at the] same time"...And that was no big deal, just going to the forest, like, she'd take me just few yards away from home. It wasn't anything like what the boys had to do. They had to climb mountains....Um, I'm not sure about what the boys had to do, but I can imagine that's what they did, um, where they were taught to, um, meditate. We have a word for that, which is "*oosimch*". They had to go to...to, ah, rivers and lakes, or even out in the, um, into the ocean, or to the seaside to, ah, to bathe, and to meditate and ask permission for getting whatever they're gonna go after, whether it was, um, things from the woods, like animals, or if it's for fish, they'd have to...this is what I heard.⁴¹⁷

It was explained that women knew about men's knowledge and vice versa, so that although there was a distinction of IK along gender lines, there was nothing secretive or covert about either group's knowledge.

Some of the younger participants were able to provide examples of how knowledge was divided along gender lines with respect to the forest in particular. One respondent noted that: "there are definitely differences when it comes to forestry, because from what I know, it was the women who would collect and prepare the cedar bark (making clothing, etc. with it) and the

⁴¹⁶ HFN Woman (3), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

⁴¹⁷ HFN Woman (5), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

men would know about fishing and hunting”.⁴¹⁸ However, another noted that there were many similarities between men’s and women’s IK of the forest, because there were frequent interactions between the two groups about where resources were to be found:

I think with forestry, some of it’s quite similar, because they would, um...because the men would go look for a cedar to, you know, if they wanted to make it a canoe or something like that, and you know, they would be in a nice good area with cedar in there, so you know, with that, um, that could be, kind of, passed over to the women, because, you know, they’ve always gotta find the perfect size cedar trees or whatever to strip and stuff like that, so, it can be, like help each other out and stuff like that ...I guess it just depends on what kind of area, you know...what kind of specific area or topic you’re kind of talking about, there...there can be the issues that can overlap and help each other....help both genders out. But with forestry, I think, forestry would be a big, a big one that it does help each other out, and you know, like, you know, I’ve seen all of a sudden, you know, the women or the men went out, and all of a sudden they went past...you know, they found this huge berry patch. Well, of course they’re gonna go, you know, when they go home, they’re gonna tell, you know, women that they found this big berry patch.⁴¹⁹

In order to determine the extent of women’s IK about the forest, and also to determine how this IK might vary depending on the age of the women interviewed, the participants were asked to fill out a Traditional Use Spreadsheet (see Appendix D of this report to view the completed Spreadsheets). As previously discussed in the “Methodology” section of Chapter One in this report, for each tree or plant identified, the women were asked to provide specific information regarding the item’s English and/or Huu-ay-aht name, the English and/or Huu-ay-aht name of the location(s) in which the item is found, the purpose of the site in question (i.e. logging, recreational, etc...), a description of the site habitat, the harvesting period and method, the item’s use, the processing method, the intended purpose or destination of the item, and the source of the knowledge, which included knowledge of the item (i.e. cedar) itself, as well as knowledge of the processing techniques (i.e. weaving) involved.

⁴¹⁸ HFN Woman (6), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴¹⁹ HFN Woman (3), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

In Figure 13 at the end of this section, the most frequently cited forest items from the Traditional Use Spreadsheets are identified; the information was disaggregated according to age, and it was thus possible to establish if certain IK of the forest is specific to any one age group. The Spreadsheets were completed by three women from the “younger” age group, two from the “middle-age” group, and three from the “elderly/elder” group. Overall, berry picking, grass picking, and cedar stripping were cited as women’s most popular activities in the forest, although it should be noted that some individuals stressed cedar bark stripping as a family activity rather than as a specifically female-based one. However, women alone were thought to know how to weave baskets with the grasses and cedars. Men’s activities in the forest were predominantly thought to include carving (including the carving of canoes, traditionally) and logging. A distinction between women’s IK with relation to age was established in a few cases. The harvesting and sale of mushrooms was only discussed by younger participants, and mushroom picking was not thought to be a traditional HFN activity. The items noted in the “other” category were also only mentioned by younger participants. The younger participants also appeared to know of more types of berries than the other groups, but most of this information did come from a single participant, so age may not be relevant in this case.

Several of the women were initially reluctant to fill out the Spreadsheet, claiming that they did not know anything useful. However, as the process went on, many women appeared to become increasingly confident about their knowledge of the forest, which was ultimately found to be quite extensive. Since women do possess extensive knowledge of many of the items cited as potentially viable NTFPs and are already engaged in the harvesting, processing, and selling of them, it would appear that participation in the BHCF might be viewed as an interesting opportunity. However, as will be discussed in the last two sections of this chapter, this was not found to be the case.

Figure 12: Women's IK: Forest Product Significance by Age and Frequency

English Name	Huu-ay-aht Name	Other names	Frequency Mentioned			
			Y	M	E	Total
CEDAR			2	3*	1	6
Red Cedar	Humiss	Western Red Cedar	1	1	1	3
Yellow Cedar			1	1		2
GRASSES			3	4*	5	12
Sharp Grass	Gitupt/Chitupt	Sword Grass, Swamp Grass	2	1	3	6
3-Cornered Grass	Tux Tux/Tuch Tuch	Reed Grass, Triangular Grass	1	1	2	4
Sharp Edge Grass	Mamou			1		1
MUSHROOMS			4	0	0	4
Chanterelle Mushrooms			2			2
Pine Mushrooms			2			2
BERRIES			5	5	5	15
Black Berries	Kuwee			1	2	3
Thimble Berries	Hoopalth			1	1	2
Salmon Berries	Kuwee		1	1	1	3
Salal Berries	Yuhma		1	1	1	3
Huckleberries				1		1
Red Huckleberries			1			1
Blue Huckleberries			1			1
Evergreen Huckleberries			1			1
Wild Blue Berries				1		1
OTHER			6	0	0	6
Salal Leaves and Branches			1			1
Moss			1			1
Honeysuckle			1			1
Horsetail/Rush			1			1
Devil's Club			2			2

* Respondent did not differentiate between type

IV. Traditional and Current Forestry Activities

Prior to a discussion of why women are failing to express interest in and/or participate in the BHCF, a better understanding of women's perceptions of and activities in the forest is required. Not only will this serve to further illuminate women's IK of various NTFPs, it will also establish the centrality of the forest to the lives of many of these women. This would indicate that beyond NTFP harvesting, women may also want to get involved in the planning and management of the forest because it is of particular importance to them.

In response to questions about women's perceptions of the forest, the forest was variously described by the women as "life-sustaining"⁴²⁰, vulnerable, threatened, "beautiful"⁴²¹, and as something to be treated with respect (this particular view was expressed by many of the respondents). Interestingly, two of the respondents described the forest as frightening. One woman elaborated on the perception of the forest as something to be feared:

Well, [it] makes me think back [to] my kid days. My grandma would tell...we'd really listen to her what, you know, about everything. Ah, as a young child, you were taught to be afraid to go in there, because there's things in there that might harm you. And there was legends about the forest. But as I got older, that's when that was forgotten. You know, it wasn't totally forgotten, it was [in the] back of my mind, what if that old witch is here, you know, looking out for me, and I'm still small! 'Cause there is legends that can, you know, that can teach you something about being out after dark. Yeah, it's just a...sort of a disciplinary thing, because we as children, we used to run home before it got too dark, because that...that old lady will, you know, get us, and...and steal us and stuff like that.⁴²²

Generally, however, the forest was spoken of in highly positive terms, as a place in which the women could enjoy themselves, and also generate an income.

⁴²⁰ HFN Woman (6), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴²¹ HFN Woman (16), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

⁴²² HFN Woman (5), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

For the women interviewed, cedar bark, grasses, and mushrooms have the most relevance in financial terms. Most of the other items collected by these women are used for personal consumption or given as gifts. Cedar bark has traditionally played a very important role in Huu-ay-aht culture, as illustrated in the following excerpt from the HFN Website:

In Huu-ay-aht traditions, the resources of the forest, particularly the cedar tree, have special significance. Cedar wood and cedar bark both defined and surrounded the lives of Huu-ay-aht ancestors. From the time a newborn baby was swaddled in finely shredded bark and laid in a cedar cradle, to the time of death when one was wrapped in a cedar bark blanket and laid in a cedar coffin, cedar was an important part of everyday life. The Huu-ay-aht lived in cedar houses, cooked in cedar boxes, traveled in dugout cedar canoes, wore cedar bark clothes, and gathered and stored food in cedar baskets....Groups of Huu-ay-aht women would travel to known groves of good cedar to obtain tree bark. A prayer of respect would be offered to the selected tree before the bark was stripped from the trunk. Next, the outer bark was peeled off, and the inner bark bundled and carried home. Using a variety of techniques, the bark was processed into a soft, flexible material that found many uses: bags and baskets, mats, box covers, diapers, hats, belts, rope, capes, blankets, nets, towels, amulets and more. Similarly, cedar trees were cut down, and the wood used for numerous purposes: houses, canoes, boxes, dishes, utensils and more. Trees that had bark removed from them decades ago, even centuries, today bear the scars. Trees cut down, or with wood removed, are also found today. They are known as culturally modified trees, or CMTs. Within Huu-ay-aht traditions cedar, and its bark, are considered to have supernatural and healing qualities. Huu-ay-aht stories tell us that cedar bark is regarded as medicine by supernatural beings, and that people traded it to gain special powers. Cedar bark was always an important component of healing ceremonies. The spirits of the cedars had to be treated with respect.⁴²³

Cedar today still plays a very important role in the lives of many of the women that were interviewed. Although it was once used to craft the variety of items mentioned above, today it is primarily used, along with grasses, to weave baskets and other handcrafts (such as Christmas bells, doll accoutrements, cedar roses, and earrings, some of which are pictured in the following pages) that can be sold for substantial sums of money. Although there are many different techniques used to weave these baskets, “the basic structures of woven baskets are made up of

⁴²³ Huu-ay-aht Website (Healing the Heart – Sacred Cedar).

horizontal and vertical elements. The horizontal is called weft [and] the vertical is called the warp”.⁴²⁴

The making of the baskets and other handcrafts is a time consuming and tedious task, which is why some baskets can sell for as much as \$1000.⁴²⁵ However, this would be the price for a very large basket that is finely woven (as opposed to other baskets, in which the weave is larger). Most of the basket weavers interviewed sell their baskets for \$6 to \$100, again, depending on the size and the quality of the weave. The baskets are sold through museum stores and tourists shops, or are purchased directly from the women by tourists at the reserve, although some of the women seemed to indicate a recent falling off in the sales of their baskets. However, as one women noted:

The market is out there, the person can go out and get it, find the market. I’m [just] not the kind of person to go and sit all day weaving. I know some people like to work on their baskets day after day, and they’re happy. Most people just make them for selling. And there’s not that many, not in this village anyhow.⁴²⁶

It is therefore possible that a decrease in sales for some of the women could be attributed to a decrease in the amount of time spent weaving baskets and/or actively seeking out markets, especially as almost all of the basket weavers were from the “elderly/elder” age group. Indeed, the time required to weave a basket is substantial, as the materials must first be harvested then dried (in the case of grass, sun bleaching is also required, and the grasses are often dyed before they are woven into the basket). When the women are ready to use the materials, they must be soaked in water to regain their flexibility. The grasses and cedar are then cut using a tool called a splitter (pictured below), which ensures uniformity of size (a pin may also be used for this purpose). Some women prefer to weave the grasses and cedar around a bottle, while others use

⁴²⁴ Ginger, Johnson. 1999, pp. 4.

