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**Co-existence of Atikamekw and industrial forestry
paradigms
Occupation and management of forestlands in the St-
Maurice river basin, Québec**

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Résumé

Les territoires forestiers canadiens sont d'une grande importance pour l'industrie forestière, l'économie nationale et les Premières Nations, leurs occupants traditionnels. Au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, les Premières Nations ont pris une part grandissante à la gestion forestière par le biais des partenariats, des batailles juridiques et des ententes négociées. L'affirmation des droits aborigènes est une tendance mondiale, entraînant des avantages et des défis pour les gouvernements et l'industrie. Suivant cette tendance, les Atikamekw du Québec créent des liens avec les compagnies forestières et planifient un partenariat pour construire une scierie. Cependant, l'industrie et les peuples indigènes comprennent et utilisent certainement de façon différente les forêts.

Cette étude de cas explore les paradigmes forestiers propres aux Atikamekw et à l'industrie forestière : leurs systèmes de valeurs, de connaissances et de pratiques qui dirigent leur compréhension et leur utilisation des territoires forestiers. Des méthodes de recherche en sciences sociales ont été utilisées pour cinq sous-études complémentaires : le développement historique de l'utilisation et de la gestion du territoire; la collaboration industrie – Atikamekw; l'occupation contemporaine Atikamekw du territoire; les processus de consultation entre les groupes; et les entrevues avec des membres de chaque groupe. Je propose un cadre analytique afin de décrire chaque paradigme, d'examiner les différences entre les groupes, et de considérer des pistes de rapprochement.

Le paradigme industriel et le régime forestier québécois sont fondés sur l'aménagement scientifique de la forêt, principalement pour la production soutenue de matière ligneuse. Par contre, les Atikamekw sont engagés avec *notcimik*, leur territoire, lié avec leurs connaissances, leurs valeurs et *tipahiskan*, leur propre système de gestion. Les projets telle que la scierie peuvent répondre aux intérêts spécifiques de chaque groupe. Cependant, le régime forestier restreint la participation Atikamekw ainsi que la capacité des industriels à modifier leurs pratiques.

La reconnaissance de différents paradigmes n'exige pas qu'un groupe adopte les croyances de l'autre, ni que les groupes s'entendent sur une seule représentation. Néanmoins, la coexistence souligne le besoin de développer des pratiques et des systèmes de gestion novateurs qui pourraient répondre aux valeurs, aux connaissances et aux compréhensions des différents groupes.

Abstract

Canada's forestlands are of great importance for the forest industry, the national economy, and for First Nations, the traditional occupants of these lands. During the last twenty-five years, First Nations have become increasingly involved in forestland management through business ventures, legal proceedings and negotiated agreements. This is an international trend as indigenous peoples assert customary rights to forestlands, and as governments and industry recognize potential benefits of collaboration. Within this trend, the Atikamekw of central Québec are building closer links with forestry companies and planning a joint venture to construct a sawmill. But forest industries and indigenous peoples may have quite different ways of understanding and using forestlands.

This case study explores the different forestry paradigms held by the Atikamekw and the forest industry; their systems of values, knowledge and techniques that direct their understanding and use of forestlands. Research techniques from the social sciences were used for five complementary sub-studies: the historical development of forestlands use and management; recent Atikamekw-industry collaboration in forestry; contemporary occupation of forestlands by the Atikamekw; consultation processes between industry and Atikamekw; and interviews with members of each group. I propose an analytical framework to describe each paradigm, examine the differences between the groups, and consider ways of bridging these differences.

The forest industry paradigm and Québec's forestry regime are based on the scientific management of forests, primarily to provide sustainable supplies of wood fibre. In contrast, Atikamekw are engaged with *notcimik*, forestlands, through their knowledge, values and *tipahiskan*, their traditional approach to management. Projects such as the sawmill joint venture can respond to particular interests of both groups. However, the forestry regime constrains both Atikamekw participation in management of forestlands and industry capacity to adjust practices to Atikamekw interests.

Recognizing different paradigms does not require that one group accepts the beliefs of the other, or that they develop a single common understanding. Rather coexistence emphasizes the need to develop innovative practices and management systems that can respond to values, knowledge and understandings of different groups.

Foreword

This thesis examines different ways of looking at forests. It is a project originating in my own experiences as a professional forester who realised that the way that I had been taught to think about and manage a forest was quite different to that of non-foresters. This observation appeared to underpin numerous conflicts and problems associated with forest management and society's interests in Australia, in Québec and elsewhere. Accordingly, I embarked on this research to try and understand why I had a different view of forests, and what this could mean for forest management. The opportunity to work with the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the St-Maurice river basin provided two quite different ways of looking at forests.

The nature of this research has required that I step outside the bounds of traditional forestry. In particular, research techniques such as hypothesis testing, numerical data and statistical analyses - the usual application of the scientific method in forestry – are not appropriate. Instead, I have had to deal with ideas and perceptions, with ways of knowing and understanding, and with systems and processes. I have had to examine my own profession's way of seeing the forest, as well as that of the Atikamekw. Accordingly, I have used qualitative research methods and techniques from the social sciences, as will be explained in detail in Chapter 2 and elsewhere.

I wish to warn the reader that this is an interdisciplinary study. Whether you are a forester or an anthropologist, you may find that I have belaboured points that you consider to be obvious; but please consider the understanding of another reader. Equally, you may find that you disagree with some of my conclusions; if so, please review the data and the method that led me to these. Some of my conclusions challenge existing approaches to indigenous involvement in forest management, and I have tried to ensure that the reasons behind these challenges are clear. An interdisciplinary study means drawing on the complementary strengths of several scientific disciplines, but the researcher cannot be a master of all these.

This project has helped me to understand the importance of different ways of looking at forests. I hope that it helps you to recognize your own vision of the forest, as well as that of others.

Acknowledgements

*Congratulations!
Today is your day.
You're off to Great Places!
You're off and away*

Like all good adventures, this thesis has been a journey. A journey implies places, people, stories and experiences. Some journeys revisit familiar terrain, while others explore unknown lands. Most have highpoints and lowpoints: there are stumbling blocks, and the people who help you get past them; periods of darkness, followed by light; and frustration intermingled with hope. The journey of this thesis has included all of these, but most of all it is people and experiences.

*You'll get mixed up, of course, as you already know.
You'll get mixed up with many strange birds as you go.*

Critical in this journey were two groups of people, the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and the foresters who manage the forests of the *Haute-Mauricie*. They guided me and helped me to understand both their own points of view and those of others. Numerous members of the Atikamekw nation helped me in this journey, but I especially acknowledge the contributions of Simon Cocoo, Claude Quoquochi, Jean-Paul Néashish, Alex Cocoo, Mary Coon, Gilles Ottawa and Thérèse Niquay. Among the foresters, Réjean Godin, Luc Richard, Denis Jutras and Luc Palmer were instrumental in this research and I admire their vision in seeking closer ties with the Atikamekw. Two people, more than anyone else, taught me about being *nehirowisiw*, and this thesis would have been impossible without the contributions of Yvon Chilton and Marthe Cocoo.

*You'll get so confused that you'll start in to race
down long wiggled roads at a break-necking pace*

At Université Laval, Luc Bouthillier in Forestry and Sylvie Poirier in Anthropology acted as guides, helping to establish the directions of my journey (along with several places to avoid). I would like to thank Luc for his ideas and his support during my voyage, and for

accepting an Australian who arrived in Québec. I am particularly grateful to Sylvie who undertook to initiate a forester in anthropology and provided endless insights and encouragement as I ventured into unknown lands. Among the friends who travelled parts of the route with me, and shared trials and triumphs, were Solange, Catherine, Zoé and Sophie.

*With banner flip-flopping once more you'll ride high
Ready for anything under the sky.*

No voyager travels solely by himself, and I am grateful to those who supported me during the journey. *Gérard Crête et fils*, *Services forestiers Atikamekw* Aski and Smurfit-Stone (previously Cartons St-Laurent) encouraged my work, shared their information with me, and provided financial support. The Natural Science and Engineering Research Council of Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Canadian Forest Service, *Fonds de recherches et développement forestiers (FRDF)*, *Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche (FCAR)* and *Fondation de l'Université Laval* all contributed to financing this research.

*Oh, the places you'll go! There is fun to be done!
There are points to be scored. There are games to be won.*

But this journey did not just begin in Québec. Its origins lie in Australia where I studied forestry science, and where I learnt the practice of managing forests. The origins also lie in Vanuatu, where I realised how little I knew about forests and that other people saw forests quite differently to my professional eyes. I am indebted to many colleagues in both countries who taught me so much, and who equipped me to undertake this journey.

*Out there things can happen and frequently do
To people as brainy and footsy as you.*

Detours are a vital part of journeys, leading to unexpected experiences. This was the case with the 2003 World Forestry Congress at Québec, which delayed my thesis but helped me to situate my journey in the world of forestry. I am most grateful to Gérard Szaraz who gave me this opportunity, and to the team that made the WFC a success.

*And when things start to happen, don't worry, don't stew.
Just go right along. You'll start happening too.*

But finally, my ability to undertake this journey has been nurtured by those who love me. My parents Ken and Margaret started me on the journey, have seen it take me far away from them, and yet they have continued to support me (not least by reading this thesis). My family and friends in different places helped me in numerous ways; David, Luca, Réjean, Suzanne, Roger and Louise. My good friend Nelson has travelled a similar path over the last few years, and we have discussed ideas and meanings of forestry and research. But most of all, I owe so much to Diane, and to Jérémie and Arielle, who have put up with it all, and whom I love above all.

*You're off to Great Places!
Today is your day!
Your mountain is waiting.
So ... get on your way!*

Extracts from "Oh, the Places you'll go!" By Dr. Seuss

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Introduction

On the 14th of December 2000, at Wemotaci in central Québec, an agreement to establish the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill was signed by the *Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci*, *Gérard Crête et fils inc.* and Smurfit-Stone inc. The Atikamekw are an indigenous nation living in the *Haute-Mauricie* region of central Québec in Canada. Smurfit-Stone and *Gérard Crête et fils* are two forestry companies that have been operating for many years on the traditional lands of the Atikamekw people. The partnership to build a sawmill followed a number of years of negotiation between the forestry companies and the Atikamekw. Three years on from the signing of the agreement, the sawmill has not yet been built.

But the construction of the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill does not stand alone. It is a part of thousands of years of indigenous occupation of central Québec. It is also a part of 250 years of European (and Euro-Canadian) influence in the region. The sawmill continues in a tradition of one hundred and fifty years of forest harvesting and of Atikamekw participation in this industry. The sawmill also represents Atikamekw hopes and expectations for the future and the wishes of the forestry companies for sustainable production of timber from the forests.

The sawmill is also part of a wider Canadian, and indeed international, context. Indigenous peoples everywhere are increasingly demanding greater participation in the management of forest resources. Forests have great importance for indigenous peoples and for local populations. They supply not only direct material needs such as food, shelter and clothing, but also provide opportunities for employment, for income generation and for economic development. Forests are frequently important for cultural, spiritual and social reasons. Local populations, both indigenous and non-indigenous, have developed systems of knowledge, understanding and management around their use of forest resources. The *Tackipotcikan* sawmill is a new use of the forest for the Atikamekw, but is one that increases their participation in forest management.

This growing participation in forest management is occurring against a backdrop of the assertion by the Atikamekw, other First Nations and indigenous peoples elsewhere of their cultural identities, their traditions and their rights. These are being asserted in many ways

– in international agreements, in courts and political processes, in the media, through protest movements and in other public and private fora. Indigenous peoples are calling for recognition and action in sectors such as health, education, economic development, justice and, of course, in forestry and land management.

Demands for participation in forest management are not restricted to indigenous peoples. Throughout Québec, Canada and elsewhere in the world local populations, environmental groups, forest workers and other parts of society are also seeking the opportunity and the right to be part of the determination of forest management. The interests of various groups are often divergent and conflicts around forest management have become common in many parts of the world. Hence, the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill can also be seen as an example of a local community seeking to determine directions for the management of the surrounding forest and for their own economic development.

In a situation full of changing demands, governments, government agencies and forestry companies, the traditional managers of forest resources, are trying to develop new ways of managing these resources. International negotiations and agreements call on independent nations to involve indigenous peoples in forest management. National forest policies identify goals and strategies to meet these demands. New rules, new guidelines and new procedures are being proposed. Governments negotiate management agreements with indigenous peoples. Forestry companies, operating in the private sector, establish partnerships with local communities.

This, then, is the wider context in which the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill needs to be considered; and the wider context of the relations between the Atikamekw people and the forestry industry.

This study will examine relations between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies in the *Haute-Mauricie*, and their partnership to establish the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill. The study is situated in the context of First Nations' participation in forestry in Canada, and of indigenous peoples participation in resource management. I will use Atikamekw involvement in the forest industry as a case study to identify issues relating to participation and to the establishment of partnerships between First Nations and the private sector. In particular, I will investigate how the knowledge and values of the parties, together with their ways of understanding and using the forest, represent differing forestry paradigms. These paradigms form the basis of different approaches to managing the forest. They

may also contribute to differing, or even conflicting, objectives and directions for the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill and for the partners.

Through this study, I hope to be able to identify possible connections between the Atikamekw and the industrial forestry paradigms. The recognition of the existence of different paradigms does not imply that one party should adopt the paradigm of the other. Such a course would almost certainly signify the loss of the Atikamekw understanding of the forest. Nor does it imply that the two paradigms should be combined to form a single hybrid. Instead, the partners in the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill are trying to find ways that their differing paradigms can coexist. This thesis aims to facilitate their task, and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of indigenous peoples in forestry elsewhere in the world.

The organisation of the thesis

Part A establishes the current context (both broad and narrow) of the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill and of relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. It also describes the methodology used for the research.

Chapter 1 reviews the experience of First Nations' participation in forestry across Canada and identifies a number of issues that need to be examined in this study.

Chapter 2 describes the methodology used for the research.

Chapter 3 presents the history of both the Atikamekw people, of the forest industry in Québec and the companies *Gérard Crête et fils* and Smurfit-Stone.

Part B presents four complementary sub-studies aimed at determining characteristics of forestry paradigms held by the Atikamekw and by the forest industry. Each chapter finishes with a chart summarizing the principal contributions of the chapter.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of four recent initiatives for Atikamekw participation in forestry and in forestland management:

Chapter 5 describes current Atikamekw occupation and utilisation of the areas that will be harvested to supply the *Tackipotcikan* sawmill. This is based on detailed meetings with nearly forty users of the area.

Chapter 6 analyses twenty-two different processes for forestry consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

Chapter 7 presents different aspects of industry and Atikamekw points of view based on interviews with nineteen individuals and on documents.

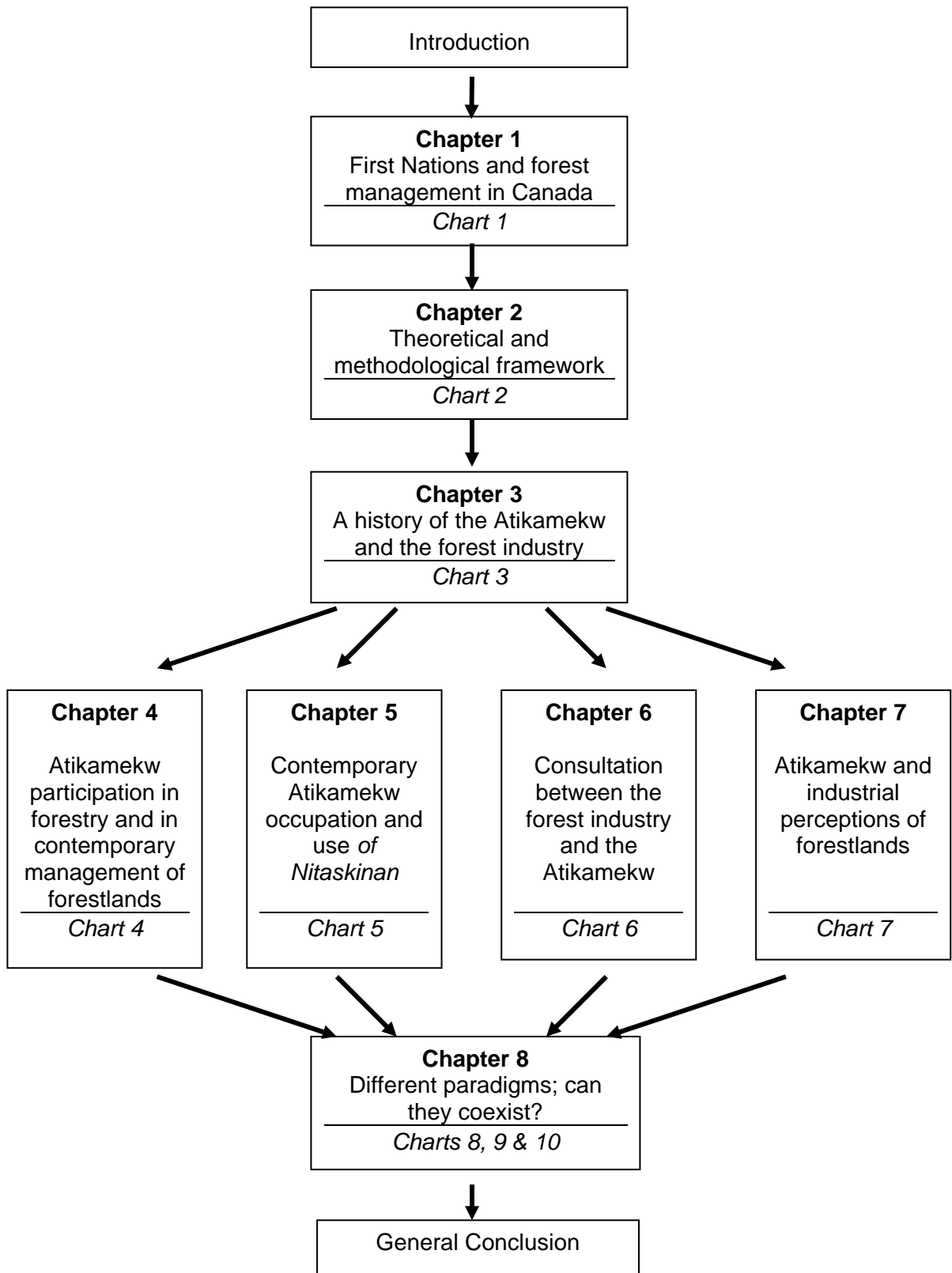
Part C concludes the thesis.

Chapter 8 proposes a framework for analysing forestry paradigms, presents descriptions of the forestry paradigms based on the sub-studies presented in Part B, and considers various ways to support the coexistence of these paradigms

Conclusion presents a general conclusion of this study, reviewing its contribution to the development of theory and identifying directions for future action.

This organisation is presented graphically in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Schematic outline of the Thesis



Use of language and terminology

This thesis is written in English. However, among the Atikamekw themselves, the Atikamekw language is most commonly used. Similarly, among the forestry companies involved in this study and for communication between the Atikamekw and the companies, the French language is used. Most interviews, discussions and documents used as data for this study were in French, with Atikamekw occasionally being used with members of the community of Wemotaci, particularly the elders. As researcher, I speak and write in French and English, and used an interpreter when working in Atikamekw.

Although the thesis is written in English, I will frequently use French and Atikamekw terms, which will be indicated in italics. There are two main groups of terms where these languages are used.

Names of organisations, whether formal or informal, will be provided in the language commonly used by the organisation. Examples include the *Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci* (Council of the Atikamekw of Wemotaci) and the *Projet d'harmonisation* (the Project for the development of measures for the harmonisation of Atikamekw practices and the forestry industry). The forestry companies *Gérard Crête et fils inc.* and Smurfit-Stone inc. will be referred to as Crête and Smurfit-Stone. The name of the Wemotaci sawmill, *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, comprises the terms for “sawmill” in both French and Atikamekw.

Many concepts or practices relating to Atikamekw occupation and use of the forest will be described using Atikamekw words. Such concepts cannot be accurately translated from Atikamekw to either French or English. These languages lack the terms that fully describe Atikamekw perceptions of the forest and of their practices. The importance of the Atikamekw language is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. In the Atikamekw language, the word “*Atikamekw*” can be used as both adjective and noun and the plural form does not take an “s”.

A glossary of Atikamekw and French language terms, the names of organisations and other abbreviations is provided in Annexe A.

When referring to either the Atikamekw or the Québécois (residents of Québec province) I use the terms as written in their language.

Finally, the terms “forest” and “forestry” are at the centre of this study. However, these terms have particular definitions and connotations for the forest industry. The use of a phrase such as “Atikamekw use of the forest” suggests a perception that is based on the view of the forest industry, not on that of the Atikamekw. Throughout this thesis, I will generally use the term “forestland”. This term covers both the “forest” of trees of particular interest to the companies as well as the territory of the Atikamekw. In this context, forestlands of the St-Maurice river valley may actually be described using two different terms; the *Haute-Mauricie* of the forest industry, and *Nitaskinan* of the Atikamekw.

Obtaining the necessary competences

As a doctoral student, I came to this study with an Australian Bachelors degree in forest science and ten years of practical field experience in forest management, including five years working with the indigenous inhabitants of Vanuatu in the south-west Pacific ocean. My forestry training and experience initiated me to the forestry paradigm of Australian foresters, while work in Vanuatu showed me that other peoples had different ways of understanding and occupying forestlands. Upon commencement at Université Laval, I undertook courses in forestry¹ to increase my knowledge of the Québec forestry sector and the importance of social and cultural issues in forestry, and in sociology² to learn how to organise sociological research. I also sought a co-director in Anthropology, who provided me with directed readings to give me a basic understanding of anthropology and of the Atikamekw. The research approach that I have used was developed following counsel and suggestions from professors and from fellow students in sociology. Nevertheless, I remain a forester who has sought to obtain the competences necessary to investigate a forestry situation using concepts, tools and techniques adapted from the social sciences.

¹ *Politiques forestières, Aspects socio-économique et culturel de l'agroforesterie and La problématique forestière du Québec*

² *Sociologie et méthodologie*

Chapter 1

First Nations and forest management in Canada

1.1 Introduction

Forests cover nearly half of Canada's surface area and are among the most important sectors of the national economy. These forests are also of great importance for Canada's 600 First Nations¹, with 80 % of communities being located in commercially productive forest areas (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). Despite this, the participation of First Nations in the forestry sector has been relatively minor. In recognition of this, the National Forest Strategy adopts the augmentation of First Nations' role in forestry as one of its nine strategic directions for sustainable forest management, elaborating a series of guiding principles towards this goal (CCMF 1998). A related document prepared by the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM 2000) provides substance to these principles by specifying criteria and indicators for each. These can be summarized:

- The way in which forest planning takes account of Aboriginal and treaty rights (criterion 6.1.1).
- The extent to which Aboriginal communities are participating in the economic benefits of forestry (criteria 6.2.1 and 6.2.3).
- The ways in which forest planning acknowledges the use of the forest by Aboriginal peoples and protects sites of importance to them (criteria 6.2.2, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5).

The origins of these criteria probably lie in a variety of events. Firstly, the last twenty-five years have seen First Nations taking a significantly greater role in relation to forestry, other natural resources and their place in Canadian society more generally. Additionally, a series of landmark legal judgements has helped to develop notions of Aboriginal rights and Aboriginal title while the 1982 Constitution Act recognized a place for such rights – without defining them. However, many First Nations have also adopted more active roles and have directly opposed forest exploitation (and other natural resource projects) in many parts of the country, often in association with environmentalists or other groups. First Nations have also sought an economic participation and there are now hundreds of First

¹ In this chapter I will generally use the term First Nation rather than "Aboriginal peoples", "Amerindians" or "autochtones". Principal exceptions will be in referring to a particular nation, where the original text uses another term or in the context of "Aboriginal title" and "Aboriginal rights".

Nations businesses involved in forestry and in resource industries. These domestic trends are supported by international movements towards sustainable development and sustainable forestry, an increasing recognition of the rights and roles of indigenous peoples and by commercial strategies such as forest certification. All these factors have contributed to the enunciation of the principles, criteria and indicators outlined above.

But while principles set out in national strategies and international agreements may be very useful, it is important to examine what is actually happening on the ground and in the forests. (Quaile and Smith 1997) note that Canada has developed good policies concerning First Nations and forestry and has signed a number of international commitments; they note also that practice is still to catch up to these commitments. In particular they note that First Nations often do not have confidence in governments or industry and that policies for consultation with First Nations do not necessarily take account of their interests or their views on consultation.

This chapter will review the ways in which First Nations are increasingly participating in Canadian forestry. By examining the diversity of different cases and situations I hope to identify factors that are affecting the ways in which First Nations can participate in forestry. These factors, and the summary of other experiences, will help to guide my investigation of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and of the relationship between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies.

Accordingly, this chapter will commence by examining a number of case studies that illustrate ways in which First Nations across Canada are participating in forestry. From this can be identified a series of issues for First Nations' participation in forestry. Section 1.3 will explore these issues with reference to a wider range of examples and analyses from Canada and around the world. The objective of this discussion will not be to fully treat each of these issues, but rather to determine how such an issue relates to First Nations' views of forestry and their relations with the forest industry. The chapter will conclude with a chart summarising these issues and identifying particular themes that may be important in understanding the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

1.2 First Nations experiences in forestry

The literature abounds with descriptions of the various roles that First Nations in Canada have taken in relation to resource management and to forestry in particular. Given the traditional reliance of First Nations on hunting and trapping, these are particularly well described – initially by anthropologists investigating the customs, values or systems behind these activities and latterly by biologists comparing traditional knowledge of natural ecosystems with the models of western science. More recently there have been several studies of the participation of First Nations in business ventures for the exploitation of natural resources. Finally, the importance of claims and treaty settlements and of legal judgements concerning the access of First Nations to natural resources has also generated a considerable literature.

Section 1.2 will examine in detail a number of First Nations with differing experiences of participation in forest management. These cases have been selected to illustrate a range of issues and experiences and because several of these are being promoted as models for application elsewhere. Section 1.3 will examine a greater number of cases, focusing on the issues identified in this section.

It will become apparent that almost all the cases in this review describe First Nations forestry activities on public or Crown lands, rather than on Indian reserves under the federal Indian Act. There are over 1,120,000 ha of productive forests on Indian reserves across Canada (Notzke 1994). However, much of this resource is scattered and a history of over-cutting and mismanagement (by the federal government) has degraded the forests. Accordingly, the main opportunities for First Nations participation in forestry lie on public forests within the responsibility of provincial governments.

1.2.1 Experience in Québec

Given that this study is particularly concerned with the situation of the Atikamekw of Wemotaci, the experiences of other First Nations in the province of Québec are particularly important. Such experiences reflect similar provincial institutions and attitudes and there are cultural associations between the Atikamekw and neighbouring First Nations.

1.2.1.1 The James Bay Cree and the community of Waswanipi

The peoples of the various Cree nations occupy much of the northern boreal forest stretching across five Canadian provinces and researchers have extensively studied their utilisation of these forests. Of particular importance are the writings of Feit, Tanner and Berkes who have analysed Cree systems of hunting, trapping and fishing in northern Québec. Feit (1973, 2000) described traditional systems for controlling hunting activities among the James Bay Cree, presenting a reciprocal relationship between hunters and the animals. Tanner (1979) examined the ritual and ideological systems associated with hunting, emphasizing the links between the Cree, the animals and the forest environment. Berkes (1993, 1992) has documented the extensive Cree knowledge of fauna habits and habitats, as well as the customs and systems developed to control and manage activities to maintain animal population levels. He has presented this as an example of common property resource management (Berkes 1992) and has developed concepts of co-management (Berkes et al. 1991) and of the relationship between ecological practices and social mechanisms (Folke et al. 1998). Although these studies do not relate directly to forestry, in the narrow sense of managing the production of wood fibre, they do show that the James Bay Cree had and continue to have knowledge and systems for the management of natural resources important to their lifestyle.

During the last twenty-five years the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) has directed resource management in northern Québec. The JBNQA provided a number of economic benefits for the Cree, supported the continuing practice of traditional activities and established a number of institutions for Cree-provincial co-operation for the development and management of resources in northern Québec. For its part, the Québec government was able to proceed with hydroelectric projects that had previously been opposed by the Cree. However, the JBNQA did not specifically address forestry and several commentators have noted that the agreement did not give the Cree any real control over forest exploitation (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999; Scott 2001). Feit and Beaulieu (2001) found that Cree participation in consultation processes established by the government and by forest companies lead to only "limited concessions". They concluded that the government and the companies were using "participation" to limit input into decision-making and to legitimize existing practices. Similarly, Rodon (2003 p 202) concluded that the co-management arrangements established under the JBNQA actually became a locus for misunderstandings, rather than contributing to the exchange of

information and viewpoints. In the late 1990s, the Cree launched a series of legal actions against the Québec government and the logging industry, before these were finally dropped with the signing of a new agreement, the “*Paix des braves*” in 2002 (Gouv. du Québec 2002). The new agreement recognizes traditional land management units and establishes additional co-management arrangements, but the effectiveness of these initiatives remains to be seen. Until now, neither the Cree’s local knowledge and systems nor the obligations of the JBNQA have sufficed to meet their expectations for participation in forestry.