⁴²⁵ HFN Woman (8), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 2, 2004.

⁴²⁶ HFN Woman (7), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, June 2, 2004.

free form. As well, traditional designs (such as those pictured below) are incorporated into many of the baskets.



Figures 13 and 14: Traditional Grass Splitter

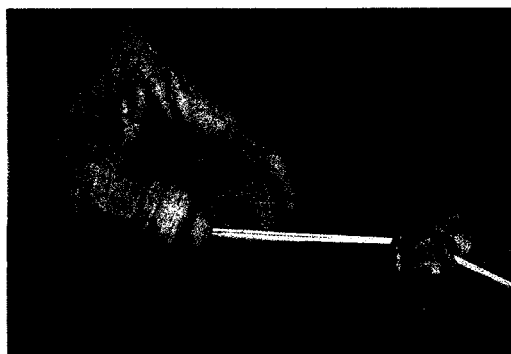
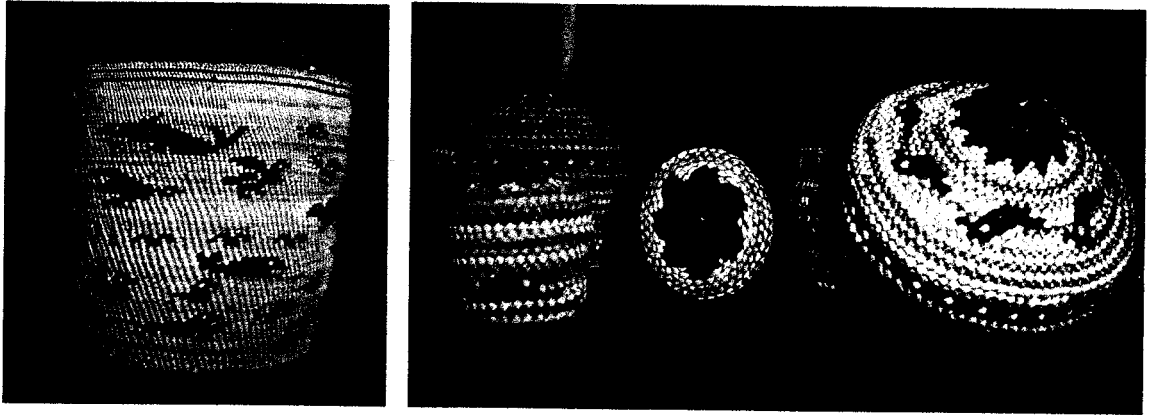


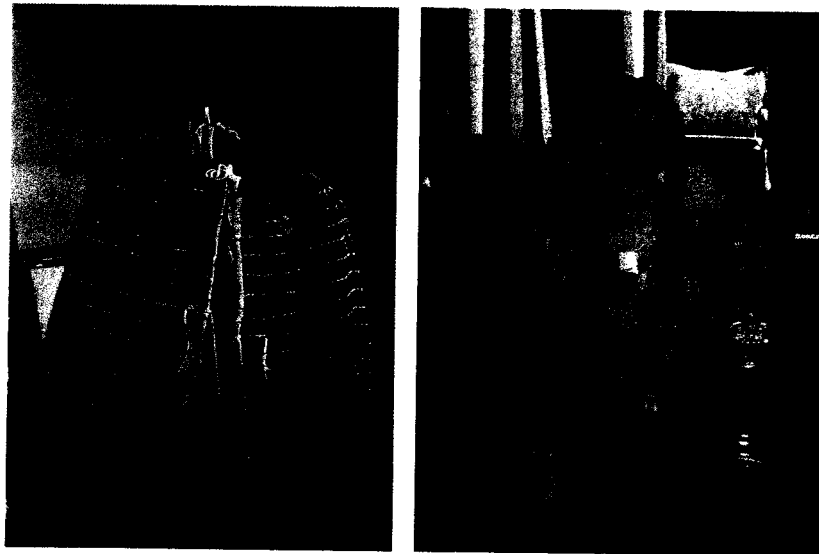
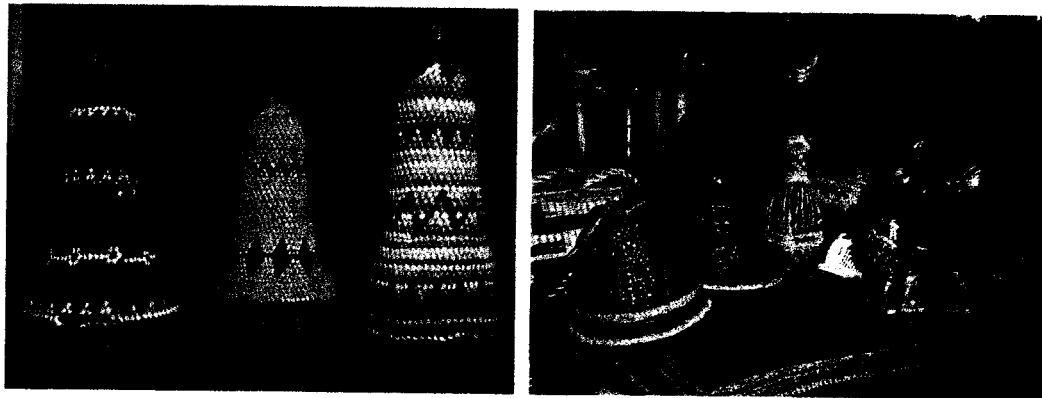
Figure 15: Splitting Grass



Figure 16: Splitting Cedar



Figures 17 and 18: Finely Woven Baskets Featuring Traditional Designs



Figures 19, 20, 21, 22: Other Weaving Projects

Many of the women interviewed indicated that they were teaching (or at the very least, *trying* to teach) their granddaughters how to weave. It was felt that there was an interest on

behalf of younger girls in the community to learn the technique, which many of the younger and middle-aged women interviewed lamented at either never having learned, or forgotten.

Mushroom picking was not thought to be a traditional HFN activity, nor was it articulated as an activity in which only women are involved. Of the two women who mentioned mushrooms, only one had been seriously involved in selling them several years ago, and she learned how to pick and sell mushrooms from her partner.⁴²⁷ She stopped harvesting about 11 years ago in order to raise her children, but has recently been contemplating returning to mushroom picking, especially as the harvest season approaches.⁴²⁸ In order to make a profit from mushroom picking, pickers must spend 8-12 hours daily in the forest harvesting and cleaning mushrooms during the mushroom season, which runs from late summer to the first frost.⁴²⁹ This level of dedication is arduous, but can result in profits of over \$300/day.⁴³⁰

There are two types of mushrooms that are picked. The first, known as Chanterelle mushrooms, can bring in revenues of \$2 to \$5 a pound, depending on the quality of the mushrooms.⁴³¹ Generally, the drier the mushroom, the higher the price. The second type of mushrooms are called Pine Mushrooms, and they sell for substantially more money than the Chanterelles. Revenues can range from \$35 to \$50 a pound; in this case, the price is dependent on where the mushrooms rank on a numerical scale:

It's hard to explain, but ah, number ones, there's a web that grows underneath the mushroom, and if the web is all the way around, that's number 1. And if there's no web at the bottom...that would be a number 6. So you'll only get 50 cents a pound for it. And if it's all around, you'll get...whatever price it is. It could be \$35, it could be \$50 at...the season, so you'll get...like just get \$50 a pound, so you know, they'll weigh all the number ones separate, and number sixes in a different basket.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ HFN Woman (17), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 10, 2004.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ HFN Woman (6), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴³⁰ HFN Woman (17), Interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 10, 2004.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

Preserving this delicate web requires that Pine mushrooms be picked with extreme care, so that they can be sold to local buyers (of which there are approximately 4) for the highest possible profit.⁴³³

In discussing women's current forestry activities, it is important to note that aside from basket weaving and mushroom picking, women are also employed more formally in forestry. Several of the women interviewed either currently work for the HFN on forestry related issues, or have done so in the past. For example, many of the women were involved in one or more of the Traditional Use Studies (TUS) conducted by the HFN to assist in the Treaty negotiation process. The most extensive of these studies, which involved mapping and creating a database of traditional use sites and activities, commenced in 1997 and took 5 years to complete, culminating in the recent development of a CD-ROM which contains detailed information about HFN culture and resource use. A great deal of work was done with respect to forestry, of which the study was able to determine the following:

- Forestry activities had the seventh highest frequency in the database;
- This reflects the traditional dependence of HFN on natural resources;
- The forest is the source of much material required for clothing, canoes, house building, household implements, etc;
- Many HFN still use the forest resources for traditional activities;
- Forestry activity makes up 5.6% of all of the activities carried out in the HFN traditional territories; these forestry activities take place in 8% of the traditional use sites identified by the study (which number 905 in total).
- Only about 5% of the inland areas of the traditional territory of the HFN has been systematically surveyed for archaeological resources
- As more inland areas are surveyed, it is a certainty that many more forestry utilization sites will be located and documented

⁴³³ Ibid.

- It is anticipated that the frequency of forestry in the activities in the TUS Database will increase dramatically in the coming years.⁴³⁴

This and other TUS have led to the development of the HFN referral process to establish the impact of proposed developments on the HFN territory (especially as they relate to CMTs) that was discussed in the previous chapter. All proposed developments must be investigated through mapping and archaeological work to determine if the HFN will permit their commencement.⁴³⁵ Several women have played key roles in implementing this process, and the initiative is, in fact, headed by a woman. However, despite the fact that the referral process has been applied to the area in which the Community Forest is situated, some of the women involved in it still do not feel as though they have a clear idea of what the BHCF initiative is about. This represents a larger problem regarding the degree to which women are (not) informed about the Community Forest, which will be the focus of the remaining sections of this chapter.