The Cree community of Waswanipi (northern Québec) has followed another path since 1983 when they established Mishtuk Corporation to harvest timber from lands belonging to the community under the JBNQA for sale to timber industries operating in the north. This was followed in 1997 with the opening of the Nabaktuk sawmill as a joint venture between Mishtuk (holding a 55% share) and Domtar (with 45%). A primary objective for these projects was the creation of employment opportunities and economic development for the community. Initially, logging operations by Mishtuk copied those of other forestry companies, but since the early 1990s Mishtuk has been developing and applying other techniques – mosaic logging, forest planning based on traditional land units and consultation with hunters and trappers (NAFA/IOG 2000). More recently, Waswanipi has also become the site of a model forest leading to research on the impacts of forestry on the environment and on the utilisation of the land by the Cree. Waswanipi’s participation in forestry, which commenced with a limited economic role for employment creation, has since led to experience in forest industry management, the modification of industry techniques and the development of new planning and consultation procedures. These major developments have taken place on Cree land under the JBNQA, and some have now been incorporated into the 2002 agreement.

1.2.1.2 The Algonquin of Barriere Lake

In 1989 the Algonquins of the Rapid Lake Reserve (western Québec), becoming concerned about the impact that logging was having on their traditional lands (outside the reserve), blockaded roads and prevented access to forestry companies. Police action finally cleared the blockades but protests continued, leading to negotiations between the Algonquin and the federal and provincial governments and the signing of a Trilateral Agreement in 1991. The Agreement was to establish a model of sustainable development,

based on the principles of the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), providing for co-management by the Algonquin and the Québec government of an area of approximately 1,000,000 ha of traditional Algonquin lands. The Agreement identified a program to prepare and implement an integrated resource management plan by the end of 1994 (www.barrierelake.ca 2002). (Notzke 1993) considered that the vision of participation and of sustainable development outlined in the Agreement distinguished it from other co-management regimes.

However, the timetable identified in the Agreement has not been maintained. Notably the Québec government initially failed to meet its obligations and adopted a unilateral approach (Notzke 1994). The process stalled, before re-commencing in 1993. Since that time the Trilateral Secretariat has undertaken an extensive series of resource inventories and reports documenting Algonquin knowledge and utilisation of the area (including a five-volume report prepared in September 1996). Currently, a draft management plan is nearing completion, ready to be considered by the three parties for future implementation (Ross and Smith 2002).

The experience of the Barriere Lake Algonquin illustrates several important points. Firstly, in the absence of acknowledged territorial rights, First Nations often have to resort to dramatic protests in order to commence negotiations with governments. Once negotiations are concluded, they are still reliant upon government (and often industrial) co-operation in funding, developing and implementing modifications to existing regimes. Finally, demands for detailed information can delay the implementation of changes as well as raising questions about who is setting the terms for First Nations' participation.

1.2.1.3 Other experiences in Québec

Other First Nations groups in Québec have also participated in forestry and resource management to differing extents. A number of communities have forestry services enterprises, usually undertaking silvicultural contracts such as tree planting or thinning, but in some cases carrying out logging. In 1983, the three communities of the Atikamekw nation established *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* for post-logging tree planting and for clearing under Hydro-Québec lines. The company is now owned solely by the Wemotaci community and has logging and silvicultural contracts with a number of Mauricie mills. The community of Opitciwan has its own forestry services company and established

a sawmill in 1998 as a joint venture with the sawmiller and paper maker, Donohue inc. (subsequently merged with Abitibi Consolidated Industries inc.). Wemotaci and the Innu community of Natashquan have also embarked in partnerships for the establishment of sawmills. However, it must be stressed that forestry services contracts do not imply any decision-making role in forest management. Furthermore, even though the ownership of a sawmill does enable a First Nation to participate in forest management planning, the government fixes both the nature of these plans and logging regulations. The use of different techniques, such as those developed by Mishtuk at Waswanipi, relies upon negotiation with the government and with other forestry companies. Almost all First Nations in Québec are embarked on negotiations with the governments concerning greater access to and control of land and resources.

There have been other initiatives by which First Nations have sought a greater role in decision-making in natural resource management. During the 1980s, the Atikamekw documented their traditional knowledge, prepared maps of areas of particular importance for fauna and argued for integrated management in the *Haute-Mauricie* (AMAA 1992b, 1994; Charest 2003; Dandenault 1983). More recently, the Innu of Masteuiatsh (Lac St-Jean) and the provincial government have developed a form of fauna co-management over part of their traditional lands including codes of practice respected by the Innu (Côté 1997). For the same community, Morel developed a model of integrated fauna and forest management in order to respond to these needs of the Innu as well as those of the forest industry (Morel 1996; Morel and Bélanger 1998). While these arrangements do represent a level of First Nation participation in forestry, they are less developed than that of the Waswanipi Cree or of the intentions of the Barriere Lake Agreement.

1.2.2 Experiences elsewhere in Canada

In British Columbia, the 1970s and 1980s saw a series of conservation campaigns in which First Nations joined forces with environmentalists and other activists to protest against logging operations. But Notzke (1994) notes that this is a “tenuous alliance” and that First Nations are often open to economic development options while environmentalists have other goals. The most significant of these campaigns was probably that for Clayoquot Sound. Protests and legal judgements over a number of years finally lead to the provincial government establishing the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel (CSSP), which was charged with reviewing existing forest management standards and

recommending changes and improvements. Among the critical recommendations of the CSSP in 1995 was the recognition of both the role of the Nuu-chah-nulth people in forest stewardship and the importance of their traditional knowledge of the forests (CSSP 1995; Hoberg and Morawski 1997). The Nuu-chah-nulth have subsequently developed their participation in forestry in two significant ways. Firstly, in 1998 they established Iisaak Forest Products² as a joint venture with MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. to promote innovative forest management. Iisaak has committed itself to ecosystem management and has succeeded in being certified by the Forest Stewardship Council (Iisaak n/d; NAFA/IOG 2000; www.iisaak.com 2002). They have also negotiated agreements with other parties such as environmentalists and forest industry workers presenting an alternative to normal models of industrial forestry (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). Secondly, Clayoquot Sound became the site of the Long Beach Model Forest where forestry companies, the Nuu-chah-nulth people and other groups worked to develop new approaches and techniques for sustainable forestry (www.lbmf.bc.ca 2002)³. The long controversy around Clayoquot Sound has given rise to a formal recognition of the value of First Nations' knowledge and role in forest management and to the development of ways to implement this in sustainable forestry.

A second case of particular importance is that of the Nisga'a in central British Columbia. Since the late 1970s the Nisga'a have been contesting forestry practices on their traditional lands. They have variously protested to the provincial government, proposed an alternate forest management plan, applied for a provincial forestry licence and tried to buy such a licence from the company that held it (Notzke 1994). The Nisga'a also continued to press for a settlement of their land claim, and in 1998 negotiated an agreement that gave them control of nearly 2000 square kilometres of their traditional territory, subject to a number of conditions. But Curran and M'Gonigle believe that, in practice, the Nisga'a will have little opportunity to establish their approach to forest management because much of the area has already been logged and forest industries will continue to operate under existing rules for five years. They note that the agreement does not reflect traditional Nisga'a systems of governance and that "*it is a significant departure from the Aboriginal*

² Iisaak means "respect" in the Nuu-chah-nulth language

³ The Long Beach Model Forest ceased being part of the Canadian Model Forest program in 2002. I have not investigated the reasons for this.

title rights set out in Delgamuukw" (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999 p 770) (Section 1.3.2. will examine the *Delgamuukw* case). Despite these limitations the Nisga'a have started to establish their own forestry management rules and activities (Ross and Smith 2002). Hence it will be important to see how the Nisga'a are able to work within (or around) the limitations of the agreement, particularly as it may serve as a model for the settlement of other land claims. But it also needs to be acknowledged that this agreement was preceded by a long series of actions and that, even so, it seems that there are still limitations on the Nisga'a role in decision-making.

In Alberta the investigation and documentation of traditional knowledge of First Nations has received particular attention, especially through the work of the Arctic Institute of North America. A series of Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Studies (TLUOS) have been undertaken with various Nations (including Fort McKay, Athabasca, Bigstone Cree and the Dene in the North-West Territories) in association with forestry and oil and gas companies (Robinson and Ross 1997). These studies aimed to collect traditional information and use it to foster First Nations' participation in land use planning, particularly forestry. However, in reviewing the contributions of the TLUOS program McKinnon *et al* (2001) also identified a number of constraints to its effectiveness (see section 1.3.4.3).

The Prairie Provinces had not traditionally been major timber production areas until the 1980s when forestry expanded into the northern forests. This provided new employment opportunities and members of First Nations now fill up to 80 % of all forestry positions in the north (Notzke 1994). A number of First Nations have also been successful in establishing forestry services companies to carry out logging, silvicultural and other contracts for forest management companies (NAFA/IOG 2000). Particularly significant is the example of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) in Saskatchewan. In 1988 they established NorSask Forest Products as a milling company, followed several years later by Mistik Management as a forest management company. The ownership of these companies has changed during the years, but currently NorSask is fully owned by MLTC while Mistik is shared equally between NorSask and Millar Western Pulp. NorSask is now the largest forest products company owned by a Canadian First Nation, creating significant employment for MLTC members (NAFA/IOG 2000). However Curran and M'Gonigle question the employment and economic benefits of these arrangements, noting that all forestry and technical staff are non-Aboriginal (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). In May 1992, members of MLTC communities blockaded the operations of Mistik because of concerns

about the effects of logging. A long-running crisis together with legal action eventually lead to co-management agreements between NorSask and local interests in different parts of their operating area (Anderson 1997; Chambers 1999a). The example of Meadow Lake highlights the interests for First Nations in obtaining employment and economic benefits and in establishing forest management practices that they feel reflect their interest in the land. It also demonstrates the potential for tension between these two goals and underlines the fact that being an economic partner in the forest industry does not necessarily enable a First Nation to adopt practices that differ from industry norms. Innovative approaches to forest management, such as co-management, are a way of alleviating these tensions.

Although there is little forestry in the Canadian arctic, a number of cases there have led to the development of the co-management approach, which has subsequently been seen as a model for First Nations' participation in forestry in southern Canada. Robinson attributes the beginnings of co-management to requests by Gwich'in and Inuvialuit hunters to discuss the management of animal and fish stocks with government officials in 1942 (Robinson 1999). However, it was not until the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) in 1984 that formal structures for co-management were put in place. Other co-management regimes have since been aimed precisely at issues of fauna management, recognising that First Nations are both the main users of this resource and also the possessors of significant knowledge about it (Notzke 1995). Notzke analyses the IFA noting that all of the characteristics of a co-management regime exist, but that final decisions remain with the government (the so-called "God-clause") and so First Nations do not fully have the right to determine resource management. She also notes the importance of understanding the goals that are being pursued by the different parties in a co-management regime and that federal government policy was to exchange undefined Aboriginal rights for concrete rights and benefits. Two factors are of great importance in considering the lessons of arctic co-management. Firstly, competition for fauna resources in the north is less than that for access to forests in southern Canada. Secondly, agreements in the north have proved easier to negotiate with the federal government than in the south where provincial governments have constitutional responsibility for land and resource exploitation issues (Robinson 1999).

1.3 Issues of First Nations' in forestry

The cases detailed in section 1.2 raise a number of issues relating to the participation of First Nations in forestry. In this section, these issues will be considered in more detail, identifying common (or contrasting) experiences from different situations around Canada and elsewhere, particularly drawing on the analyses of authors who have treated one or more of these subjects in depth. Five principles issues will be addressed here:

- The forest management system and its effects on participation;
- Aboriginal rights and their implications for First Nations' participation in forestry;
- Economic participation of First Nations in the forest industry;
- Different mechanisms for participation of First Nations in forest and resource management;
- Differences between First Nations' perceptions and understanding of "the forest" and those of non-Aboriginal parties.

1.3.1 The forest management system ⁴

In their discussion of the sociology of natural resource management, Millar *et al* address themselves to natural resource management systems, explaining that this concept facilitates the analysis of those managing the resources, rather than just the resource (Miller, Gale et al. 1987). Using this approach, the Canadian forest management system comprises the forest resource along with a management bureaucracy, profit-seeking industries and the public, including First Nations. Hence the participation of First Nations in this system can be considered in relation to the institutions established for forest management and the practices that are implemented by these institutions.

⁴ Clearly, the Canadian forest management system is too varied and too complex to permit a proper representation in this review. The goal of this section is simply to present some key characteristics of this system in relation to First Nations' participation in forestry.

1.3.1.1 Forest management institutions

There are a number of forest management regimes in Canada (each province is distinct) but these share a series of commonalities. The general characteristic is of publicly owned forests (often potentially subject to Aboriginal title) on which private forestry enterprises carry out logging and management activities under licence from the government. Conditions of these licences and the forest management responsibilities of the enterprise differ from province to province. Such licences, or forest tenures, are *“the most powerful tool of forest management”* according to Notzke (1994, p 83). Those provinces that encourage First Nation participation in forest industries usually do so by facilitating access to particular tenures (NAFA/IOG 2000). But, as will be discussed in the following sections, these tenures do not necessarily respond to First Nations’ interests and have the effect of binding them to a forest management system established by the government.

The second important characteristic of the forest management regime is the role of private enterprise in the exploitation and management of forestlands. Such enterprises, operating generally under a profit motive, have typically regarded wood fibre as the principal (if not the only) product of the forest (Dubois 1995). Management of the forests to produce this resource is characterized by rational scientific planning coupled with economic analysis of the costs and returns of such management. Willems-Braun (1997) argues that this representation of forestry is, in itself, a factor that acts against First Nations obtaining a major role in the forest management system.

Kimmins (2002) describes forestry as evolving through a series of steps from uncontrolled exploitation through administrative forestry systems to social eco-system forestry. According to Kimmins, Canada is generally in the last transition stage (from ecological to social forestry). This analysis emphasises that the system is changing and developing and, at times, regressing. For First Nations, the recognition that the forest management system is changing is probably one of its most important characteristics.

1.3.1.2 Forest management practices

The concept of sustained yield is often perceived to be the dominant idea of forest management. “Sustained yield” was initially interpreted to mean the maintenance of a regular supply of wood products indefinitely. This concept has since been widened to include other forest uses and products such as wildlife, water or recreation. Adamowicz

and Veeman (1998) described sustained yield of timber as being a phase from the 1940s to the 1960s. This was followed by multiple use forestry – the management of forests for a wider range of products and uses. Despite this view, it was not until 1986 that sustained yield of timber became a centrepiece of Québec's new forestry regime (Frisque 1996). Notzke described sustained yield as a “holy cow”, with its origins in nineteenth century Europe and being a simplification inappropriate for Canadian forests (Notzke 1994 p 84). Furthermore, she notes that the basic premise of forests as a source of timber products is still central to the forest industry, despite numerous critiques. This emphasis on timber production acts against First Nations who often have other interests in the forest landscape.

However, there are a number of other approaches to practicing forest management that are now being introduced in Canada (Kimmins 2002). Of particular importance among these is ecosystem management, which is generally accepted as meaning management of the forest ecosystem as an integrated system, rather than treating trees, animals and water separately. This view of the forest as a whole, rather than solely as wood fibre or other products, is compatible with traditional approaches of First Nations' occupation (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). Application of this approach could include forestry practices such as mimicking natural disturbance regimes or small-block mosaic logging (Bélanger 2001; Gauthier et al. 2001).

However, ecosystem management can also be interpreted as concentrating on biological rather than social factors (Adamowicz and Veeman 1998). In this view, forestry practices are often aimed at replicating biological processes, such as the replication of historical fire disturbance patterns in the boreal forests (Gauthier et al. 2001). Such a view could act against First Nations' interests. If ecosystem management is to serve as a basis for First Nations participation in forestry, it will need to acknowledge both the complexity of forest ecosystems and the role of humans within these systems, while avoiding issues of oversimplification and of overly technical management.

1.3.2 Aboriginal rights

The way in which forest management processes take account of Aboriginal rights is the CCFM's first indicator of Aboriginal participation in forestry (CCFM 2000). They note that sustainable management should recognize these rights and consider ways in which First Nations are using forestlands. In order to evaluate this criterion, the CCFM examines the processes used by provinces to permit First Nations to comment on forestry operations. However, legal judgements, government policy and the literature indicate that Aboriginal rights oblige a much greater role for First Nations in forestry than mere consultation.

Aboriginal rights and title have their origins in the occupation of North America by First Nations before the arrival of European traders and settlers. Treaties with many First Nations, but not with those in Québec, provided for the establishment of European legal and government systems. However, questions of the nature of Aboriginal rights and their current applicability have now become an important issue in forest management. Aboriginal rights are often perceived as being unclear and in need of definition, but Asch and Zlotkin (1997) note that First Nations themselves have a quite clear understanding of what these rights mean and believe that they are still valid. They understand Aboriginal rights as including not just the right to occupy or use land, but also rights to self-government, to language, to culture and indeed to their own identity. Aboriginal title was given to them collectively (including future generations) by the Creator and hence is not something that could be given away or taken by settlers (Asch and Zlotkin 1997).

Early treaties aimed to extinguish Aboriginal title to facilitate European settlement. Current Canadian federal government policy is still to extinguish Aboriginal rights, or rather "to relinquish undefined Aboriginal rights ... in favour of the rights and other benefits which are written down in the settlement agreement" (1993 *Federal Policy for the Settlement of Native Claims* in Asch and Zlotkin 1997). This policy has been maintained despite recognition of Aboriginal rights in the Constitution in 1982, a series of constitutional conferences in the 1980s to discuss these rights and a number of legal judgements that have developed the extent and nature of Aboriginal rights and title over the last thirty years. In contrast, the Québec government has not adopted such a policy (Dupuis 2001), maintaining the option of recognising Aboriginal rights. Asch and Zlotkin argue strongly against the federal policy, recommending that negotiations between governments and First

Nations should be based on affirmation of these rights and then on moving forward to the development of political relationships aimed at co-operation. If such an approach was to be adopted by governments, it would imply that First Nations would gain a much greater role in all forest management activities, a role that would need to be developed in conjunction with the government, the industry and other parties.

The last thirty years have seen the Canadian court system taking a major role in defining the nature and extent of Aboriginal title. The *Calder* decision by the Supreme Court in 1973 acknowledged the existence of Aboriginal title (House 1998). In 1990, the Supreme Court confirmed a decision in British Columbia in the *Sparrow* case which strengthened the recognition of Aboriginal rights by specifying conditions under which governments could regulate or limit these (Notzke 1995). Again in British Columbia in 1997, the *Haida Nation* case established that Aboriginal title, where it has been demonstrated to exist, would limit the ability of the government to impose its forest management rules. However, this also implies that a First Nation has to prove its title before it can oblige the government and forest industries to modify forest practices (House 1998). More recently, the *Delgamuukw* judgement in the Supreme Court in 1997 made two important findings. Firstly, First Nations may use oral history to prove their claims, thus overcoming a bias towards written documents. Secondly, Aboriginal title gives the right to use the land for a variety of activities (not just for “traditional” or “subsistence” purposes) on the condition that these activities are compatible with the First Nations attachment to the land (Curran and M’Gonigle 1999; House 1998). House notes that these findings mean that forest industries will need to consult much more closely with First Nations in areas where Aboriginal title is claimed and that they will also need to consider with whom they are consulting as most band councils are legally only responsible for reserve lands. Curran and M’Gonigle see in the *Delgamuukw* finding a model for development of Aboriginal lands – “*collective decision-making that must maintain the ecological integrity of traditional lands necessary to support historic practices*” (Curran and M’Gonigle 1999 p 726). They subsequently use this model as a way of assessing different mechanisms for First Nations participation in forestry.

It is useful to compare several recent agreements between First Nations and governments in the light of the legal considerations of Aboriginal rights and title. Firstly, the JBNQA (section 1.2.1.1) was signed in 1976, before the majority of these legal judgements. It aimed to extinguish Aboriginal title (except on particular areas) and to replace this with a

series of benefits and specified rights. The co-management regimes established by JBNQA operated under government authority. However, the Cree and independent reviewers observe that provisions of the Agreement, especially those relating to protection of the Cree ability to continue to hunt and trap, have not been respected by the federal and provincial governments (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999; Rynard 2001). These issues lead to continuing disputes and finally to the "*Paix des braves*" of 2002. However, this new agreement does not re-address the issues of Aboriginal rights or title, and so the arguments presented above raise questions about the longevity of this agreement. Secondly, the Nisga'a Agreement (section 1.2.2) was signed in 1998, after the *Delgamuukw* judgement. As noted above, Curran and M'Gonigle believe that the treaty does not reflect the interpretation of Aboriginal title represented by *Delgamuukw* and that it also imposes a new system of government. Similarly, (Rynard 2001) believes that the Nisga'a Agreement is too limiting of Aboriginal title and does not really represent a change from previous policies of extinguishing rights. Finally and most recently, the agreement-in-principle negotiated with the Innu in Québec in 2002 (and signed by all three parties in March 2004) confirms Aboriginal rights, including title (Kurtness 2002). If this agreement leads to a final settlement, then it will represent a significant departure from previous cases. Having recognized title and rights over the land will give the Innu the possibility to develop a much greater role in decision-making about forest and the management of other resources.

In the absence of recognition of Aboriginal rights or title, First Nations are constrained to participation within the scope of provincial and federal regulations. Furthermore, in relation to forestry, First Nations appear to be at a significant disadvantage in comparison with other parties, principally the forest industries. Governments have continued to issue long-term forest exploitation permits over lands that are subject to negotiations with First Nations (Asch and Zlotkin 1997). Opportunities provided for First Nations participation in the forest management system are usually aimed at consultation or at fostering economic participation in the industry. These issues will be discussed in the following sections. However, it must be noted that both approaches act to integrate First Nations into existing forest management systems, rather than recognising Aboriginal rights or developing new systems.

The importance of indigenous rights is being widely recognized internationally. International agreements and declarations, such as those from Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and

Leticia (Colombia), call for greater recognition of and role for indigenous peoples in the management of forests where they have traditionally lived (IMIOFDP 1996; UNCED 1992). Numerous authors, often working in developing countries, have reviewed the role of local peoples (indigenous or otherwise) in forest management, describing knowledge systems, management techniques and institutions for control of land and resource use (Fisher 1995, Wollenberg 1997 and Agrawal 2001). Other authors have stressed the importance of secure land tenure as an element in promoting or enabling participation of local communities (Arnold 1998; Bruce 1999). Of particular interest are the writings of Elinor Ostrom who has analysed ways in which such systems permit and facilitate the sustainable management of forests as common-resources, often with better results than corresponding government systems (Ostrom 1999; Poteete and Ostrom 2002). However, Agrawal and Poteete and Ostrom also warn that local institutions are not necessarily a panacea for resource management but that their effectiveness will depend on perceptions of benefits and costs of participation. Based on these experiences, it appears that effective participation of First Nations in Canadian forestry would benefit from: the recognition of Aboriginal title, rights and institutions; an effective role in decision-making; and access to economic, social and cultural benefits. Interestingly, this reflects First Nations' understanding of Aboriginal rights as discussed above (Asch and Zlotkin 1997).

This discussion has focused on rights of First Nations and the way in which these contribute to their participation in forestry. It seems likely that understanding of the nature and extent of these rights will continue to develop through processes of legal decisions and political negotiation. But it is also important to consider the social context within which these processes take place. Agreements with the Innu and the Nisga'a promoted widespread concern among non-Aboriginal populations in Québec and British Columbia. Dupuis (2001) proposes a range of changes in government policy towards First Nations, including a new approach to negotiation and the establishment of forums to promote greater understanding and to establish links between communities. She argues that the definition of Aboriginal rights should not be left solely to the judicial system, but that citizens must become involved in the process. Poirier (2000) notes that use of legal processes constrains First Nations to present their case in terms set by the state, often precluding a true presentation or understanding of their concerns and wishes.

If First Nations are to communicate the nature of their attachment to the land (as stated in the *Delgamuukw* judgement), and if the majority non-Aboriginal population of Canada is to

understand and accept this as a basis for their participation in forestry, then discourse and practice will need to move outside the courts and away from a discussion centred on Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal rights and title are important for First Nations participation in forestry, but they alone will not suffice.

1.3.3 Economic participation

The difficulty of obtaining a role in forestry and forest management, coupled with needs for economic development, have lead many First Nations to seek economic participation in the forest industry. CCFM indicators address this issue by looking at First Nation participation in economic opportunities in forestry and the number of communities where forestry is an important part of their economic base, although they do not have complete data to monitor these indicators (CCFM 2000). Again, the issues of First Nations participation in the economic aspects of forestry are much greater than suggested by these two indicators. This section will look initially at different types of arrangements between First Nations and other parties and then consider the importance of the concept of “development” itself.

There is no complete picture of the number of First Nations involved in the economic aspects of forestry. A study by the National Aboriginal Forestry Association (NAFA) in 2000 provided details on 46 partnerships between First Nations and forestry companies, saying that this was not a comprehensive survey (NAFA/IOG 2000). CCFM stated that about 6% of industry contracts in British Columbia went to Aboriginal firms, that more than 70 communities in Ontario were involved in economic aspects of forestry and that 3,000 First Nations members were employed in forestry related activities in the North-West Territories (CCFM 2000). Since 1996, the federal government’s First Nations Forestry Program has been supporting training and business development in First Nations forestry as a means of improving economic conditions in communities (Gov. of Canada 2001). The number of economic arrangements for First Nations’ participation is certainly significant, and almost certainly increasing.

A NAFA conference in 1995 aimed to compare different types of partnerships, assessing their advantages and understanding the problems that they could present (NAFA 1995b). Advantages of participation in the forest industry include economic benefits, greater self-confidence and gaining control of forests (Campbell in (NAFA 1995b). But participation

can also erode the community's traditional culture, especially if communities are not fully consulted or do not support the enterprise (Hunter in (NAFA 1995b). Several participants noted that participation in the industry could be a way of gaining control of the land, but that the institutional framework for forestry worked against this (Mercredi in (NAFA 1995b). The NAFA study cited above proposes a typology of five different types of relationships, based on function and structure, ranging from simple contracts for forest services through joint ventures to forest planning and socio-economic arrangements (NAFA/IOG 2000). Curran and M'Gonigle (1999) base their analysis of economic participation on the nature of control held by First Nations over forestlands.

The establishment of forest services companies to undertake contracts for larger companies has become common among First Nations, such as the early experiences of the Waswanipip Cree, of the Meadow Lake communities and of the Atikamekw as described in section 1.2. Such arrangements have the advantage of enabling the First Nation to develop technical and management skills, of establishing links and mutual understanding with larger forestry enterprises and of helping to define needs and objectives for future participation (NAFA/IOG 2000). But forest services contracting gives little or no opportunity for First Nations to participate in decision making about the forest or to implement activities in ways that differ from the industry or government norms specified in the contract (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). This approach represents First Nations' participation solely in the terms of the forest management regime established by the government and the industry. The dangers of such an approach can be seen in the conflicts around Meadow Lake's logging and milling activities (section 1.2.2). If First Nations are aiming to establish their own forms of forest management, as indicated by the *Delgamuukw* ruling and examples such as the Nuu-chah-nulth and Iisaak, they will need to go further than simple contracting arrangements. In such cases, the existence of forest services companies may contribute to the establishment of more developed arrangements.

A smaller number of First nations are involved in the forest industry in ways that go beyond simple forest services contracts. Such arrangements are usually in the form of joint ventures for construction of a timber mill or for undertaking a range of forest management activities, including planning. The advantage of such partnerships for First Nations is that they obtain a greater degree of control over activities (often with a shareholding of 50 % or more), gain access to forest resources and benefit from the capital, technical skills, management capacity and business connections of their partner (NAFA/IOG 2000). For

the industry, benefits can include establishing better links with First nations, gaining access to resources that have come (or may come) under their control, improving a corporate image or complying with government requirements (Anderson 1997). Making such a partnership work in the long-term requires elements such as:

- Carefully choosing partners, making sure that they appreciate cultural differences;
- Developing relationships and trust, often over a significant time;
- Understanding and clarifying the objectives of each party;
- Establishing clear accountability for actions and responsibility among the parties.
- Acknowledging that First Nations politics will play a role;
- Defining the responsibility of each party's contribution;
- Assessing the risks of the venture, particularly cultural and social impacts;
- Educating each party in aspects of the other's culture;
- Monitoring the arrangement and providing for conflict resolution;

Synthesized from (Brubacher 1998; NAFA/IOG 2000; Nixon 1999)

Within this list it is important to note the existence, and in fact the preponderance, of cultural factors. First Nations and forestry companies approach a joint forestry venture from significantly different positions. This theme will be developed further in section 1.3.5. By contrast, a recent guide by the Canadian Forest Service for the establishment of forestry ventures by First Nations (SCF 2001) makes no mention of issues of culture, of relations within a community or of a distinctive First Nations approach to forestry. This suggests a serious lack of understanding of the importance of such issues.