V. Women's Perceptions of the BHCF

Although a few of the women interviewed did have an understanding of why the BHCF was initiated and how its development was evolving, the majority were uninformed about the Community Forest. When asked to describe what they knew about the initiative, the women's responses included the following: "Ah...not too much. No. I know...I know we're in partnership with it, but ah, I don't....I don't see...I don't see too many of Huu-ay-ahts being actually involved. I know we have some people that sit on the Board, and...[that's it]"⁴³⁶; "I'm very...in a fog on that one; I don't know what's going on. All I know is that they got a whole bunch of guys out there doing [things], and...I don't know what they're doing...most people don't know"⁴³⁷; "Not very much. I suppose what they're trying to do is good. I can't say [what

⁴³⁴ Cultural Source (2), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 17, 2004

⁴³⁵ HFN Woman (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

⁴³⁶ HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

⁴³⁷ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

their goals are], because I haven't really been reading up about it. I understand they do have meetings every now and then, but I don't attend them, so I can't say anything"⁴³⁸; I couldn't [describe it], not really. It hasn't been a part of my job, so I've stayed away from it".⁴³⁹ Some women, especially those in the "elderly/elder" category, had not even heard of the BHCF at all (though there were women in each category who had not heard of it). It is important to note that several of the women who offered these responses are either currently involved in forestry in a formal capacity, or have been to some extent in the past. It is also important to note that the women who were selected for these interviews were chosen because of their involvement, whether formal or informal, in forestry.

Of all of the women interviewed, only two (both of whom were in the "younger" age category) indicated a solid understanding of the BHCF initiative. One of these women is, of course, a member of the BHCF Board of Directors. The other was once formally involved in forestry and currently works in close contact with the HFN on a myriad of resource initiatives. It was largely through this contact that she developed an understanding of the Community Forest, which was articulated as follows:

[It's] a group or, or, or a society, or whatever you want to call it...[that was] put together so then, you know, both communities are...have input, you know, and...we can both benefit from some...some of the things. You know...if they go logging, or whatever it is, or, you know, some of the things that they may not wanna do...you know, it does benefit both communities. And, you know, we all...we all get a say...in it, because, you know, it's our community, and not just...well, I guess, well, 'cause there's always a big thing about Bamfield was *ours*, and...whatever...and we're so close, you know, we're...we all spend a lot of time down in Bamfield, as well a lot of them spend time at Pachena. And, you know, we are one big community, and I think that's the one big thing that's been happening with all the development with...with the Band now, in the last few years, is always try to include Bamfield, because, you know, if we do anything, it's gonna affect them, and, you know, they're still...kind of a part of us as well. You know, it gives Bamfield, you know, some...some good...what is that word? Good, um....benefits

⁴³⁸ HFN Woman (7), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 2, 2004.

⁴³⁹ HFN Woman (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

them, you know, and it gives them some kind of, um, something for, you know, people to actually go there, you know, they see something that's good happening there as well as in Pachena, and, you know...it might bring more tourists to the area, or just more...more people coming home.⁴⁴⁰

Again, this woman was quick to point out that there had been little discussion of the Community Forest at Band meetings, and that the only reason she was informed about the BHCF was “just because I’ve worked with, ah, with our Forestry Department, and you know, I’ve...worked with...with [the HFN] and stuff, you know, I...I kind of...find out some things here and there, and have understood it from that, but I’ve never really been involved with it”.⁴⁴¹ Nor, unfortunately, have virtually any of the other women interviewed. Even women who have been involved in BHCF to some degree did not recognize their involvement, because they did not understand the initiative, or how they were contributing to it. While some women were unconcerned about being uninformed, others expressed frustration that they did not have a better idea of the Community Forest. Regardless, this lack of understanding presents a barrier to women’s participation in the BHCF that requires investigation.

VI. Women’s Participation in the BHCF

In this section, the potential opportunities for women’s participation in the BHCF will be assessed, as will be the barriers to their involvement. Finally, suggestions as to how these obstacles might be overcome will be offered.

i. Potential Opportunities for Participation

By virtue of their extensive knowledge of non-timber forest items, the BHCFS’ commitment to encourage NTFP harvesting in the Community Forest has the potential to present a unique opportunity for HFN women. This is especially true in the cases of salal, mushrooms, and even

⁴⁴⁰ HFN Woman (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

jams, all of which are recognized by members of the BHCFS as the most financially viable NTFPs. Although jams have not traditionally been made for sale, women's knowledge of berries could result in the development of a profitable jam product if it is marketed with a BHCF logo. This branding tool may also prove especially useful for basket weavers, as tourists are already willing to pay large sums of money for authentic First Nations' baskets, and it is quite possible that they would be willing to pay more for baskets made from cedar and grasses harvested from an ecologically sustainable forest (and one which is being managed in accordance with First Nations' principles). Basket weavers may also be able to benefit from the BHCFS' future intention to provide market research results to entrepreneurs.

Moreover, as "the keepers of the culture"⁴⁴², women may find themselves in a position to make valuable contributions to any cultural educational programs initiated within the BHCF, such as tours of CMTs or medicinal plants. Such educational initiatives can be undertaken with both tourists and local community members in mind. For example, one of the women who was involved in the CMT identification crew described the following outing in the Community Forest:

Last summer, we ended up taking...we had a science camp, and we did this joint trip with the...Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest and our CMT crew – we all went out and, you know, [one of the Board members and his workers were there] and we...we all, you know, got to, you know, tell the kids, you know, from...from both...you know, learn things [about the forest] from both different sides. You know, like, different tools that we use to check things out, or, you know, or how to use a compass, and how to be safe in the forest, and different types of species of plants and trees.⁴⁴³

Educational ventures of this variety thus present an opportunity for women to play a role in the BHCF.

⁴⁴² Cultural Source (19), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 11, 2004.

⁴⁴³ HFN Woman (-), interviewed by Nicole Simms, British Columbia, 2004.

For some women, participation in the BHCF from the standpoint of harvesting NTFPs may not be desirable if they do not harvest forest products, sell the products that they do harvest, or generate enough income from the sale of their products to offset user fees. However, there is no reason why these women could not be involved in the planning and/or management of the Community Forest. Despite the current lack of female participation within the BHCFS, the BHCFS Board members have certainly expressed an interest in increasing the number of women involved regardless of their formal background in forestry. As such, the Board would likely be extremely receptive should any women from either community indicate an inclination to participate.

ii. Barriers to Participation

There are therefore various ways in which women's participation in the BHCF could be facilitated, both at present and in the coming years. However, women will never be able to benefit from these opportunities if they are not aware of their existence. During their interviews, many of the women indicated that there was a significant communication problem between the BHCFS and the HFN community. According to one respondent: "there has been no attempt to let the larger community know what's going on with the community forest. Once in a while, I hear a little blurb, but I haven't seen any info sheets or anything going out to the community, which would definitely be helpful".⁴⁴⁴ This sense of being left out of the initiative was echoed in another respondent's claim that "there's a...big communication gap, there's...nobody ever talks to us about anything outside of, ah, what they've done so far, and how much they've earned so far, and how much is coming to us. Nothing...[about opportunities], I would say"⁴⁴⁵, and yet

⁴⁴⁴ HFN Woman (6), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁴⁵ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

another woman's observation that there was a "lack of communication...[the women] just don't know they have an opportunity to participate".⁴⁴⁶

This lack of communication is especially felt by women living away from home:

They don't really...explain any of....especially like....You know, if you lived in Bamfield, obviously you'd kind of know a little bit about what it might be about, but [I] guess that's that one difference from on and off reserve type of thing is [that], you know, there's things down there that people know about and people just don't know anything about it when they're...when they don't live at home. There's not really the...information there for us to...to find out.⁴⁴⁷

Not only was access to information seen as a problem; one woman discussed the inaccessibility of the information that was provided, noting that the length and technical nature of the documents involved in forestry helped to explain "why no one knows about [the Community Forest]; no one wants to bother with [the documents]".⁴⁴⁸

Another respondent indicated that the fact that the BHCF is physically located in Bamfield might also act as a deterrent to Huu-ay-ahts who might otherwise seek to become involved:

The...thing with the community forest [is that] it happens in Bamfield, and I think that's what separates it...I imagine that's how it is in all small communities; they're just so close knit and they're just so used to staying home that they just...I don't know, they just...maybe they don't wanna be involved, or they just...feel they haven't been approached properly kind of thing.⁴⁴⁹

One respondent offered a unique insight into how the HFN perception of the forest may simply preclude any attempts to encourage NTFP harvesting on behalf of HFN women:

I went to school and I learned a white man way, and... in my mind [I started to] look at trees as, "oh wow, you know, if we give this to the company, you know, we'll get a...a cut on it, or get money for it". That's how I started thinking, as a white person. You know, there's profit there, there's profit there; we can get money out of it. But when I started

⁴⁴⁶ HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

⁴⁴⁷ HFN Woman (3), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, May 26, 2004.

⁴⁴⁸ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁴⁹ HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

learning from the elders, “this is how we did it, and the reason why we did it this way is...”, you know, there’s someone up there watching you that you don’t destroy the land. It’s a scared...trees are sacred to them. And...as one...one person said to me, they says “you know the difference between you and I? We look at the same tree, you look at the beauty of what the Creator has given you, the beauty of it, and [your] people look at it as something very sacred and as something that you treasure in your heart. And here I am looking up at [that] tree and I’m seeing...money signs”. That’s what he told me. And that meant a lot to me, thinking, you know...I was probably thinking in those terms too, by going to school, and watching these guys getting rich on our trees, and...building roads, tearing apart the...tearing apart the beauty of our land.⁴⁵⁰

It is possible that the reconceptualization of traditionally harvested forest items as commoditized “Non-Timber Forest *Products*” runs contrary to long-held notions about the sacredness of land and nature, and that women would chose not to get involved in NTFP harvesting as a result. However, as many of the women interviewed already engage in the sale of products they make from forest items, it would seem unlikely that many of them subscribe to this philosophy, at least in practice.

Finally, on a more technical note, the implementation of user fees in the form of exclusive leases could very well deter several community members from harvesting NTFPs in the BHCFS, as there are countless other areas in which they could harvest items like cedar and berries that lie outside of the BHCFS’ jurisdiction.

iii. Recommendations For Facilitating Women’s Participation

Having identified several barriers to women’s participation in the BHCF and the BHCFS, it is important that recommendations for overcoming these obstacles be put forth. Given the number of concerns about poor communication articulated in the last section, it is not surprising that many of the women’s attempts at proposing a solution centered around this issue. It was generally felt that if women’s participation in the BHCF was to be improved, the BHCFS

⁴⁵⁰ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

would have to make a far greater effort to inform and engage with the HFN community. To this end, one woman noted that:

If this Bamfield Community forest would get more...more involved with ah, with our members... ...if they brought it out [to Ana'cla] more. They...are starting to have meetings at our hall here, and you know, it does bring in a few people, and that's what needs to be happening. They'll be lucky to snag half a dozen people at first, and then you work your way up, maybe you'll get a dozen the next time, but....it's just...people get ah...sometimes they like to hear from somebody else, you know, like, "it's ok to go up there, you know, you...you might learn something. Come on up, you know". You gotta...you gotta be real persuasive with people around here.⁴⁵¹

The same woman suggested that the BHCFS make greater attempts to inform the community in written form, and stressed the importance of getting the message of the BHCF out to all community members:

I think when we do our [Band] mail-out, if they were to do an update letter in the mail-out [that would be helpful]. Because I know we have a lot of kids in post secondary now that are interested in fields where they'll benefit from the community forest, and the community forest will benefit from them. If they just approached people more and talked to people, do community consultations and meetings, and just not give up. I think most problems usually arise 'cause of communication. [It's] not necessarily the people doing the project; sometimes people don't want to listen. Sometimes you have to find that one specific thing that will spark an interest. Someone may not be interested in one specific thing; you just have to build it up and find the thing that does interest them. Another thing [they could do could involve] promotional stuff: send [out] pamphlets [and] brochures.⁴⁵²

This statement is interesting in that it addresses the dichotomy inherent in some of the BHCFS' members claims that the community itself is responsible for being uninformed, and the women's assertion that the BHCFS is to be blamed for not attempting to properly inform the community about the BHCF.