Joint ventures and forest management partnerships may give First Nations a greater degree of control and more benefits than contracting arrangements, but they are typically still limited in the way that forests and lands are managed. Almost all such partnerships are based on forestry permits or licences issued by government. The conditions applied to such permits form the basis of forest management systems, and are not usually varied for First Nations (Notzke 1994). This obliges First Nations to participate in forestry regimes that are oriented towards logging rather than ecosystem or multiple-value management and that are based on capital-intensive and large scale operations (Curran and M'Gonigle

1999). Ross and Smith (2002) identify three important characteristics of this system that act against the First Nation interests: the way in which allowable cuts are determined on the basis of sustained timber yield without taking account of other values; the allocation of forest tenures without consultation with First Nations; and the common requirement that tenure holders build and/or operate a timber mill. These three characteristics make it difficult for First Nations to obtain forestry tenures and to implement their own style of forest management if they have been successful in gaining such tenure. All these authors consider that existing forestry tenures are inadequate for First Nations. Joint ventures and partnerships may provide sufficient flexibility to accommodate First Nations' interests, such as with lisaak in British Columbia, or they may fail to do so, leading to tensions such as at Meadow Lake in Saskatchewan.

Economic participation in forestry provides a range of different options for First Nations to share in the benefits of forest harvesting and management. However, in almost all cases, First Nations are obliged to participate according to the rules of the existing forest management system and so have few opportunities to determine their own objectives for the development of their communities or for the management of forestlands.

1.3.3.1 The question of “development”

The interest of First Nations in partnerships as a means of economic development also focuses attention on the question of “development”. Far from being a neutral term, development is a concept and a discourse that often implies that “undeveloped” peoples (such as First Nations) need to be assisted to climb to the higher levels of “developed” peoples (such as the dominant Canadian society) (Escobar 1997). Scott (2001) notes that the “development” of First Nations' traditional lands has often eroded traditional economies and that they typically receive only a small proportion of economic benefits. Hedican (1995) describes the different perceptions held by Québécois and the Cree of the James Bay hydroelectric project; the former saw a project of national realisation, while for the Cree it was a disruption of their traditional pursuits. This raises the question of whether or not forestry “development” really meets the interests of First Nations.

Cornell and Kalt (1992), in their analysis of opportunities for Amerindian development in USA, do not significantly question the model of development. However, they do conclude that economic development necessitates both sovereignty and the existence of local

institutions to determine development choices. Similarly, Scott (2001) concludes that development requires the control of both resources and institutions. In such a situation, it is possible that members of an indigenous group may question a particular approach to “development” even though their elites may have already decided for such a project (Charest, 2001). Curran and M'Gonigle (1999) note that such elites, including non-Aboriginal advisors, often control First Nation institutions that are responsible for economic activities and that they may direct the Nation into activities that are inappropriate for their values or systems of governance.

Economic participation of First Nations in forest management systems thus requires that they have the opportunity to establish their own concepts of and expectations for economic “development”, rather than accepting a model dominant in Canadian society. According to Charest (2001), most First Nations are willing to share their land and resources with non-Aboriginals, but in partnerships that respect their rights and interests. Escobar (1997) stresses the need to identify differences that can help establish alternatives and the frameworks that support local practices and identities. Natcher (2000) notes the importance of flexibility and adaptability to enable First Nations (and other parties) to develop new structures to better reflect their interests in resource management. As an ongoing process of development, this can be situated in what Poirier (2000) has described as “contemporaneity”. This term implies the synthesis, by First Nations themselves, of their traditional social orders with the dominant society. In relation to forestry, this requires new approaches to forest management, to the institutions and the practices, that derive from traditional values, knowledge and processes and that respond to modern demands for forest products and services.

1.3.4 Participation in forest management

As discussed in previous sections, many First Nations hope to gain greater control over the management of forests and other resources on their traditional lands. Legal challenges, political negotiations and economic participation in the forestry industry all offer possibilities, but real achievements in setting forest management directions in these ways have been few. Many First Nations are now investigating ways of having more direct participation in, or control of, forest management. Such initiatives are considered in three of the CCFM indicators: ways in which forest planning takes account of particular sites of importance to First Nations; the area of land that is available for subsistence purposes;

and Indian reserves which have integrated forest management plans. Again, CCFM notes that information is not available for the first two of these indicators and that approximately one third of First Nations have integrated plans for their reserves (CCFM 2000).

In considering participation in forest management, it is critical to understand what is meant by participation. As a conceptual tool, (Arnstein 1969) ladder of participation distinguishes eight different levels of participation based on the extent to which local communities or individuals are involved in decision-making and the level of control exercised by “outsiders”. Higher levels of “participation” are not necessarily better than others, but they do indicate that the level of participation will depend on the objectives and interests of the people involved, particularly those who define the terms of such participation.

This section will consider a number of different approaches to First Nations participation in forest management and will consider them in relation to the issues raised in other sections and to understanding the extent of participation in decision-making for forestlands.

1.3.4.1 Participation & consultation

Encouraging participation of First Nations and of the general public in forestry and resource management planning has become a major issue during the last two decades. It is to be found in the CCFM documents already discussed, it was one of the major themes in the revision of Québec’s forestry regime, and it is also one of the principles in the Rio Declaration (MRNQ 2000; UNCED 1992). Accordingly, many researchers in Québec and around the world are developing processes and techniques aimed at facilitating such participation (for example Cortner and Shannon 1993; Fisher 1995; Lauber and Knuth 1998, Buchy and Hoverman 2000). In a review of public participation, Buchy and Hoverman distinguished between participation as an approach for community development (participation as an end) or as a management tool for involving communities in specific activities (participation as a means to an end). This significantly affects issues of power and responsibility. Participants may have quite different views of their role to that of the government or the organising agency. Research in the Mauricie forests in Québec (Yamasaki et al. 2001) identified benefits of public participation (without specifically considering participation of First Nations) including:

- the use of the publics’ knowledge to assist decision-making;

- avoiding or resolving conflicts among resource users;
- the development of a sense of stewardship of the forest; and
- recognition of the citizen's fundamental right to be involved in management of public forests.

However, the criteria suggested by Yamasaki *et al* for monitoring public participation do not include factors of concern to First Nations (as identified in this review).

Much of the policy discourse on public participation actually reflects ideas of informing and consultation according to Arnstein scale. Information is provided to communities, or First Nations, and their opinions on particular questions may be sought, but there is no assurance that these views will be considered in the final decision. Recent amendments to the Québec Forest Act require that First Nations be given the opportunity to participate in the preparation of forest management plans, but objectives, format and the scope of the plan are all specified by the government (Gouv.duQuébec 2001). Such an approach does not fully take account of Aboriginal rights and does not acknowledge that First Nations are “not just another stakeholder” (Smith 1995). As noted in section 1.2.1.1, participation processes set out in the JBNQA and in Québec forestry rules have not satisfied Cree expectations concerning their ability to determine forestry practices on their traditional lands (Feit and Beaulieu 2001). Again in the Mauricie in Québec, participation and consultation processes employed by forestry companies contributed to greater information and knowledge about forestry, but did not change decision-making roles or responsibilities in forest management (Côté and Bouthillier 2002). Although consultation and information sharing processes do not provide a decision-making role for First Nations they do contribute to a better understanding of First Nations interests in and concerns for forests by governments and industry, and to First Nations understanding of industry points of view. Such understanding can help to foster better co-operation and partnership (a higher level on Arnstein's ladder). It may also assist in the modification of forest management institutions and practices so as to better respond to First Nations' interests and to provide for more significant participation.

1.3.4.2 Environmental and social impact assessment and Certification

Section 1.3.4.1 noted several advantages of consultation for First Nations, but also some of the difficulties that they face in having their interests acknowledged. The development

of impact assessment and of forestry certification regimes has created situations where decision-makers are obliged to consult with First Nations and where mechanisms are being developed to assess the effectiveness of these consultations.

Environmental and social impact assessments (EIA/SIA) are increasingly making use of First Nations contributions, including traditional knowledge, to evaluate the effects of proposed developments, for example with hydro-electric development in the James Bay or oil and gas development in northern Alberta⁵. Advantages in this process are similar to the advantages of consultation and traditional knowledge (Sections 1.3.4.1 and 1.3.4.3). However, interests, concerns and proposals of First Nations may be wider than the specific information and formal guidelines required for impact assessments (Wiles et al. 1999). Such assessments also tend to be highly technical or “scientific” (in the western positivist sense) and are often aimed at approval of a particular project rather at developing a general picture of the effects of development of a region (Notzke 1994; Scott 2001). But EIA/SIA is also very useful for establishing and verifying methods of monitoring of effects once a project has been undertaken. Burdge and Vanclay identify several principles for such an approach, including: the inclusion of all groups and people which could be affected by the project; an analysis of impacts specifically on those groups having the least power or resources; and investigation of the issues which are most important, not just those which are easily measured (Burdge and Vanclay 1995). Such an approach could aid First Nations to gain a greater role in decision-making through ongoing evaluation of their interests relative to impacts of developments, as opposed to a “one-off” consultation at the beginning of a project.

Forest certification schemes are becoming increasingly important in Canada (Abuscow and Rotherham 1998; Côté 1999). Among the three principal schemes being used, two include requirements for public participation and one (the Forest Stewardship Council) requires particular consultations with indigenous communities. Forestry companies that wish to have their operations or their products certified are thus obliged to consult with First Nations (and other communities) and to demonstrate the outcomes of such consultations. Again this provides First Nations with an opportunity to present their concerns (Smith 1998). But processes for consultation and “public participation” are

subject to difficulties as noted above. It is again important to note that consultation for impact statements or for certification do not bring First Nations a decision-making role in forestry. Instead they represent structures that encourage industry to modify its practices to take account of concerns expressed by the public, including First Nations.

1.3.4.3 Traditional knowledge

First Nations' occupation and utilisation of land and resources over long periods of time suggests that their knowledge and experience could contribute to contemporary resource management. Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)⁶ has been defined as *a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment* (Berkes 1993 p 3). Studies of TEK and of traditional land use and occupation (TLUOS) have become important in Canada and most of the cases described in section 1.2 have aimed to collect and document traditional knowledge in various forms. Charest (2003) reviews the development of land use and occupation research in Canada since 1976, noting the importance of the political and judicial context and growing role of TLUOS in impact assessment. He also notes a variety of different research methods including historical research, mapping of hunting activities, and combining qualitative and quantitative interviewing. Internationally, the importance of traditional knowledge is also widely accepted as an essential part of community, eco-system or indigenous peoples' approaches to forest management. Robinson and Ross (1997) describe three goals for TLUOS: collecting and documenting TEK, integrating this information into forestry planning and active participation of First Nations in forestry planning. Unfortunately, the second two goals are proving harder to realise than the first one.

A major issue in the use of traditional knowledge has been the relation to western positivist science. A number of authors have compared differences between these two on the basis of distinct knowledge systems (Hill et al. 1999; Johnson 1992). Characteristics of TEK include a holistic approach based on detailed observation of a particular area over a long

⁵ However, legislative requirements for impact assessment are often aimed at new or major projects and so regular, on-going forestry operations are exempted.

⁶ Some researchers prefer to use the term "indigenous" rather than "traditional" or to ignore the limitation "ecological".

time periods and explicitly acknowledging the social context of knowledge in beliefs, values and resource use. By comparison, western science is positivist and reductionist, based on observation and experimentation over shorter time scales, with extrapolation to other situations. For some authors, indigenous knowledge is not intended as a way of managing or controlling nature, again in opposition to the direction of western science (Carter 1993; Kawagley 1995). Discussion of TEK has developed from its use in supporting science, to the integration of western and traditional science, and now to the “blending” of two distinct worldviews (MacKinnon et al. 2001).

Methods for the collection and utilisation of TEK have also been widely discussed. Robinson and Ross (1997) noted that documenting TEK was easy compared to the application of this information in planning. In a review of a series of TLUOS, Mackinnon *et al* (2001) identified a number of methodological and technical issues such as the nature of the information collected, access to this information and maintaining the context of the information. Governments and forestry companies who are accustomed to mapping forests may find it easy to ask First Nations to prepare maps of their traditional knowledge. This could even reduce their interest in face-to-face consultations with First Nations.

However, not all traditional knowledge can be recorded on maps. A review of a TLUOS in Manitoba found that differences in perceptions and values of the nature of the land and resources lead to differences in understanding of information and contributed to conflicts about resource development (Hrenchuk 1993). Natcher (2001) notes that mapping and documentation approaches to TEK often fail to describe the cultural importance of the landscape as a whole for First Nations, reducing it instead to a series of particular sites in a forest which is otherwise available for logging. As a way of addressing such issues, Stevenson (2001) suggests that TEK research should not focus on TEK *per se* but rather on the values of Aboriginal peoples concerning the forest and on revitalizing the management systems and institutions associated with that TEK and those values.

As noted above, Robinson and Ross (1997) found that their second two goals (integrating TEK into planning and promoting First Nations’ participation in this planning) were harder to achieve than collecting and documenting the information. They identified constraints including government policies, cultural differences and the lack of recognition of Aboriginal rights. Subsequent analysis of their experiences lead to recommendations that situated the use of TEK within a larger context of government negotiations, the blending of TEK

and western science and the development of collaborative processes (MacKinnon et al. 2001). The experience of the Algonquin at Lake Barriere and the Atikamekw with information collected by AMAA (section 1.2.1) demonstrate that the documentation or provision of TEK does not lead necessarily to a First Nations role in decision-making. For most of the authors cited here, the application of traditional knowledge needs to be situated within a framework of government recognition of Aboriginal rights and participation by First Nations in decision-making.

These comments also suggest that traditional knowledge needs to be recognized as part of a resource management system. First Nations not only have knowledge and practices concerning the forest, but that they also have institutions for decision-making concerning these resources. This reflects elements of the description of the forest management (section 1.3.1). Folke, Berkes *et al.* (1998), recognizing Canadian and international experiences, strongly link management practices based on ecological knowledge to the social systems which have enabled these practices. Attempts to use traditional knowledge by itself, without recognising traditional institutions, could therefore be self-defeating. Accordingly, incorporation of traditional knowledge into forest management systems will need to be matched by integration of these systems with the traditional social systems and institutions that sustain such knowledge.

1.3.4.4 Community forestry

The concept of community forestry is generally recognized as an approach to forestry emphasising the role of communities in managing local forests to meet their needs. Booth (1998) notes two views of this definition; one stressing the tenure of the forest, the other reflecting values and needs of the community. She distinguishes between *community participation in forestry* and *community forestry*, with the latter indicating that the community has control and responsibility as well as benefiting from the management of the forest. Duinker *et al* (1994) describe the importance of tenure and of management institutions, preferring to speak of a *community forest*, managed for *multiple community values and benefits*. Internationally, there is now an extensive, and ever growing, literature describing case studies, general trends and specific aspects of community forestry; the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN has a Community Forestry Unit and produces a series of reports and manuals.

For First Nations, “community forestry” offers opportunities for economic benefits, for participation in forestland management and even for obtaining or confirming tenure. Guidelines prepared by NAFA for forest management by First Nations stress the importance of community participation as a way of reflecting ownership of the forest, developing an appropriate vision for management and of incorporating the community’s beliefs and knowledge of the forest (NAFA 1995a). Curran and M’Gonigle (1999) see community management of forests by First Nations based on ecosystem principles as a way of implementing the *Delgamuukw* decision in relation to activities on traditional lands.

However, establishment of community forestry represents a significant departure from Canada’s dominant forestry model. Critical issues for such a change include (drawn from: Duinker, Matakala et al. 1994; Booth 1998; Wortley, Krogman et al. 2001):

- a sufficiently large land base to provide a diversity of forest products;
- tenure arrangements which provide security of access to this land;
- real decision-making powers over management of the forest; and
- sufficient flexibility to be able to balance social benefits against economic returns.

Having real management capacity for community forestry necessitates that governments recognize and delegate responsibility to local management structures, as well as ensuring that they have financial support and the technical ability to carry out this task.

Community forestry as a concept represents an area where First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities have many interests in common. Recognition of First Nation rights over traditional lands, application of traditional knowledge, provision of multiple benefits from the forests and retention of these in local communities could be expressed by new-style forestry regimes, such as co-management (see section 1.3.4.5) or Québec’s *Forêt habitées* (Bouthillier and Dionne 1995). Community forestry could also, according to Booth (1998), be a vision that helps fit forestry to the land, rather than forcing the land to respond to a view of commercial forestry.

1.3.4.5 Co-Management

As illustrated in the case studies in section 1.2, a number of First Nations are establishing or seeking to establish co-management arrangements as a way of obtaining partial control

of forest management. There are many formal definitions of co-management but the common theme is that of sharing responsibility for, and control of, management activities between local groups and institutions on one side and government or industry systems on the other (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). Elements of importance within a co-management structure usually include the recognition and application of traditional knowledge, devolution of decision-making authority and specified power sharing arrangements (Berkes et al. 1991). Often these arrangements have arisen from disputes concerning Aboriginal rights or access to natural resources, and so co-management may be considered as a means by which First Nations can increase their power in land management (Rodon 2003). As noted in section 1.2.2, Canadian experience with co-management was initiated in the arctic and has developed further in the territories under federal government jurisdiction than in the provinces (Natcher 2000; Robinson 1999). First nations have established co-management regimes both with governments and with private industry.

Co-management as an arrangement between First nations and government (without the involvement of industry) was the initial model established in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, subsequently being adopted in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement and the Algonquins of Barriere Lake among others (section 1.2). While these arrangements have all delivered some participation in resource management to First Nations, they have not been without problems. Scott (2001) believes that the JBNQA relegated the Cree mainly to a consultation role, without significant decision-making powers – a view supported by Cree protest actions and the eventual signing of a new agreement in 2002. Similarly, the Barriere Lake Trilateral Agreement has proceeded much more slowly than planned. An important contributing factor to these problems with co-management agreements is the frequent inclusion of a “God-clause” whereby the government retains a final right of approval on decisions made by the co-management partners (Notzke 1995). Even in the absence of a God-clause, governments may have significant power through their control over financing of co-management activities or through tenure or licensing conditions. Co-management does not redefine state power or recognize Aboriginal title (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). First Nations may find that, in accepting management structures and processes established by governments, they are submitting to continued domination (Rodon 2003). Nevertheless, Rodon also notes the value of co-management as a way of

negotiating power with the State and for influencing parties on both sides. For most analysts and practitioners, co-management is a significant step forward for First Nations.

Co-management arrangements have also been established on a First Nation – industry basis, such as those of Meadow Lake following the crisis of 1992/93 (see section 1.2.2). A series of nine co-management Memorandums of Understanding have been negotiated between NorSask and local groups, including but not limited to First Nations. In the early stages of this process, the provincial government ignored the situation at Meadow Lake, with the result that the co-management regimes were established without government involvement. Participants in the various regimes believe that this absence of government involvement actually facilitated the process, although it is now acknowledged that there is a need for a regulatory framework, especially to define the responsibilities that the government is prepared to delegate to local regimes (Chambers 1999b). Most of the observers cited in this section have also commented on the reluctance of provincial governments to participate in or to define co-management structures. This is perhaps hardly surprising as it necessitates a delegation of government power; often coupled with demands for financial support from the government.

Although Robinson (1999) claims co-management as a Canadian initiative, there are very strong links between it and numerous other experiences in community-based resource management around the world (Messerschmidt 1993; Fisher 1994; Bruce 1999; Ostrom 1999). These experiences demonstrate an immense variety of institutional structures with varying degrees of decision-making responsibility and power sharing. Issues of common importance in such arrangements include: the recognition of existing local institutions or systems for resource management; security of access to or tenure of the resource; application of local knowledge, including its underlying value or belief systems; determination of the roles, rights and responsibilities of various participants; and finally ways of managing conflicts.

The range of variation in co-management arrangements, both in Canada and elsewhere, demonstrates that there is no single, or even dominant, form of co-management. In fact, each of the nine co-management regimes established by NorSask has differing MOUs, memberships, organisational structures and even names (Chambers 1999a). Hence it is probably more useful to think of co-management as a process rather than as a recipe.

Such a process could include the following elements (drawn from the analyses discussed above):

- The development of relationships of confidence between parties is important and will often take time.
- The determination of geographic areas for which parties can develop shared sense of responsibility (note that the NorSask area was subdivided into nine co-management regimes).
- Determination of participation in the co-management regime will be critical. This will include balancing interests of First Nations, government, private industry and the non-Aboriginal public.
- Rights, role and responsibilities of parties will have to be developed.
- Questions of decision-making and the delegation of authority by government, or others, will have to be clarified.
- Processes for consultation of different parties will need to be developed taking account of different cultures, institutions and interests.
- Traditional knowledge needs to be respected, and utilised in management, preferably with close involvement of those responsible for such knowledge.
- Mechanisms for blending traditional knowledge with other sources of information and western scientific knowledge need to be developed.
- Management systems or institutions developed for co-management regimes should be compatible with, or even based on, existing or traditional systems.
- Local capacity for implementing the regime may need to be developed, particularly through training, so as to avoid domination by one party or by technical experts who are not really a party to the arrangements.
- Some conflict is probably inherent in all co-management arrangements and so conflict management mechanisms need to be developed.
- Finally, provision should be made for monitoring and evaluating the regime so as to ensure that it continues to evolve to respond to the needs of the parties and of the forest.

1.3.5 Differing perceptions, values and paradigms

A common theme in the preceding sections is the divergence between the current forest management system and the interests of First Nations. The case studies and the discussions of various issues of participation demonstrate the existence of differing values, perceptions and management approaches among the First Nations on one side and the forest industry and government agencies on the other. Working in tropical forest systems, Wiersum (1997) examined differences and similarities between the approaches of indigenous groups and forestry professionals to forest management and exploitation. He observed that indigenous forest management includes both technical practices as well as institutional systems to control forest utilisation. In relating this situation to activities by professional foresters, he noted

“The management objectives, practices and organizational frameworks of indigenous forest management systems are often at variance with the characteristics of professional management systems.”

(Wiersum 1997 p 13).

Such differences in approaches to forestry are also specifically treated in the Canadian context. In northern Manitoba, Hrenchuk found that the government and the industry viewed the land as vacant and unoccupied, ready to be developed. In contrast, First Nations communities had occupied this territory for generations and this occupation was central to their values, beliefs and their traditional knowledge. He concluded *“That this clash of views .. is at the root of conflict surrounding northern development”* (Hrenchuk 1993 p 78). Similarly, Bouman and Kulshreshtha (1998) examined the objectives of the parties involved in the Prince Albert Model Forest. They found that the forestry companies were principally interested in maintaining their wood supply and saw the Model Forest as a way of achieving this. In contrast, First Nations participants were seeking to protect their rights to occupy the territory, to participate in forest management and to share in the economic benefits.

The existence of the different perceptions described above does not necessarily mean that co-operation is impossible. Instead the nature of the different management systems needs to be acknowledged and ways to integrate these (or at least permit a cohabitation) need to be developed (Notzke 1995). Such management systems include a number of key elements: an information base or paradigm; practitioners sharing a worldview; a

system of regulations; and shared objectives that are derived from the society as a whole (Usher, in Notzke 1995). This understanding of the nature of such a system highlights the probability that different groups will have different systems, or will have different expectations of a shared system. Hence it is important to examine the various elements of First Nations' resource management systems, as well as those of the government/industry system. As Stevenson (2001) noted in relation to traditional knowledge, it is more appropriate to focus on the values and management systems of First Nations, than just on the information that they hold.

In this context, Kuhn's concept of paradigm becomes useful for considering ways in which First Nations' views and interests concerning the forest can contribute to changes in the Canadian forest management system. Kuhn defines a paradigm as "*the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community*" (Kuhn 1970 p 175). This view suggests that differing forestry paradigms held by First Nations and by the forest industry will contribute to different expectations of a forest management system. Brown and Harris examined forestry paradigms in the US Forest Service and offered the following definition:

a resource management paradigm may be viewed as the set of common values, beliefs, and shared wisdom that collectively provide the lens through which individuals in a resource management profession such as forestry interpret and act upon their world.

(Brown and Harris 1992, p 232).

For First Nations wishing to participate in forestry, the issue of paradigms becomes critical. The forestry paradigms of professional foresters in government and in the industry form the basis of the existing forest management system. Differences between these paradigms and those of First Nations underlie the differences that exist in perceptions of Aboriginal rights, in views of economic participation in forestry and economic development, in expectations of consultation processes and in the recognition and application of traditional knowledge. Management structures such as community forests and co-management may provide space for different forestry paradigms to coexist, without one necessarily being dominant. Joint venture and other economic partnerships should accordingly acknowledge the existence of different paradigms and look towards co-management experiences for ways of facilitating coexistence.

The experiences discussed in this chapter have shown a range of ways in which First Nations participate in Canadian forestry. But they also demonstrate how the existing forest management system, the institutions and practices of forest management, constrains such participation. Creating new options for participation will oblige foresters and others in the existing system to acknowledge the existence of alternative forestry paradigms. Modifications to the forest management system may be possible in such ways as to permit different paradigms to coexist. However, it is also possible that changing the forest management system will not be possible without changing the forestry paradigm underlying this system.

1.4 Synthesis

The case studies presented in this review, the evolving judicial definition of Aboriginal rights, the presence of First Nations in the forest industry and the growing recognition that forest management needs to take account of their values, their interests and their knowledge of the land, all demonstrate the expanding participation of Canadian First Nations in forestry. That this participation has been occurring within the existing forest management system indicates that this system has been able to modify itself. That most of these changes have been the result of long judicial battles, of protests and of hard-fought negotiations indicates that the system is not easily modified.

This chapter shows the great diversity of different arrangements that exist for First Nations' participation in forestry. It appears that every case is unique. Each responds to the particular needs or interests of participants, to the opportunities that exist or are created and, no doubt, to other factors. First Nations are not identical. Nor are the companies that comprise the forest industry or the governments and agencies that control forest resources. Equally so, changes to First Nations' participation in forestry have occurred within the context of the wider Canadian society. This society is also part of the forest management system and their varied interests are not always represented by governments or by the forest industry. The specific interests of other groups have coincided with those of First Nations in the past and will almost certainly do so again. Changes in the forest management system demanded by First Nations will often coincide with other demands from Canadian (and international) society. Pressures from First Nations, from special interest groups, from society in general and from the government and forest industries have contributed to creating the situations described in this chapter. They will almost certainly contribute to a continuing development of First Nations' participation in forestry in the future and to changes in forest management systems.

Taken together, the diversity of examples described in this chapter present many possibilities for the partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* at Wemotaci. The experiences of other First Nations and other companies demonstrate lessons to be learnt, possible problems to avoid, questions to consider and models which could be followed. For the researcher, these cases also suggest differing theoretical approaches for examining Atikamekw involvement in the forest industry and identify issues that are potentially

important in understanding the partnership. These issues are summarized in Chart 1 in the following pages.

The Canadian experiences described in this chapter establish five principal conclusions concerning the participation of First Nations in forest management in Canada. In this case study of the Atikamekw and the forest industry, I will use these themes as axes for interrogation.

- Governments and the forest industry have established forest management systems, comprising institutions and forest practices. First Nations are trying to modify these systems to better reflect their interests and their own resource management traditions.
- Confirmation of Aboriginal rights and title could help ensure First Nations role in decision-making for forestlands. However, this will not ensure that the forest industry understands their interests or that forest management is consistent with their view of forestlands.
- Participation in the economic development of forest resources provides First Nations with a number of benefits, but it rarely enables them to establish their own ways of managing forestlands.
- Various forest management processes and arrangements enable differing degrees of First Nations' participation in decision-making and varying recognition of their interests, knowledge and institutions. They help governments and the forest industry to understand First Nations' interests and views, but such arrangements are also based in the existing forest management system.
- Differences between the forestry paradigms of the government, the forest industry and First Nations appear to underlie many different aspects of First Nations' participation in forest management. Attempts to modify forest management systems presuppose that these paradigms are compatible.

Chart 1

Issues of First Nations' participation in forest management in Canada

Forest management systems

<i>Institutions for determining managing forestlands</i>		
<p><i>Common characteristics across Canada</i></p> <p>Regulations and tenure systems determined by governments, influenced by forest industry.</p> <p>External factors also affect forestry institutions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ global markets; ○ international agreements 	<p><i>First Nations' expectations.</i></p> <p>Greater control over forest management.</p> <p>Opportunities to change management practices.</p>	<p><i>Possible actions in response to First Nations' aspirations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variations to existing forest tenure to assist First Nations. • New tenure within current systems. • First Nations establish their own forest management institutions. • International agreements support First Nations' involvement • Certification provides incentives for First Nations' forestry.
<i>Practices for forest exploitation and management</i>		
<p>Forest managers determine practices that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ are economically efficient ○ optimize timber production ○ comply with standards 	<p>Practices that recognize cultural, non-timber or non-commercial values of forestlands.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practices incorporating values of First Nations. • Eco-system management – including social characteristics. • Diversity of forest practices according to different situations.

Aboriginal rights

<i>First Nations' rights over forestlands and over forest management</i>		
<p>Aboriginal rights recognized in Constitution, and confirmed by courts.</p> <p>Limited application of rights in forest management.</p> <p>Federal policy confirms rights through treaties, replacing undefined rights.</p>	<p>Recognition of rights:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Self-government; ○ Language, culture and identity; ○ Occupation of land and resources. <p>Rights come from the Creator and cannot be taken away.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement of Aboriginal rights within existing systems. • Exercising rights within system: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Forest tenures and licences ○ Co-management arrangements ○ Consultation processes • Confirmation of Aboriginal rights overriding existing regulations. • Forums to promote understanding.