This statement also emphasizes the importance of community consultation and meetings; rather than simply sending out written information (which the HFN BHCFS Board members

⁴⁵¹ HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

⁴⁵² HFN Woman (12), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana'cla, British Columbia, June 4, 2004.

have already found to be an ineffective way of communicating with the community), more personal interactions, such as one-on-one discussions or even small focus groups, could assist community members in better understanding how the BHCF might be relevant for them in particular. As one woman noted: “I go to all the meetings just in case I could get something out of it, and usually there’s really nothing that I...that interests me. There’s nothing that refers to me or my family”.⁴⁵³ Perhaps the BHCFS could make a greater attempt to personalize their descriptions of the BHCF initiative. Holding smaller gatherings could also help to dispel some of the mystery surrounding the lengthy and technical forest documents, as “if the people could actually come and explain [them]”, they would be a lot more accessible and easy for people to understand.⁴⁵⁴

For future reference, participation in NTFP harvesting in the BHCF might be encouraged if the BHCFS allows individuals to harvest in the Community Forest (and indeed, even utilize the BHCF logo, if one is developed) for a specified period of time without charging user fees. In this way, individuals may find that their profits will offset the cost of the user fees, and will hence continue to harvest in the BHCF, even after fees are implemented. Otherwise, the imposition of fees could seriously detract from any initial interest in harvesting in the Community Forest. As well, because the HFN does appoint members to the BHCFS Board of Directors, there could be an attempt made in the future to appoint women in the community to the Board.

Finally, the continuance of the Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women women’s group and an increase in the number of its members are of the utmost importance, as this initiative has significant potential to empower women so that they feel better able to voice their opinions about all HFN activities, including the BHCF.

⁴⁵³ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

⁴⁵⁴ HFN Woman (5), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Ana’cla, British Columbia, May 31, 2004.

VII. Conclusion

Not all of the women interviewed were interested in participating in the BHCF or even in knowing anything about it. Whether this stems from a genuine disinterest, however, or a lack of knowledge about the project (and hence a lack of understanding regarding opportunities for involvement) is difficult to say. What is apparent, however, is that regardless of whether or not women do want to get involved, and regardless of whether or not they are in possession of forest-specific IK that could be applied in culturally and financially productive ways, their options for doing so are severely limited by a lack of effective communication between the BHCFs and the HFN community, as well as a lack of accessible documents. Only when women are properly informed about the BHCF's objectives can they make equally informed decisions about whether or not to get involved in various activities in the Community Forest, or the actual planning and management of these activities, for even in the absence of relevant Indigenous knowledge, Native women have much to contribute to community-based resource management initiatives, and have the right to be involved in such initiatives to the same extent as are other community members, should they so chose. If they are not aware that a choice exists, then, for all intents and purposes, it does not.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER SIX : Conclusion

I. Introduction

The Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest represents an opportunity by which the communities of Bamfield and Ana'cla can (re)gain and maintain control over a vital cultural and financial asset: their forest. Having witnessed the environmental devastation imposed on the region through decades of unsustainable timber extraction, those who are involved in the initiative are well aware of its importance. Yet for the Huu-ay-aht First Nation, which continues to struggle through a lengthy treaty negotiation process with the government, the Community Forest holds special meaning insofar as it enables the community to reassert its rights over its traditional territories.

Indeed, it has been argued that community forest tenures are particularly well-suited to First Nations communities; in their ideal form, such arrangements:

...should provide a land base that is community controlled and directed so as to create cooperative decision making structures that empower the whole community. These arrangements could draw on traditional, experiential knowledge as well as scientific expertise in such a way as to ensure the protection of ecological diversity while fostering a diversity of forest uses, including non-economic ones...In this way, the arrangements would return both economic and non-economic values to the community.⁴⁵⁵

In principle, this sounds very similar to the values, visions, and objectives expressed by the Board members of the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society in the third chapter of this report. Yet the emphasis on the importance of community empowerment articulated here is incongruent with the lived experiences of several Huu-ay-aht women, who have had little opportunity to benefit in any way from an initiative that they generally know very little about.

⁴⁵⁵ M'Gonigle, Michael. 1998, pp. 168.

The identification of this lack of knowledge, as well as some of its causes and potential remedies, constitute some of the main findings of this report, which were discussed in detail in the previous chapter, and will be recapped and elaborated upon here. It is based upon these findings that a series of recommendations regarding potential avenues for future studies will be offered in this chapter, followed by some closing remarks.

II. Summary of Main Findings

The key findings from the research are as follows:

- Greenspace values were the major motivational factor that prompted research on tenure opportunities on behalf of Bamfield community members, and ultimately resulted in the decision to apply for a community forest tenure rather than another type.
- Accounts of the partnership between the two communities were often divided significantly along Native/non-Native lines regarding the historical relationship between the two communities and the balance of power within the BHCFS, but the benefits of the partnership in terms of securing and maintaining tenure were widely acknowledged.
- Women's participation is generally agreed to be lacking within the BHCF, and a desire to increase women's participation (and indeed, community participation in general) was articulated by all BHCFS Board members. One of the central reasons cited for this lack of female participation involves the discursive construction of forestry as a masculine endeavor, which likely dissuades women from taking an interest in formal forestry activities. Various strategies as to how participation might be increased were proposed, including increased communication with the Bamfield and Ana'cla communities via written and verbal correspondence, and the proposition was put forth that interest and hence participation will increase once harvesting has begun and community members are able to see the tangible outcomes of the BHCF.
- The visions for the BHCF as expressed by the BHCFS Board of Directors converged around three areas, namely the importance of sustainability, alternate sources of revenue, and community involvement. However, on closer inspection, these areas of convergence were found to be subject to conflicts, especially around issues of sustainability and power, which indicate to some extent a lack of trust between the two communities. These conflicts were found to be in keeping with some of the critiques in the political ecology literature, which emphasize the importance of development projects to Indigenous communities rather than attempting to articulate an "alternate-development" or "post-development" discourse that does not represent the real needs and desires of communities.

- An important conflict was also centered around the difficulty involved in defining “community”, and hence in defining who benefits from the BHCf initiative. This conflict is the result of the three distinct community groups vying for a foothold in the Community Forest, namely the communities of Bamfield, Ana’cla, and Port Alberni. This finding supports the assertion cited in chapter two of this report that “the promise and rhetoric [of CNRM] represent one reality, and the implementation and delivery on optimistic aspirations and pronouncements quite another”.⁴⁵⁶
- At present, although it is felt that the planning and management of the BHCf has been *guided* by Indigenous principles of sustainability, IK has not been incorporated into the management system. It is felt that the future harvesting of Non-Timber Forest Products may present an avenue whereby IK can play a role in the Community Forest, especially women’s IK, which is often based on non-timber forest resources.
- IK itself was defined in similar terms by all participants, that is as traditional oral knowledge passed down through generations of familial lines.
- Women generally felt that their employment opportunities were improving as gender roles become less and less defined within the community, yet concerns were still expressed about the extent to which these opportunities go beyond those afforded to women through their familial ties with powerful men, and to which women are “taken seriously” within the community.
- The on/off-reserve tension between those women who live “at home” and “away from home” has the potential to undermine women’s empowerment within the community, and hence their desire/ability to participate in HFN initiatives, including the BHCf (and presents another difficulty in attempting to define the “community” which constitutes the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest). The development of the Celebration of Huu-ay-aht Women (CHW) women’s group has the potential to bridge this gap and contribute to feelings of empowerment on behalf of women in the community.
- A discourse of “blame” has been counterproductive on several fronts: First, rather than working together, many members of the BHCfS blame the community of Ana’cla for not taking a greater interest in the Community Forest, while the community members blame the BHCfS for not making information about the Community Forest available or accessible; Similarly, on-reserve women blame those who live away from home for failing to visit home enough and thereby excluding themselves from the reserve, while those who live away from home feel that they are being excluded by women on the reserve, which undermines their sense of empowerment and dissuades them from speaking out about and participating in matters which are of interest to them.
- Forest-related IK is largely divided along gender lines within the community, although there are some areas of convergence (such as cedar bark stripping or

⁴⁵⁶ Kellert, Stephen, *et al.* 2000, pp. 706-707.

mushroom harvesting). HFN men primarily use forest resources for carving (including canoe carving in the past), they hunt in the forest, and they are formally engaged in logging. HFN women also possess extensive forest-related IK, most notably of cedar bark and grasses (and their many uses) and berries. Women are also involved formally in forest research for the HFN in its dealings with Weyerhaeuser, namely in terms of the identification of CMTs and the compilation of TUSs. Women's knowledge is sometimes differentiated by age, so that younger women seem to have more extensive knowledge of mushrooms and various types of berries, while elderly women (or elders) are more knowledgeable about various weaving techniques.

- Women's IK of these items and processes often results in financial profit, which supports the notion that they might have an important role to play in determining the types of NTFPs that get harvested in the BHCF. The development of a BHCF logo could serve to significantly heighten the financial benefits that women are able to derive from NTFP harvesting in the Community Forest.
- While women seem to be formally involved to a much greater extent in the HFN's dealings with Weyerhaeuser, very few of the women interviewed knew anything substantial about the BHCF. As such, their opportunities for involvement are severely limited.
- In order to overcome this limitation, both the BHCFS and the community of Ana'cla must make greater attempts to engage with one another through both written and verbal communication that takes place on a more personalized, "one-on-one" level than it has in the past. Documents that are produced by the BHCFS should also be made more accessible to community members through the use of less technical language. The issue of user fees (and their potential to deter community members from harvesting NTFPs in the BHCF) must also be addressed at some point in the near future, and the HFN should also consider appointing more women to the BHCFS Board of Directors.

III. Recommendations for Future Study

This particular research can be viewed in part as a response to a call for case studies of the role of Indigenous women in forest management.⁴⁵⁷ Few such studies have been engaged in with respect to Canada's First Nations, despite the fact that Aboriginal peoples across the country have been participating in a variety of new resource management arrangements that have the potential to either empower women and their IK, or relegate them to the margins. As such, additional study of the opportunities and/or barriers that are created for Aboriginal women

⁴⁵⁷ Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. 2001.

and their Indigenous knowledge via the implementation of community forest management and various other new tenure arrangements is required.

Adding a comparative dimension to this investigation would contribute greatly to its depth, as undertaking one case study in isolation has limited applicability to other places and groups. Of course, it is recognized that the success or failure of an endeavor depends to a large extent on its local context, but this does not preclude the extraction from it of certain lessons which could, at the very least, be taken into account by communities seeking to engage in similar initiatives. Comparative studies undertaken among various First Nations communities involved in similar as well as other types of tenure arrangements could prove particularly useful in this respect (moreover such investigations do not have to examine only those tenure arrangements involving forestry; tenure arrangements over other resources could also be a focus of study).

The BHCF itself presents an interesting case for further study, as the project is currently only in its infancy. Revisiting this particular case study in several years may yield valuable insights regarding the efficacy of certain planning and management strategies, and may also assist in proving a clearer understanding of the shape that new forest tenure arrangements being implemented in Canada are taking. Perhaps, in accordance with the hopes of one BHCF Board member, further study of the BHCF as it progresses will reveal it to be a model of community forestry “recognized...around the world [wherein] other people, by recognition, would want us to come to their community forests in their respective countries, possibly to help them...set up theirs something like ours, or help them through some of the hurdles that they’re going through”.⁴⁵⁸ Conversely, if women continue to play a marginal role in the BHCF, it is possible that further study of the Community Forest could serve as a warning to other communities

⁴⁵⁸ BHCF Board member (15), interviewed by Nicole Simms, Port Alberni, British Columbia, June 9, 2004.

regarding the consequences of excluding (whether intentionally or not) certain members of a community at the outset of a community-based resource management initiative.

Studies such as these may be undertaken in due course. However, there is still a great deal more work that could be undertaken at present with regard to the BHCF. In keeping with the guidelines of gender-sensitive research, this study focused specifically on women's IK in relation to other women's IK, although there was an attempt made to assess the way in which women's IK of the forest generally diverges from that of men. This by no means implies that men's knowledge of the forest and/or perceptions of the BHCF and the BHCFS are unimportant or homogenous; rather, the objective within the confined scope of this one report was to illustrate the diversity of women's IK, and as such, the multiplicity of ways in which it can and should contribute to the management and planning of the Community Forest. A larger project could perhaps be undertaken which would unveil the many distinctions between men's IK, then compare both sets of knowledge in an attempt to uncover areas of convergence and contestation.

Ultimately, there is no doubt that the scope of future studies will be as varied as the many different types of tenure regimes, communities, and places that inspire them.

IV. Closing Remarks

In redesigning British Columbia's forest policy, it must be recognized that one form of tenure will not serve today's varied and frequently conflicting public objectives. A system of diverse but complementary tenure arrangements is necessary. The form a particular tenure should take, and to whom it should be granted, will depend on the mix of values the land in question is expected to produce.⁴⁵⁹

The BHCF is one of the more recent in a long line of attempts to initiate community forests across British Columbia that date back to the 1950s. Such attempts have often failed to exhibit the three characteristics of a "true" community forest, which include respecting the

⁴⁵⁹ Haley, David, and Luckert, Martin K. 1998, pp. 145.

needs and integrity of the “community” as a whole, including considerations of both the natural environment and future generations, and establishing and maintaining local control over both political decision-making, and economic institutions of production and marketing.⁴⁶⁰ Yet the BHCf is in possession of each of these characteristics, making it a rare example of a “true” community forest. This form of tenure is well suited to the communities of Bamfield and Ana’cla, who sought to achieve a high degree of autonomy over a plot of land so as to be able to maintain it in accordance with a variety of sustainable values and principles.

However, although the BHCfS Board members articulate their values and visions for the community forest tenure in similar ways, a deeper investigation has revealed that some of these values might still be up for question, leading to conflict among those involved. That those involved are so few in number, and are almost exclusively male, severely compromises the extent to which the community can truly maintain “local control” over the BHCf and “respect the needs and integrity of the community as a whole”, unless less inclusive understandings of “local” and “community” are implied and accepted. It is therefore imperative that as a community initiative, the BHCfS continue its endeavors to engage with the communities of Bamfield and Ana’cla, or countless opportunities for individuals in both communities to derive benefits from the Community Forest, and vice versa, will be missed. This is especially clear in the case of women from the Huu-ay-aht community, whose role in the BHCf has proven to be significantly limited despite their extensive forest-related Indigenous knowledge. This knowledge, as well as women more generally, can make valuable contributions to the sustainable and successful management of the BHCf, and endeavoring to ensure their meaningful inclusion in the planning and management of the Community Forest represents a crucial challenge for the BHCfS in the coming years.

⁴⁶⁰ M’Gonigle, Michael. 1998, pp. 159-160.

APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A: Interview Questions for Aboriginal Women Formally or Informally
Involved in Forestry**

A) Questions about yourself and your perception of gender:

- 1) What is your age range?
- 2) What is your job and what does it entail?
- 3) How would you describe your role in the community?
- 4) To what extent do you feel that this role shaped by your gender?
- 5) In general, how would you describe your experience as a women in the Huu-ay-aht community?
- 6) Can you comment on the relationship between on/off reserve women and how this relationship influences women's participation in resource management, if at all?

B) Questions about Indigenous knowledge:

- 7) How would you define "Indigenous knowledge" (what is it, where does it come from, who has it)?
- 8) Do you think that there is a distinction between men's and women's Indigenous knowledge, and if so, can you provide some examples that relate to the forest?

C) Questions about the forest in general:

- 9) What does the forest mean to you (what is your relationship to it, why is it important, how should it be treated)?
- 10) Do you feel that your perception of the forest differs from that of other groups in the community (i.e. men, women in different age groups)? If so, how do you know this is the case? And why do you think this might be the case?
- 11) What does Aboriginal forest management mean to you (i.e. what are its goals, what methods does it entail, who participates, who benefits)?
- 12) What does "western scientific" forest management mean to you (i.e. what are its goals, what methods does it entail, who participates, who benefits)?
- 13) How compatible do you think Aboriginal and "western scientific" management systems are with each other?

- 14) How is the forest being managed at present by the HFN (what species are harvested, what methods are used, who is involved, how sustainable is it, how are the products marketed and distributed)?
- 15) How does this differ from how it was managed directly prior to formal HFN participation in forestry (what species were harvested, what methods were used, who was involved, how sustainable was it, how were the products marketed and distributed)?

D) Questions about the community forest:

- 16) Describe the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest in your own words.
- 17) How would you define an ideal “community forest”, and how close is the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest to meeting this ideal?
- 18) Can you comment on the relationship between the Bamfield community and the Huu-ay-aht community?
- 19) Why do you think the community forest initiative was proposed and undertaken?
- 20) Were you consulted during the process?
- 21) Who ultimately makes the decisions with respect to how the community forest is run? Who should be making them?
- 22) If the decision were yours to make, would you choose a joint community forestry model for the management of the forest?
- 23) What role will Indigenous knowledge play in the management of the community forest?
- 24) What role should it play?
- 25) What role will western science play in the management of the community forest?
- 26) What role should it play?
- 27) Do you think that there are any groups or individuals that should be involved in the community forest but are not?
- 28) Do you think that there are any groups or individuals that are involved in the community forest but should not be?

E) Questions about your role in the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest:

- 29) How would you describe your role in the community forest?

- 30) Are you satisfied with this role?
- 31) Do you feel that you have been given the opportunity to participate in the community forest? Are your ideas regarding how the forest should be managed taken seriously and given respect?
- 32) If not, how have you reacted?
- 33) What are your own personal values and philosophies about nature and the land? What informs these values?
- 34) Does the way in which forest management is proposed in the community forest management system either conflict or harmonize with your own personal values and philosophies about nature and the land? Does it correspond with your own goals and visions for the forest?
- 35) If a conflict does exist, do you think there is a way for it to be resolved?
- 36) How would you describe your activities in the forest?
- 37) Have your forestry activities changed since the community forest was created in 1999? Do you anticipate that they will change as the CF evolves?
- 38) Does your knowledge of the forest result in sustainable financial profit, or does it have the potential to (i.e. do you sell the products you harvest/create)?
- 39) As a woman, how do your activities in the forest differ from those of men, both traditionally and at present (what species do you harvest, how are they harvested and processed, what are their uses, who uses them)?
- 40) Why do these differences exist?
- 41) As a woman, how do your activities in the forest differ from those of other women, both traditionally and at present (what species do you harvest, how are they harvested and processed, what are their uses, who uses them)?
- 42) Why do these differences exist?
- 43) Do you get the sense that there are other women that are interested in becoming involved (or more involved) in forestry, but do not know how? What are some of the obstacles these women face, and what are some solutions?
- 44) Please fill out the Interview Spreadsheet
- 45) Is there anyone you recommend I speak with about any of the questions I've asked you today?

APPENDIX B: Interview Questions for Board Members of the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Society (BHCFS)

- 1) What is your age range?
- 2) When did you join the Board of Directors for the Community Forest and why?
- 3) How effective do you think the board has been?
- 4) What is your specific role on the Board?
- 5) Are you satisfied with your role?
- 6) How has or how will your role change as the community forest develops?
- 7) When will you begin harvesting in the community forest? What revenues are anticipated?
- 8) Can you elaborate on the role that non-timber forest products will play in the community forest?
- 9) How will the community forest “support” or “facilitate” the development of non-timber forest product businesses?
- 10) Can you comment on the involvement of women in the community forest to date?
- 11) If there is a lack of female participation, can you speculate as to why this might be the case?
- 12) How do you think women’s participation can be encouraged in both communities?
- 13) Can you comment on the relationship between the communities of Bamfield and Ana’cla?
- 14) Why was the community forest proposed as a joint venture between the two communities?
- 15) How receptive were the Huu-ay-aht to the community forest proposal?
- 16) Do you feel that power is shared equally between the native and non-native communities in the community forest?
- 17) What does the forest mean to you (what is your relationship to it, why is it important, how should it be treated?)
- 18) Do you feel that your perception of the forest differs from that of other groups?

- 19) What does Aboriginal forest management mean to you (i.e. what are its goals, what methods does it entail, who participates, who benefits)?
- 20) What does “western scientific” forest management mean to you (i.e. what are its goals, what methods does it entail, who participates, who benefits)?
- 21) How compatible do you think Aboriginal and “western scientific” management systems are with each other?
- 22) Can you define “Indigenous knowledge”?
- 23) What role will Indigenous knowledge play in the management of the community forest?
- 24) What role does western science play in the management of the community forest?
- 25) What happens when there is a conflict between Indigenous knowledge and western science over how the forest should be managed (how are they brought to attention, how are they resolved, how should they be resolved, who has the final say in their resolution, what happens when they cannot be resolved)?
- 26) How often do conflicts arise?
- 27) Over what aspect(s) of the community forests are conflicts most frequent?
- 28) What dispute resolution mechanisms are in place to deal with them?
- 29) What aspects of the community forest work well?
- 30) What aspects require improvement?
- 31) Do you think that there are any groups or individuals that should be involved in the management of the community forest but are not?
- 32) Do you think that there are any groups or individuals that are involved in the management of the community forest but should not be?
- 33) What is your vision or goal for the community forest?
- 34) Is there anyone you recommend I speak with about any of the questions I’ve asked you today?