Economic Participation

<i>First Nations' participation in the economic benefits of forest management</i>		
<p><i>Common characteristics across Canada</i></p> <p>Private companies have responsibility for exploiting and managing forests.</p> <p>First Nations often receive few benefits from forest exploitation.</p>	<p><i>First Nations' expectations.</i></p> <p>Share in economic benefits :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Employment. ○ Business opportunity ○ Revenue and profits. <p>Greater control over forestry practices.</p>	<p><i>Possible actions in response to First Nations' aspirations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Business arrangements with First Nations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Employment opportunities; ○ Forest services contracting; ○ Joint ventures and partnerships; ○ Consultation arrangements; ○ Co-management of forests. ● Arrangements that recognize cultural differences. ● Establishment of First Nations' own forest management institutions
<i>First Nations' determination of models and directions for development</i>		
<p>Forest management and exploitation based on western models of economic development.</p>	<p>Opportunity to develop their own development goals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Forest management goals based on First Nations' traditional values, knowledge and institutions. ● Sovereignty on traditional lands enables First Nations to determine their own development.

Participation in forest management

<i>Contribution of First Nations' traditional knowledge in forest management</i>		
<p><i>Common characteristics across Canada</i></p> <p>Research shows value of traditional knowledge</p> <p>Traditional knowledge is increasingly being used in forestry planning.</p>	<p><i>First Nations' expectations.</i></p> <p>Recognition of First Nations' knowledge</p> <p>Control over use of knowledge.</p> <p>Use of knowledge in ways that reflect cultural understanding of forests.</p>	<p><i>Possible actions in response to First Nations' aspirations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research, mapping and documentation of First Nations' knowledge. • Use of First Nations' knowledge in collaborative planning, and in negotiations. • Recognition of traditional management systems and integration with forest management
<i>Integrating First Nations' needs, interests and concerns in forest management</i>		
<p>Forestry regimes provide for public participation and consultation.</p> <p>New information is being used in forest management.</p> <p>Impact assessments and certification require public consultations.</p>	<p>Modified practices that reduce impacts</p> <p>Participation in decision-making.</p> <p>Recognition of Aboriginal rights</p> <p>Benefits from forest management.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation processes : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Present concerns; ○ Promote mutual understanding; ○ Encourage cooperation. • Determination of consultation processes by First Nations. • Role in decision-making. • Forest management systems based on traditional institutions. • Impact assessment procedures: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Raising First nations' issues; ○ Monitoring effects of decisions. • Voluntary certification of practices.

Management structures for First Nations' participation		
<i>Common characteristics across Canada</i>	<i>First Nations' expectations.</i>	<i>Possible actions in response to First Nations' aspirations</i>
Increasing involvement of local communities .	Goals similar to other rural communities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local employment. ○ Participation in decisions. ○ Quality of life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community forestry enabling: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sharing benefits of exploitation; ○ Ownership of forest resources; ○ Responsibility for management; ○ Participation in decision-making.
<p>Co-management regimes defining joint management responsibilities.</p> <p>Co-management usually subject to Government approval.</p>	<p>Greater control over forest resources.</p> <p>Equal role in decision-making.</p> <p>Determination of management goals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Co-management regimes define: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Responsibilities of parties ○ Roles for traditional knowledge; ○ Decision-making processes; ○ Access to resources; ○ Conflict management provisions; ○ Each regime is different. ● Joint ventures sharing benefits and decision-making. ● Co-management based on traditional institutions. ● Co-management subject to First Nations' approval.

Differing perceptions of forests and forestlands

Coexistence of differing forestry paradigms		
<p>Forest management systems established by government and industry.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Supply of wood; ○ Professional planning. 	<p>Forest management incorporating:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Knowledge; ○ Institutions, customs; ○ Goals and objectives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Economic participation and consultation reflect existing forest management system. ● Courts, protests and negotiation help modify existing system. ● Community forestry, co-management and joint ventures may enable coexistence. ● Confirmation of rights may enable establishment of First Nations' own forest management systems.

Chapter 2

Theoretical and methodological framework

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter shows the diversity of arrangements that exist for First Nations' participation in forestry in Canada. In doing so, it establishes the wider context that surrounds the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. The experiences of other First Nations and other participation arrangements raise a number of issues. In particular, they show that First Nations and forestry companies often have differing expectations of these arrangements, and differing perceptions of both forests and forestry. Furthermore, the forest management systems that govern (or significantly affect) partnerships between First Nations and forestry companies are not neutral. Chart 1 summarized ways in which such systems are at variance with First Nations expectations and a range of possibilities for addressing this variance. In this research, I examine the experiences of the Atikamekw and of the forestry companies who work on their traditional lands, as a means of understanding the differences and similarities between the viewpoints of First Nations and the forest industry. The partnership for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* at Wemotaci highlights the importance of the relationship between the parties, even though the sawmill has not yet been built (as will be discussed in Chapter 4). This chapter presents the background to this case study, establishes a theoretical basis for the research, and describes the research method and the techniques used.

In this chapter:

Section 2.2 presents the case study, explaining why it was selected and describing an exploratory study used to develop the research.

Section 2.3 develops the concept of paradigms and the theoretical basis for this research.

Section 2.4 details the principal research question and the objectives used to guide the research.

Section 2.5 provides details on the research approach and on the techniques used for data collection, analysis and validation.

Section 2.6 concludes the chapter and describes how the organisation of this thesis reflects the research method.

2.2 Wemotaci and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Wemotaci is located in the *Haute-Mauricie* region of central Québec, Canada (see Map 1 and Map 2). It is a village of approximately 1200 people, surrounded by forestlands and located over 100 km from the nearest town (La Tuque with 13,000 people). Wemotaci is one of three communities comprising the Atikamekw nation, one of the Canadian First Nations¹. The forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie* are the traditional territories of the Atikamekw, who lived as semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers until the early part of the twentieth century (Chapter 3). For the Atikamekw, these lands are known as *Nitaskinan*.

In 1997, the leaders of the Wemotaci community began discussions with two forestry companies, Cartons St-Laurent (now Smurfit-Stone) and *Gérard Crête et fils* (Crête), to establish a sawmill in the village. This sawmill, which became known as the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, was to be a joint venture in which the Atikamekw would hold a majority share. The partnership was formalized with the signing of an agreement and the legal establishment of the company on December 14th, 2000. However, there have been a series of delays in the establishment of the sawmill and, at the time of writing in December 2003, the sawmill has not yet been built².

I selected Wemotaci as a case study of First Nation participation in forestry for the following reasons:

- The proposal to establish the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* demonstrated the existence of the relationship between the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and the two forestry companies. It also suggested the need for cooperation between the parties if their joint project was to be successful. If the Atikamekw and the forest industry do have different viewpoints, then the sawmill project should both highlight these differences and provide an incentive to address them.

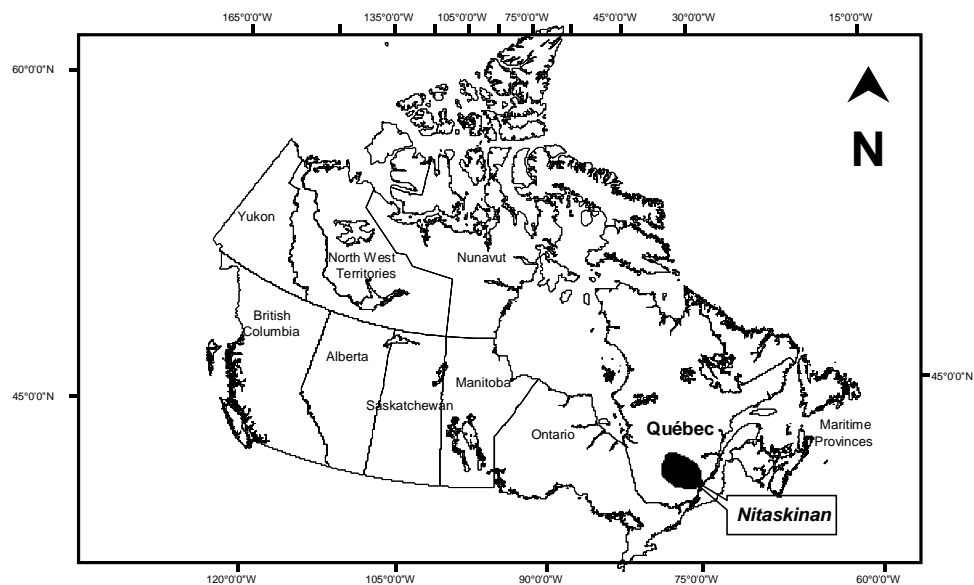
¹ The population of the Atikamekw Nation is approximately 6,000, including the communities of Opiticwan and Manawan and other Atikamekw who live elsewhere.

² More detailed information on the history and traditional lifestyle of the Atikamekw, of their forestry partners and of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, will be presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

- Participation in forestry is not a new experience for the Atikamekw, and many have worked in the industry. The community of Wemotaci already has a forestry company that undertakes logging, tree planting and similar services for the industry. This company also has responsibility for forest management on the land adjoining the community. Over the last two decades the Atikamekw have also made a number of attempts to obtain a greater role in planning and management of the forest resources of *Nitaskinan*.
- The *Haute-Mauricie* region of central Québec has been the site of an ongoing research program conducted by Université Laval to examine the social impacts of forest planning and management on local communities (Beaulieu 2002; Côté 2002; Martineau-Delisle 2001; Nadeau 2002). However, Nadeau noted that the Atikamekw and the Euro-Canadian communities in the *Haute-Mauricie* were quite distinct, and her research focused on the latter as a forest industry community. Accordingly, this case study provided an opportunity to investigate the Atikamekw view. Furthermore, existing working relations had already been established with the forestry companies Smurfit-Stone and Crête.

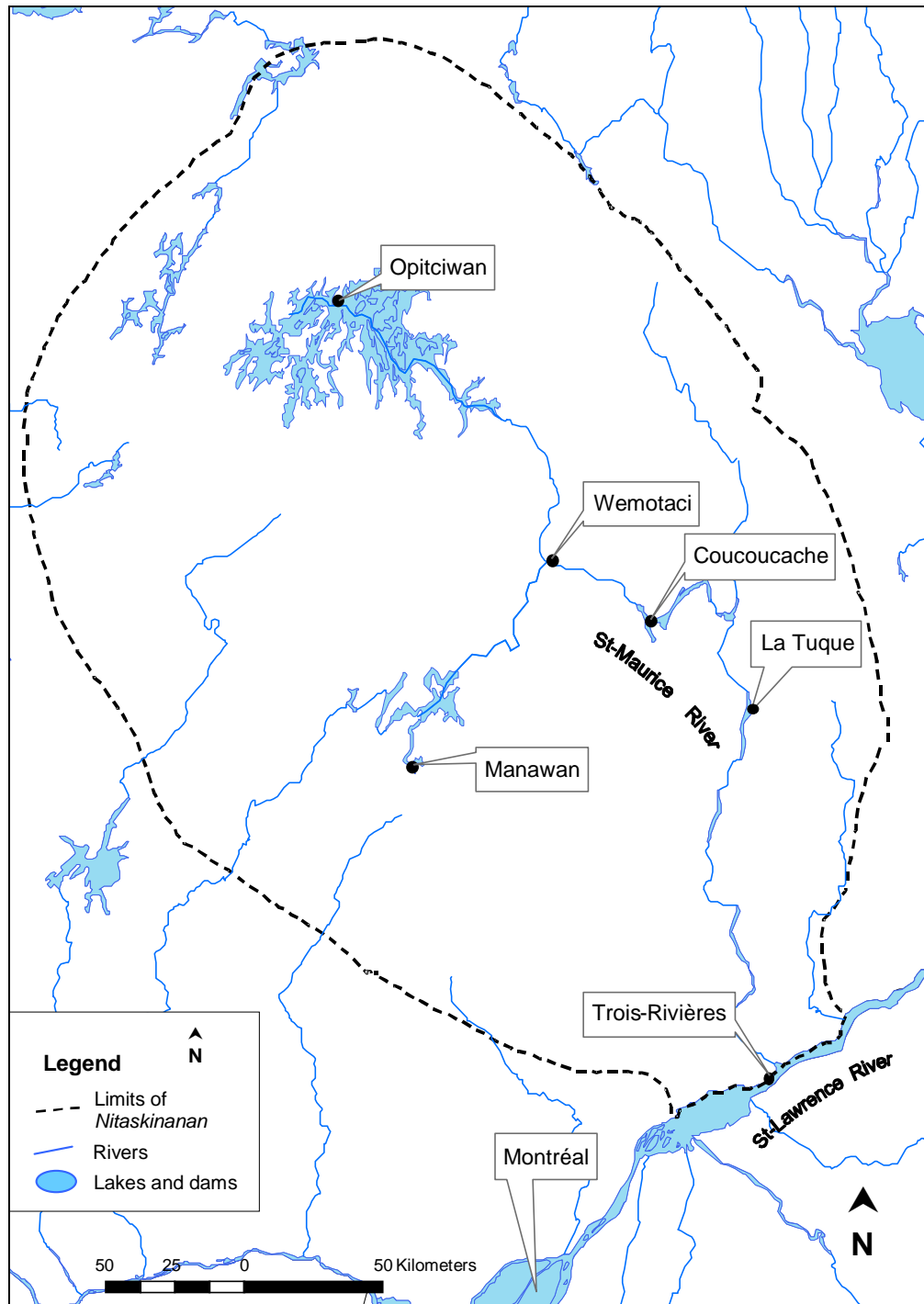
Map 1

The site of the case study – Canada, Québec and *Nitaskinan*



Map data : Government of Canada

Map 2
Central Québec, *Nitaskinan* and Wemotaci



Map data : Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, Gouvernement du Québec, Government of Canada

2.2.1 Preliminary exploration of the situation

The first step in this research was to conduct an exploratory, or “scoping”, study of the proposed case study site. This study was to determine the interest of the Atikamekw in participating in forestry and to determine if, in fact, there did appear to be differences in the viewpoints of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies. In particular, I examined the case of the Atikamekw forestry company – *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* (SFAA). This company may be seen as a bridge between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. It is an Atikamekw owned organisation, which is also a participant in the industry. As such, it could be expected to demonstrate concretely the Atikamekw point of view concerning forestry.

This scoping study comprised two parts – a comparative study of planning processes used in three forest harvesting operations carried out by SFAA, and a series of interviews with Atikamekw and with foresters concerning their perceptions of these operations.