APPENDIX C: Respondent Categorization

BHCFS BOARD MEMBERS		HFN WOMEN			CULTURAL SOURCES	
Native	Non-Native	Young (20-40)	Middle-Aged (41-60)	Elderly (61+)	Female	Male
11	9	3	4	5	1	19
14	10	6	12	7	2	
15	13	21		8		
		17		16		

A number has been assigned to each respondent so that the reader may view patterns in each individual's responses without actually knowing the identity of the participant. For example, from the respondent number listed in each footnote, the reader can determine whether the respondent is Native or non-Native in the case of the BHCFS Board members, or what the age range of the respondent is in the case of the HFN women interviewed. Please note that although 18 interviews were conducted, the respondent numbers go up to number 21; this is because respondent numbers were also applied to the focus groups for organizational purposes, and because a different respondent number was assigned to the woman who was interviewed as both a BHCFS Board member and an HFN Woman in order to protect her identity.

APPENDIX D: Traditional Use Spreadsheets

Date: Respondent Number:

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name:	HFN Name:	English Name:
Location	HFN Name				
	English Name				
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)					
Harvesting Period					
Harvesting Method					
Use					
Processing Method					
Intended Purpose/ Destination					
Source of Knowledge					

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 4 (1/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant			
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Western Red Cedar	HFN Name:	English Name:		
Location	HFN Name	?		All categories = same as for red cedar except that: Bark on yellow cedar is very thick, and it smells different than red cedar; it has a much stronger smell, and the branches and leaves are different.			
	English Name						
Site Purpose		Logged out area at top, only about 6 cedar trees; the other trees had been logged (they have to be a certain size to use)					
Habitat (Site Description)		Hill, different trees (cedar, hemlock) underbrush, lots of climbing, mosquitoes					
Harvesting Period		May (3 weeks)...depends on year. If hot/dry, near water or far. It gets sticky 'cause of sap, so can't use.					
Harvesting Method		Take outer bark off with knife. If it's just right, you can peel it right off. To do that, you make a line on the bottom and go from there. Pull up until it gets smaller and smaller at the tip, and it just comes off. Say thanks to tree.					
Use		Mats, hats, baskets, roses, vases, rope.					
Processing Method		Weaves; different weaves used. Depends on how thick and thin, how flexible. She doesn't know the names of the weaves. Must dampen cedar first to soften it so you can split it. To make rope, you turn and twist in two different ways and coil and twist.					
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Stores on the island and in Vancouver, as well as in the States (rope is sold as a cultural item, used for basket handles; it's not used for pulling anymore - that kind of rope is just store bought now). Baskets sell from \$25 to \$5000, and many people purchase them.					
Source of Knowledge		Mother and grandmother; Weaving books (which include step-by step instructions and pictures)					

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 4 (2/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Chitupt	English Name: Sharp Grass	HFN Name: Tux Tux	English Name: Three Cornered Grass
Location	HFN Name	?		1) Kii'xin Beach (place by Dead Man's Cove); 2) Spot in Pachena as well.	
	English Name	1) Wickeneshum area; 2) Longbeach on the way to Tofino; 3) Sneak to areas, now a park, and have to pay to park there.			
Site Purpose		Provincial Park		Kii'xin is a beach used for recreational purposes, but one part is the reserve; it used to be a village. Used to be forest, but now homes.	
Habitat (Site Description)		Beach/park. It's been cleared, or is in the process of getting cleared. One place is bushy; have to crawl in to get sharp grass		Swampy area; has to be salt-water there	
Harvesting Period		End of June through July and August... Summer months before it gets very hot.		In the summer, before the heat; You need grass that hasn't been touched by the sun.	
Harvesting Method		It cuts easily. You have to cut the blades of grass with a sharp knife at the base. You must have gloves on, as well as a long-sleeved shirt, so that you won't be scratched.		More work involved than for harvesting sharp grass. You have to cut it with a small knife, using gloves and gum boots. Because it grows near salt water, you have to rinse it off, then hang it to dry outdoors. It is green when growing, but becomes beige/yellow in color after it has dried.	
Use		Baskets, mats, vases, hats		Same uses as sharp grass, but because it's stronger, it can be used for basket handles and bottoms	
Processing Method		Dry grass first by laying it out in the sun, where it turns white. Dampen right before use, then stitch. Everyone has their own style of stitch; it can be very fine/thin, or thicker. Store bought dye is used to color the grasses. (Sometimes raffia grass is bought from stores and used).		Hang to dry, then dampen before use, and weave. Store bought dye is used to color the grasses.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail		Retail	
Source of Knowledge		Mother and books		Eating; Gifts of jam (It's a recreational activity that almost always involves children)	

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 4 (3/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant			
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Salmon Berries	HFN Name:	English Name: Black Berries, Thimble Berries, Huckleberries, Wild Blue Berries, Salal Berries		
Location	HFN Name	?		<p>All berries in this category (Black Berries, Thimble Berries, Huckleberries, Wild Blue Berries, Salal Berries) = same as Salmon Berries, except: Huckle, Blue, and Salal berries are found in the forest. Huckleberries are found in the forest at Pachena. Wild Blue Berries and Salal Berries are found in the forest at Pachena, Sarita, and Grappler, but Salal Berries are a little less farther in.</p>			
	English Name	Close to road and water (on the edge of the forest)					
Site Purpose		Roads anywhere					
Habitat (Site Description)		Roads					
Harvesting Period		June to August (all summer months)					
Harvesting Method		Pick berries and put in baskets or buckets					
Use		Food (desserts, snacks, jam)					
Processing Method		No processing, or just follow recipes					
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Eating; Gifts of jam (It's a recreational activity that almost always involves children)					
Source of Knowledge		Family recipes and cookbooks; knowledge of where to find them is acquired through observation, and passed on.					

Date: May 31, 2004

Respondent Number: 5 (1/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Chitupt	English Name: Sharp Grass	HFN Name: Humiss	English Name: Red Cedar
Location	HFN Name	Ana'cla		Ana'cla (there's more red cedar; yellow cedar is further out)	
	English Name	Pachena Bay		Pachena Park	
Site Purpose		Pathway to campground (between village and campground)		Campground	
Habitat (Site Description)		Swampy		Wooded with road for cars (campsites on each side of the road)	
Harvesting Period		July and August (mid summer)		Summertime	
Harvesting Method		Cut with sharp knife and place in bundles when cut		Axe away from moss; cut straight, not quite 12 inches. Loosen the bottom with a blade, get a grip, and yank up until it gets thinner at the top, breaks, and all comes down	
Use		Baskets, hats, mats (placemats)...It's not as strong as a cedar mat...everything is smaller		Baskets, mats (strong mats for use on ground), hats. Also used for ropes and backpacks (which also involved a type of root, the name of which she is unsure) before the arrival of Europeans. Grass and cedar can be mixed together to make these things.	
Processing Method		The grass comes in all different lengths (about 4, from large to small); you break the bundle into different sizes, then sun bleach for approximately 3 days. Before use, the grass must be dampened.		It's green and damp when it comes off the tree. Let it dry, or it will become mildewy. Peel off rough parts of the bark with hands for smaller (finer) things.	
Intended Purpose/Destination		Personal use (can only make smaller things with grass, because it is weaker and thinner than cedar)		Gifts, personal use.	
Source of Knowledge		I went once with my mom and sister (I learned the actual technique from her grandmother), but I learned the location primarily from a friend, who herself learned from her grandmother. The friend never actually lived here; she just knows the one spot.		I learned the weaving technique from my grandmother, and the location from my friend, who lives in Tofino now, but is from the Huu-ay-aht First Nation.	

Date: May 31, 2004

Respondent Number: 5 (2/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Kuwee	English Name: Salmon Berries	HFN Name: Kuwee	English Name: Wild Black Berries
Location	HFN Name			?	
	English Name	1) Sarita Reserve; 2) They grow like weeds anywhere in Barkley Sound		Nettle Island	
Site Purpose		Used to be the reserve; had houses, but was logged out. Not it's clear and bushy...it used to be a logging road.		Part of the Broken Group; no one lives there; Good island, maybe used for camping	
Habitat (Site Description)		Clear and bushy		Not too forested, but does have trees. It's a bushy place, with a clearing where the berries are found	
Harvesting Period		Summer months		Summer months	
Harvesting Method		Pick		Pick	
Use		Eat		Eat plain, or in other things	
Processing Method		Eat fresh		Preserve them in jars, make syrup	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Personal Consumption		Personal Consumption	
Source of Knowledge		Parents and grandparents		Parents and grandparents	

Date: May 31, 2004

Respondent Number: 5 (3/3)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Hoopalath	English Name: Thimble Berries	HFN Name: Yuhma	English Name: Salal Berries
Location	HFN Name	Ana'cla			
	English Name	1) Pachena Bay; 2) Lots in Sarita as well			
Site Purpose		Salal Berries = same as Thimble Berries in all categories, except that they can be eaten fresh or preserved.			
Habitat (Site Description)					
Harvesting Period					
Harvesting Method					
Use					
Processing Method					
Intended Purpose/ Destination					
Source of Knowledge					

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (1/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Red Cedar
Location	HFN Name	1) Wihat; 2) Yasitqula; 3) ?; 4) Aaniwa; 5) Ixata (names from a book)	
	English Name	1) Sarita area; 2) Coleman Creek area; 3) Aerosmith Area (out of territory); 4) Klanawa and North Fork area; 5) Darling River area	
Site Purpose		1) Fishing and recreation; 2) Not used, maybe a little fishing there; 3) Used to be used for skiing, snow mobiling, hiking, recreation, but hasn't been open for years; 4) Maybe a little fishing	
Habitat (Site Description)		1) Old growth/untouched; 2) Same; 3) Mountain cleared for ski hills; 4) old growth/untouched; 5) Same	
Harvesting Period		May to June. The sap is running, so when you peel off the bark, it comes off easily, and it's not sticky. At other times of the year, it's too sticky. You can boil it to get rid of the stickiness if you don't want to wait until May	
Harvesting Method		Use a machete or hatchet, or even a thick butcher knife. Cut a line across (horizontal) around waist height, which varies from person to person, but is usually approximately 1 meter from the ground. I take a knife and cut vertical lines at the ends, and stick the machete in at the corner of the bottom, and make a side cut until I have enough to hold on to. Then I pull up. I usually don't go too wide; you want something you can almost clasp in your hands, so you can bend and play with it. Also, if you go too wide, you can kill the tree. You grab the strip, and pull, backing away from the tree. It's usually better to be on a slope, having your back to the slope and walking upwards. If there's no slope, you may need a rope to tie to the end. You bunch it up into a handful and tie a rope on, and pull. Once you back away, it gets away from you where you can't reach anymore, so the rope helps you to continue pulling it. When you pull up, it sometimes breaks off on its own easily (and too quickly), but sometimes you have to fight with it...it tapers until it breaks off.	
Use		In the past: clothing, ropes, women into other items like mats and baskets (for carrying fish and berries). They brought back as much as they could get, and they used it. In traditional times, it was more the women, but now it's both. You wouldn't want a lady hiking out for 3-4 days by themselves, so the whole family was involved in it. But for spots close by, only women would go.	
Processing Method		Peel outer bark off, because you want the inner bark. Use the same tools as to strip it (a cleaver is good). Today, you clean it out there, and fold it every foot or two to bring it home. If it's at the right time of year, that's all you have to do (instead of boiling). You can leave it folded. When you go to use it, cut off the length you need, and soak it for a few hours (maybe over night) in water. It becomes soft and pliable, and can bend easily. There are now two or three different techniques (for weaving?), but I'm not sure where these are coming from. There used to be only 1 way. What I learned was what my grandmother taught me, and she's been weaving since she learned as a small child.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Decoration, Retail, gifts, Personal use (for work, every day life...i.e. use baskets to carry things)	
Source of Knowledge		Mother, grandparents, and great grandparents.	

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (2/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant			
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Yellow Cedar	HFN Name:	English Name: Devil's Club		
Location	HFN Name	?					
	English Name	Mountains, up high (Red cedar can be down near the ocean); There's an unnamed mountain in Sarita area, southeast of Sarita Lake. There's also an area by Black Lake, close to Pachena.		Everywhere			
Site Purpose							
Habitat (Site Description)		Cut blocks/logging development					
Harvesting Period		Old growth		No specific time I know of, but it does die off in fall and winter, so you get it from spring to fall.			
Harvesting Method		All other categories = Same as red cedar		You're after the root or the inner bark along the stem, but it's very prickly, so you have to be careful.			
Use				Medicinal tea (According to <u>Plants of Coastal BC, including Washington, Oregon, and Alaska</u> : Devil's Club is a remedy for arthritis, ulcers, digestive tract issues, and diabetes)			
Processing Method				You have to scrape off the inner bark and boil it for a tea.			
Intended Purpose/Destination				Personal use in the community			
Source of Knowledge				Co-workers			

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (3/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Three Cornered Grass/Reed Grass/Triangular Grass	HFN Name: Chitupt	English Name: Sword Grass (long, very sharp, swampy)
Location	HFN Name	?		?	
	English Name	1) Qualicum Beach (not in territory); 2) Near Sprout Lake		1) Sprout Lake; 2) Long beach (between Uculet and Tofino); 3) Heather Creek (in territory)	
Site Purpose		Beaches		1) Recreational lake with houses built around it; 2) Recreational beach; 3) near north end...smallish creek that's too small to be used recreationally.	
Habitat (Site Description)		Salt water/shores of beaches/ swamps		Swampy area, no sunlight, dark canopy.	
Harvesting Period		June-July		June-July	
Harvesting Method		Get it on low tide; grab a handful and cut at the bottom with a sharp knife.		Grab a handful and cut at the base. You want the new year's growth (I think the older stuff from the previous year is too thick, and it's not as good once it dries).	
Use		Baskets, mats...no clothing		Baskets, etc...(same as other grass)	
Processing Method		Bundle it in the size of handful, and tie it with a string at the base where it was cut. Hang or lay it flat to dry out in the sun, where it will be sun-bleached and lighten (this takes approximately a week in good weather). You want it very dry and sun bleached (it ends up greenish/yellow), so you have to bring it in if it's raining or damp outside. Then you store it away, and when you go to use it for weaving, soak it in water for hours, and cut the length you need.		Dry same way as 3-cornered (sun bleach). You can get it very whitish if it's good weather and you leave it in the sun. you want to get it as light as possible, because this is the grass that's visible when you look at the basket. The color and texture is important. the 3-cornered grass is kind of thick and almost foamy on the inside, so sword grass has a nicer texture, and you can dye it, because it's what is seen. I don't even know if the 3-cornered grass can be dyed at all.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail and gifts. Used for other things in the past.		Same as 3-cornered grass	
Source of Knowledge		Mother and grandmother.		Same as 3-cornered grass	

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (4/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Chanterelles Mushrooms	HFN Name: ?	English Name: Pine Mushrooms
Location	HFN Name	Anywhere there's second growth forest; they don't grow in old growth for the most part. They can be found everywhere around the Huu-ay-aht territory, and close to Port.		In traditional territory	
	English Name				
Site Purpose		Everywhere			
Habitat (Site Description)		Second growth		High up in the mountains in a hemlock and balsam stand	
Harvesting Period		Fall, until the first freeze. You could start in August in some areas (probably in the Queen Charlotte areas, for example), but mostly you would begin in September/October.		Fall	
Harvesting Method		Cut down low at the base using a little sharp pocket or pairing knife		have to dig out, not cut.	
Use		Consumption		Consumption	
Processing Method		Shipped out right away... You just have to clean them a little bit. They can be dried, or sold fresh, but I just pick them.		Dry clean them	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail (you can make \$300+ a day if you are very dedicated, working 8-12 hours/day). The price fluctuates.		Retail	
Source of Knowledge		Family		Family	

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (5/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: ?	English Name: Red Huckleberries	HFN Name: ?	English Name: Blue Huckleberries and Ever Green Huckleberries
Location	HFN Name				
	English Name	Everywhere			
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)		Near logging, and around the edges of woods, where there's sunlight.			
Harvesting Period		Summer			
Harvesting Method		Pick			
Use		Eat, jams			
Processing Method		Wash			
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Personal use in the community			
Source of Knowledge		Family			

All categories = Same as Red Huckleberries, except: Blue Huckleberries are found in Hemlock and balsam stands...they like the cover of old growth. They are not near cedar. Evergreen Huckleberries are found all over, like cedar. They are not found where there's logging. I've seen a lot in wetter, flat areas...maybe more swampy areas. But they're all over.

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (6/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name: Salmon Berries	HFN Name:	English Name: Salal Berries
Location	HFN Name				
	English Name	Everywhere		Everywhere	
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)		they like creeks/ creek edges		In cedar areas. Cedar gives off a poison which salal loves and thrives off of.	
Harvesting Period		July, when ripe		All other categories = Same as Salmon Berries	
Harvesting Method		Pick			
Use		Eating, making jams			
Processing Method		wash...you might add sugar to make jam			
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Personal use in the community			
Source of Knowledge		Family			

Date: May 26, 2004

Respondent Number: 6 (7/8)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name: Salal leaves and branches	HFN Name:	English Name: Moss
Location	HFN Name				
	English Name	Anywhere; really grows around cedar		Anywhere	
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)		In cedar areas. Cedar gives off a poison which salal loves and thrives off of. Salal can be found in old and second growth (I get mine near old growth)		Darker area under the canopy; Found mostly in swampy, wet areas	
Harvesting Period				Whenever	
Harvesting Method		They have a 12-18 inch stem, and the leaves have to be perfect; nice and green, with no blemishes or tears. You cut at the length you need		Pick it off ground with hands	
Use		Flower arrangements		Decorative (for flower arrangements); may be a traditional item to collect, I'm not sure.	
Processing Method		Tear off odd leaves at the stem, and bundle into a handful			
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail (florists)		Personal use (for planters at home)	
Source of Knowledge		Family		I went out and got it, there was no source.	

Date: May 26, 2004		Respondent Number: 6 (8/8)			
Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name: Honeysuckle	HFN Name:	English Name: Horsetail/Rush
Location	HFN Name	Roadside in territory			
	English Name				
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)					
Harvesting Period		In bloom in the spring and early summer			
Harvesting Method		I used a shovel; I wanted the roots to transplant at home, so I put it in a bucket with extra dirt, but it died.			
Use		Decorative (for gardening); Also edible. Not a traditional item to collect.		Holds water in it; you can break it off and get water	
Processing Method					
Intended Purpose/ Destination					
Source of Knowledge				Family	

Date: June 2, 2004

Respondent Number: 7 (1/1)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Chitupt	English Name: Swamp Grass	HFN Name: Tux Tux	English Name: Three Cornered Grass
Location	HFN Name	Ana'cla		Jimatuxu	
	English Name	Pachena...and I suppose some others, but I don't know			
Site Purpose		Close to campground		It's the point where Barkley Sound is; there's a lighthouse there. There's a bay by Cape Beal, where they'd go in by boat to the beach, and they'd go in and pick it.	
Habitat (Site Description)		Swampy area		?	
Harvesting Period		Best time is July, because it's before the grass gets too thick, and it's still nice and soft. I think some people used to pick it after that, and it used to be kind of stiff and thick; it thickens as it gets older.			
Harvesting Method		Cut it with a knife, and be very careful, because the grass is sharp and it will cut you. The grass is standing, and you can't just run your hand down it, or it will cut you. You can only run your hand up it. It comes in bunches, and you hold the bunch at the bottom, and cut as close to the ground as you can.		I think they'd just pull it up. That's where it got its name: my mother-in-law told me it makes a noise like "tupt!" when you pull it out.	
Use		Baskets, bells.		Baskets, bells.	
Processing Method		Have to dry it in the sun because it's really green, a dark green, and it will lighten up so that it becomes almost white (can take up to a few days to lighten). And when you're going to use it, you have to soak it in water (for just a few minutes, not very long) to make it soft enough to work with. The weaving technique is all the same: over/under, and there are ones that are vertical, where you have to use raffia grass underneath, then tupta (tux tux) on top for the vertical, and the chitupt goes around that horizontally.		Same process as with Swamp Grass. It's green at first, but turns brownish when it dries.	
Intended Purpose/Destination		Retail, once in a while as a gift		Retail, once in a while as a gift	
Source of Knowledge		My mother and grandmother, as well as my mother-in-law (location)		Mother (weaving), Mother-in-law, sister, aunt, grandmother...all the women in my family know.	

Date: June 2, 2004

Respondent Number: 8 (1/1)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name: Chitupt	English Name: Sharp Swamp Grass	HFN Name: Tux Tux	English Name: Three Cornered Grass
Location	HFN Name	None		Gimatuchsuth	
	English Name	Camp Ross		1) Cape Beal, Dead Man's Cove; 2) Fanny Bay (other side of Qualicum)	
Site Purpose		There were people living there, but now it's just... we'd go in the bushy places		1) There's a lighthouse there that's been there many years, and there's a big horn when it's foggy (it's very foggy in the summer). Lots of boats sank there, and there are many reefs; 2) There were white people living there where we went down the beach, but they never chased us away.	
Habitat (Site Description)		Swampy. Pick it where there's shady places, like under the tree. It's not good to pick in areas where there's always sun, or it gets brown.		Beach, salt water. It comes up, and it's under the water. We pick it when the water goes down. It's kind of hard to get. You've gotta go far, or in a boat. I can't go now in a boat and walk on the rocks, but one time my late son took me there in a boat.	
Harvesting Period		July, around mid-month (it's the right size then, and if you pick it too late, it gets pretty thick. I get thin ones, because I make fine baskets. Some like it thick because they make thick baskets).		Same as Sharp Swamp Grass	
Harvesting Method		Cut it at the length you want (the shorter, thinner ones are better for fine baskets, and are easier to scrape). I don't pick it any more.		Cut it. Before, we used to pull it, but I heard from someone (a lady) you have to cut it, not pull it, or it won't grow back.	
Use		Baskets, earrings, Christmas bells, other shapes. I hardly weave over bottles now.		Same as Sharp Grass. If it's sunny, I can keep it on a board for some time (spread out), then I sort them by size, then I tie it on the end, then hang. They have to be the same size. It's a lot of work. I have it hanging close to the stove, and it gets really dry, then I dampen it when using it.	
Processing Method		Let it dry (it dries quickly if the sun is shining). You can bring it in in the evening, or leave it out. Or you can hang it inside. Leave it hanging until it gets faded. I like to have it a bit green so it doesn't fade fast. I don't make it really white, because as it gets old, it gets yellow. I have a water beside me, because you can't handle it when it's stiff. If you handle it the wrong way, you get cut. It's really sharp. You soak it for just a few minutes, then take it out. It's really sharp when it's dry, like razor blades.		If one is too coarse, I split it with a pin. I also weave both grasses together. A big basket (6" tall) takes long, because the way I weave, I make them finer. It takes a long time; it's a lot of work, putting designs on them in different colors.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail (I just get orders now, I don't have to walk around and try to sell it), gifts... I only have one (a boot) I kept for myself. People come here looking for baskets, and I never have any extra baskets.		Same as Sharp Swamp Grass	
Source of Knowledge		I learned from my mother, and she learned from her mother. My grandmother was from a place called Kismit. It's across from Tofino, and it's deserted now.		Same as Sharp Swamp Grass	

Date: June 4, 2004

Respondent Number: 12 (1/1)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name: Cedar and Grasses	HFN Name: Mamou	English Name: Sharp Edges, tall (2-3 feet) grass
Location	HFN Name				
	English Name	Pachena bay		Outside reserves (Ana'cla) and outside Sarita Bay	
Site Purpose					
Habitat (Site Description)				Swampy	
Harvesting Period				Spring (right before cedar collecting in May and June)	
Harvesting Method				Cut at the bottom with a knife	
Use		There are three different grasses: 2 are sharp on 2 sides, 1 is sharp on 3 sides. The 3-cornered grass and the cedar are good for the bottom of the basket. One of the grasses is probably better for drying.			
Processing Method		With the dyes, they only had green, red, black, and natural colors in the past; just 4 to 5 natural colors. It was probably just in the 80s that they got all the new colors.		Bundle up and hang to dry. You have to wet it before use.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination					
Source of Knowledge					

Date: June 10, 2004

Respondent Number: 17 (1/1)

Properties		Tree/Plant		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name: Chanterelles mushrooms	HFN Name:	English Name: Pine Mushrooms
Location	HFN Name	?		?	
	English Name	Franklin (on the way to Pachena, you turn the other way. It's down towards Nit' Nat, in between Pachena and Nit' Nat. This is not the traditional territory; apparently there are some there, but I've never been that far down.		Higher mountain: Mount Aerosmith, on the way out of Port Alberni	
Site Purpose		Road, used to be a mill or something. There are just logging trucks there now.		Not developed	
Habitat (Site Description)		Second growth forest		Forest (not sure if second growth). The pine mushrooms are found where it is colder; they grow under moss, or something like it. Or maybe the moss grows over them.	
Harvesting Period		August to mid-December		I guess it's the same as the Chanterelles, but I'm not sure.	
Harvesting Method		Cut with a knife at the bottom or pick them. I usually pick them all at once, and cut and clean them later.		You have to be very, very careful because of the web. If you break the web, it won't be a number 1. Use 2 fingers in between the mushrooms, and wiggle it out of the ground where it grows. Then flip it over and put it into the basket upside down.	
Use		Retail to local people buying mushrooms in town, who are selling them to others. Her husband eats them.		Retail; some people take it home to eat.	
Processing Method		Cut bottoms; clean (I use my hands, but in the place where they sell them, they use brushes or something soft that will just wipe off the dirt. Some are already clean and you don't have to bother.		No cleaning involved with the actual mushroom; it all just goes by the web. When you pull it out of the ground, the root is there, so you have to clean that off.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		Retail (\$2-5/pound); quality depends on the weather.		Retail. Pine mushrooms are expensive. They have numbers from 1 to 5/6, depending on the web, and all of the numbers have different prices. #1s go for \$35 to \$50/pound; #5s are \$20/pound, and #6s are 50 cents to \$1/pound.	
Source of Knowledge		Spouse (I don't think mushrooms were traditionally harvested. I'm not sure when they began to harvest them, but I learned how to when I met my partner)		Spouse	

Date: June 4, 2004		Respondent Number: 21 (1/1)	
Properties		Tree/Plant	
		HFN Name:	English Name:
		HFN Name:	English Name: Devil's Club (my grandfather called it that, but I think it was actually called something else)
Location	HFN Name	1) Agulair resort in Bamfield (walking up to Agulair); 2) In No. 9, IR 9 reserve...not a traditional site	
	English Name		
Site Purpose		1) Lodge...back trails out to swampy area; 2) Nothing, it's protected. It used to be houses, but everything moved to Ana'cla. There were no hydro or water lines. It was more rustic living, and I'm not sure when they moved to Ana'cla.	
Habitat (Site Description)		1) Swampy area in bush; 2) Swampy	
Harvesting Period		June	
Harvesting Method		I used a small knife and cut right at the base.	
Use		I brought it to my grandmothers, who used it.	
Processing Method		I tied it in bundles on the end, then hung on a clothesline to dry. Some was dyed, and my grandmothers would store it and weave with it.	
Intended Purpose/ Destination		My grandfather put the root in water in a jar, and drank it every day.	
Source of Knowledge		Family (knew from my grandmother). Knowledge of medicinal plants was shared by the family, and was not determined by gender.	

APPENDIX E: Potential Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs)

The following list, which includes plants, lichens, mosses and fungus species, has been adapted from the Bamfield Huu-ay-aht Community Forest Pilot Project K1-E: Management Plan #1. The list “is intended to be preliminary and by no means exclusive of any other species found within the boundaries of the Community Forest landbase and thus available for management by the Society”⁴⁶¹.

Scientific Name	Common Name
<i>Achillea millefolium</i>	yarrow
<i>Alectoria</i> spp.	lichens
<i>Allium</i> spp.	Wild onions
<i>Anaphalis margaritacea</i>	western pearly everlasting
<i>Andromeda polifolia</i>	Bog rosemary
<i>Arceuthobium campylopodum</i>	Western dwarf mistletoe
<i>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</i>	kinnikinnick, bearberry
<i>Argentina egedii</i> (<i>Potentilla anserina</i>)	Pacific silverweed
<i>Aster</i> spp	asters
<i>Blechnum spicant</i>	deer fern
<i>Boletus</i> spp	boletes
<i>Camassia quamash</i>	camas
<i>Cantharellus</i> spp	chanterelles
<i>Carex</i> spp.	Sedges
<i>Claytonia perfoliata</i>	Miner's Lettuce
<i>Cornus nuttallii</i>	Pacific dogwood
<i>Cornus Canadensis</i>	bunchberry
<i>Crataegus</i> spp (<i>douglasii</i>)	hawthorns
<i>Dentium</i> and <i>Hydnum</i> spp.	Hedgehog mushrooms
<i>Dicentra formosa</i>	false salomon's seal
<i>Digitalis purpurea</i>	foxglove
<i>Dodecatheon</i> spp.	shootingstars
<i>Drosera rotundifolia</i>	roundleaf sundew
<i>Empterum nigrum</i>	black crowberry
<i>Equisetum</i> spp.	Horsetails
<i>Fragaria</i> spp.	Wild strawberries
<i>Gallium</i> spp.	bedstraws
<i>Gaultheria ovatifolia</i>	western teaberry
<i>Gaultheria shallon</i>	salal
<i>Gentiana</i> sp.	gentians
<i>Geum macrophyllum</i>	largeleaf avens
<i>Hylocomium splendens</i>	stepmoss
<i>Kalmia polifolia</i>	bog laurel
<i>Leccinum</i> spp.	Round-stemmed boletes

⁴⁶¹ Morgan, Dennis. November 28, 2002. pp. 48-49.

Scientific Name	Common Name
<i>Ledum groenlandicum</i>	Labrador tea
<i>Linnea borealis</i>	twinflor
<i>Lobaria pulmonata</i>	lungwort
<i>Lonicera involucrata</i>	twinberry
<i>Lupinus spp</i>	lupines
<i>Lysichiton americanum</i>	skunk cabbage
<i>Malus fusca</i>	crabapple
<i>Menziesia ferruginea</i>	false azalea
<i>Myrica gale</i>	sweetgale
<i>Oenanthe sarmentosa</i>	Pacific water-parsley
<i>Petasites spp.</i>	coltfoots
<i>Plantago spp.</i>	plantains
<i>Pleurotus spp.</i>	Oyster mushrooms
<i>Polypodium glycyrrhiza</i>	licorice fern
<i>Polystichum munitum</i>	western swordfern
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	common selfheal
<i>R. bracteosum</i>	Stink current
<i>Rosa gymnocarpa</i>	Baldhip rose
<i>Rosa nutkana</i>	Nootka rose
<i>Rubus discolor</i>	Himalayan blackberry
<i>Rubus parviflorus</i>	thimbleberry
<i>Rubus spectabilis</i>	salmonberry
<i>Rubus ursinus</i>	trailing blackberry
<i>Russula spp.</i>	Russulas
<i>Salix spp.</i>	Willows
<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>	red elderberry
<i>Saxifraga spp.</i>	Saxifrages
<i>Sphagnum spp.</i>	Sphagnum mosses
<i>Kindbergia oregana</i>	Oregon beaked moss
<i>Taxus brevifolia</i>	Pacific Yew
<i>Thuja plicata</i>	western redcedar
<i>Tremella sp.</i>	witch's butter
<i>Typha latifolia</i>	broadleaf cattail
<i>Urtica dioica</i>	stinging nettle
<i>Usnea spp.</i>	Usneas
<i>Vaccinium alaskense</i>	Alaska blueberry
<i>V. membranaceum</i>	blue huckleberry
<i>V. ovalifolium</i>	ovalleaf huckleberry
<i>V. ovatum</i>	evergreen huckleberry
<i>V. oxycoccus</i>	bog cranberry
<i>V. parvifolium</i>	red huckleberry
<i>V. uliginosum</i>	bog blueberry
<i>Valeriana sitchensis</i>	Sitka valerian
<i>Veratrum viride</i>	Indian hellebore

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