In the first part of the study, I examined planning processes used for SFAA operations on three areas – Common Areas (CA) 42-01 (north of Wemotaci) and 43-03 (south of Wemotaci) and the forestry reserve 42-99 (immediately adjoining the village of Wemotaci)³. Trees cut in these operations were sent to the Crête sawmill at La Tuque. For each of these operations I described the planning process, with particular reference to the participation of the Atikamekw. This description was based on discussions with SFAA and Crête staff, planning documents and my own observations. Although SFAA was responsible for all three operations, the planning processes and the harvesting techniques used in each case were different. Furthermore, procedures for consulting the Atikamekw concerning these operations differed significantly between the operations and from the process established by the provincial government.

In the second part of the study I conducted semi-directed interviews⁴ with Atikamekw and with foresters involved in the three operations studied above. A total of 15 people were interviewed, coming from three groups: members of the community whose traditional lands

³ See the glossary in Annexe A for an explanation of these terms.

were being affected (eight); Atikamekw leaders (three); and professional foresters (four). In these interviews I sought to establish the ways in which the Atikamekw use the forestlands, their perceptions and concerns about the forestry operations occurring on these forestlands, and the proposed establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

The scoping study produced the following results:

- **Description of the planning and consultation processes** used by the forestry companies. This included both the identification of critical steps in these processes, the opportunities for Atikamekw participation in management, and the presence of differences between these processes.
- **Identification of concerns, opinions and perceptions of forestry** as held by various informants. These interviews showed a diversity of viewpoints concerning forestry, between the groups and among the Atikamekw themselves. They also showed that the Atikamekw have many concerns about forestry practices.
- **Preparation of preliminary syntheses of Atikamekw and industrial perceptions of forestry.** The Atikamekw perception is based on a relationship with the forest and its importance for their identity, while the professional foresters see the forest principally as a source of wood fibre.
- **Development of the research problem and questions.** The scoping study provided a preliminary understanding of the situation and enabled further definition of the research problem and the development of a research method.
- **Atikamekw and industrial participation in the planning of the research.** This research relies on access to informants from both the Atikamekw and the forestry companies. Their participation in this scoping study lead to a continued role in planning and carrying out the research.

⁴ Semi-directed interviews and other data collection and analysis techniques will be presented in section 2.5.

2.3 Paradigms as a theoretical and analytical tool

The diversity of arrangements for First Nations' participation in forestry, as described in Chapter 1, demonstrates the differences that can occur in perceptions of the forest, of forestry and of management of forestlands. The exploratory study described in the preceding section showed that such differences also occur between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies operating in the *Haute-Mauricie*.

In Chapter 1, I introduce the concept of paradigms used by Kuhn (1970) and suggest that different paradigms contribute to different expectations for forest management systems. Other terms have been used elsewhere in similar contexts, such as “knowledge systems” (Brokenshaw et al. 1980) and “perceptions” (Hedican 1995; Hrenchuk 1993). Words such as “vision” and “world-view” are sometimes used in everyday conversation. However the concept of “paradigm” is particularly useful as a tool for analysing the differences between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies.

The concept of “paradigm” gained particular significance with the work of Kuhn on the development of scientific ideas. He described a paradigm as

“the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given (scientific) community”

(Kuhn 1970)p 175

In analysing scientific ideas, Kuhn described paradigms as having priority over the rules of a discipline and as providing the basis for a scientist's understanding of a research problem. But Kuhn also showed the importance of understanding the beliefs, values and techniques that contribute to a paradigm. These characteristics suggest that the identification of a paradigm that is specific to a group of people could help to understand the different perceptions of forestry held by the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Each group has its own set of beliefs, values and techniques related to use of forestlands. Each group's perception of forestry, and its actions towards other groups, will be based on their own paradigm. Different paradigms contribute to different expectations and to different forest management systems.

“Paradigm” is also often used in the context of “paradigm change” or an “opposing paradigm”. Kuhn noted that “scientific revolutions” occur when one scientific paradigm

replaces another; when we change our conception of reality and our way of describing it. More recently, the concept has been used to describe situations where a dominant paradigm is being challenged by an alternate paradigm. For example, Cotgrove (1982) examined the environmental movement and described a dominant industrial paradigm and an alternative ecological paradigm. In forestry, “ecosystem management” is often described as a new paradigm that will replace a traditional emphasis on timber production (Bengston 1994). Adamowicz and Veeman (1998) use “paradigm” to analyse two different approaches to incorporating environmental issues into forestry. They suggest however, that elements of both approaches should be combined, rather than that one replaces the other.

Brown and Harris (1992) considered paradigms in analysing attitudes and values of US Forest Service employees. In particular, they looked at the resource management paradigm and the way that this could change within the organisation. They said:

....a resource management paradigm may be viewed as the set of common values, beliefs, and shared wisdom that collectively provide the lens through which individuals in a resource management profession such as forestry interpret and act upon their world.

Brown and Harris (1992, p 232).

According to Brown and Harris, the paradigm includes the biophysical system of the forest, the social system and the resource management system. They note that the paradigm within the Forest Service is not the same as that of the wider society; experts have values and knowledge specific to their domain. However, a change of the dominant paradigm in the surrounding society can lead to changes in the paradigm of resource managers. Brown and Harris’s use of paradigm appears to be most appropriate for the analysis of the paradigms held by the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

The analysis of resource management paradigms can also benefit from the contribution of anthropology and sociology. Milton (1996) summarized the development of anthropological theories about culture (a central concept in anthropology), or about the relations between people and their environment. She describes two principal themes: that the environment determines culture; and that culture enables people to interpret, understand and act upon their environment. However, she suggests a new approach by which culture is the way in which people and their environment are related. She says:

First, culture exists in people's minds and is expressed by what they say and do. Second, culture consists of perceptions and interpretations. Together these encompass the full range of emotions, assumptions, values, facts, ideas, norms, theories and so on by which people make sense of their environment. Third, culture is the mechanism through which human beings interact with their environments.

Milton (1996, p 66)

This approach suggests that if we wish to understand different perceptions about forestry, we should examine the values, the ideas, the rules, the beliefs and the ways in which humans and forestlands act upon each other. This is clearly similar to the concept of "paradigm". Culture as a mechanism also includes the variety of practices that people use to interact with their environment. An Atikamekw forestry paradigm would include the practices and techniques associated with forestlands, as well as the knowledge and values upon which these are based. Similarly, an industrial paradigm would include both forest management activities and the science and institutions that guide these. Forestry paradigms may be situated within the culture of each group, and the paradigms of both groups need to be considered in examining Atikamekw participation in forestry.

Milton also proposes the existence of cultural perspectives to describe variations within a culture, and similarities between different cultures. Members of a single group will almost certainly have different ideas and values and may act in different ways. This suggests that individual Atikamekw will have different views of forest exploitation even though they share the same paradigm, and that foresters may have different attitudes towards compliance with environmental rules.

Among sociologists, some adopt a constructivist approach whereby people's perceptions of the environment are founded principally (or solely) on their values, their symbols and their beliefs (Greider and Garkovich 1994; Hannigan 1995). This implies that members of different groups or cultures will probably have different values, beliefs and symbols and that they will understand their environment in different ways. Importantly, groups with power will have more opportunities to establish the terms of an environmental discourse according to their perceptions and ideologies (Hannigan 1995). Hence an industrial forestry paradigm would probably dominate an Atikamekw one. An alternative to this constructivist approach is offered by Freudenberg, Frickel et al. (1995), who recognize that perceptions of physical "realities" are partly formed by social processes, but that social phenomena are also influenced by the physical environment. This approach requires that we consider the characteristics of the environment as well as people's values and

representations of it. Furthermore, that we examine the links between people and the environment. Freudenberg's approach is similar to that of Milton and provides a base for investigating Atikamekw and industrial perceptions of the forest and forestry.

I propose that a forestry paradigm, comprising perceptions, actions and practices on forestlands, is a concept related to the positions of Milton and Freudenberg. Milton's analysis situates the concept of a forestry paradigm within the culture of a society, whilst still recognising the existence of different perspectives within a single paradigm. Equally, the interpretations of Milton and Freudenberg suggest two reciprocal relationships: the characteristics of forests affect a group's forestry paradigm; and the actions of the group affect the forest. Both the people and the forest change each other.

This analysis shows some of the different applications of the concept of "paradigm" in the literature. Accordingly, I propose the following definition of "forestry paradigm":

A forestry paradigm is the set of beliefs, values and techniques that are shared by the members of a specific group and that provide a basis for their comprehension of forestlands while directing their activities in occupying and using these lands. Individuals who share the same paradigm may never the less have different perspectives within their group, acting in distinct ways.

Wiersum (1997) identified three broad differences between indigenous and professional approaches to forest management: objectives and expectations concerning the forest; practices of occupation and utilisation of the forest; and systems of management. These three factors are equally present in the experiences described in Chapter 1 and in the issues presented in Chart 1. Furthermore, they correspond to the characteristics presented by Kuhn, Brown and Harris, Milton and Freudenberg *et al.*

Hence, in this research I use the following three elements as a starting point for my investigation of forestry paradigms:

- the expectations and objectives of the parties;
- the ways in which forestlands are used and occupied;
- the planning and consultation processes that are (and will be) used for managing forestlands and for supplying the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

2.4 Research questions and objectives

The theme of this research, as presented in the Introduction and as developed in Chapter 1, is :

The participation of First Nations in the management and the exploitation of forestlands.

The variety of experiences presented in Chapter 1 shows that First Nations and the forest industry often have differing perceptions and understandings of forestry, and hence of participation in the management of forestlands. The choice of Wemotaci, and Atikamekw involvement in the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*, provides an opportunity to examine the nature of these differences. The exploratory study described in section 2.2.1 demonstrated that such differences exist and that they warrant detailed examination. Hence I am able to pose a general question, within the theme established above, to guide this research:

How can the partnership established between the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and the forestry companies integrate differing perceptions, needs and expectations?

The concept of paradigm developed in section 2.3 serves as the basis for examining this research question. This concept incorporates elements such as perceptions, values, beliefs, knowledge systems and ways of managing and using forestlands. As an analytical tool, the concept should facilitate the investigation of differences between the parties and the identification of similarities and areas of convergence. Furthermore, a deeper understanding of the different paradigms should help to establish approaches for coexistence and collaboration between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies.

In adopting the concept of paradigms, I can reformulate the preceding general question as a statement of the research problem for this case study:

The partners in the new sawmill at Wemotaci have different forestry paradigms and different ways of acting. These need to coexist.

Equally, the research question can also be reformulated using the concept of paradigms to provide three specific questions:

1. *Is it possible to describe the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and their industrial partners?*
2. *Can these paradigms coexist in a co-management framework?*
3. *Can the identification and mutual comprehension of paradigms help to establish joint planning processes for the management of forestlands and for supplying timber to the Scierie Tackipotcikan?*

These research questions, coupled with the definition of paradigms as developed in section 2.3, lead to three objectives for this research project:

1. *Identification of characteristics that distinguish the Atikamekw forestry paradigm from that of the forestry companies, in relation to the following aspects:*
 - o *the expectations of the parties*
 - o *the utilisation and occupation of forestlands*
 - o *planning and consultation processes used (or proposed) for forest management in Québec.*
2. *Development of an analysis framework for :*
 - o *investigating and describing these paradigms,*
 - o *helping to identify similarities and convergences between them; and*
 - o *supporting the development and application of co-management.*
3. *Determining the critical elements of the planning processes developed by representatives of the parties for managing forestlands in ways that are acceptable to different paradigms.*

Chart 2 provides a summary of the different elements of this development of this research problem.

Chart 2

Development of the research problem

Research theme	The participation of First Nations in the management and the exploitation of forestlands.
Research question	How can the partnership established between the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and the forestry companies integrate differing perceptions, needs and expectations?
Research problem	The partners in the new sawmill at Wemotaci have different forestry paradigms and different ways of acting. These need to coexist.
Specific questions	<p>Is it possible to describe the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and their industrial partners?</p> <p>Can these paradigms coexist in a co-management framework?</p> <p>Can the identification and mutual comprehension of paradigms help to establish joint planning processes for the management of forestlands and for supplying timber to the <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>?</p>

Research objectives

1. Identification of characteristics that distinguish the Atikamekw forestry paradigm from that of the forestry companies, in relation to the following aspects:
 - the expectations of the parties
 - the utilisation and occupation of forestlands
 - planning and consultation processes used (or proposed) for forest management in Québec.
2. Development of an analysis framework for:
 - investigating and describing these paradigms;
 - helping to identify similarities and convergences between them; and
 - supporting the development and application of co-management.
3. Determining the critical elements of the planning processes developed by representatives of the parties for managing forestlands in ways that are acceptable to different paradigms.

2.5 Research methods

2.5.1 Exploratory research and case studies

This study is an exploratory research. Its goal is to examine the development of the situation at Wemotaci, to identify the processes that are present, and to determine the significance of the actions and perceptions of the different parties. In doing so, I am developing a theoretical explanation of Atikamekw involvement in the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The concept of paradigms is central to this research, facilitating an understanding of the interests of the parties and of Atikamekw participation. The definition of paradigm (section 2.3) provides direction for this research, but is also open and flexible enough to include other information considered important by the Atikamekw or the industry, thereby improving the final explanation (Neuman 1994).

This study is also a case study. As such, it represents a detailed examination of a single situation (Neuman 1994). The information and the theoretical explanation presented in this thesis represent four years of research to identify characteristics of Atikamekw and industrial forestry paradigms. In exploratory research, the narrow focus of a case study enables the researcher to identify and examine a wide variety of factors that could contribute to a theoretical explanation. Accordingly, a case study can contribute to developing new directions for understanding situations and for future research. However, a case study rarely permits the establishment of generalized rules applying to a variety of situations. In this research, I do not attempt to establish correlations between characteristics of paradigms among the Atikamekw and other First Nations, such as the Cree or the Innu (other First Nations in Québec). This study is aimed at depth rather than at breadth.

Finally, the study is also a form of action-research (Whyte 1991). During this research the sawmill project was being developed and new consultation and planning processes were established by the Atikamekw and by the forestry companies operating in the *Haute-Mauricie*. Information and preliminary conclusions from this research have been provided to these parties and incorporated into their plans and actions. Equally, the ways in which the parties react to or apply such information becomes other data for this research. This is

particularly useful for understanding elements of process – the ways in which information is used, decisions are made and plans are implemented. Importantly, action-research provides an immediate return of useful information and results to the people and the organisations that participate in the research. For the researcher, such a return of information also enables a form of validation of observations and of conclusions, which contributes to the accuracy of the theoretical explanation (see section 2.5.6.6). Action-research also increases the likelihood that research results will be applied in the field.

For these reasons, this study adopts an inductive approach, rather than deductive. My goal is to develop a theoretical explanation, rather than to validate a hypothesis deduced from existing theory. No hypothesis has been posed for this research. Instead, I use a structured form of information collection, codification and theory development known as the “Grounded Theory”.

2.5.2 Grounded Theory

The Grounded Theory approach was developed in the 1960s by researchers in the social sciences (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990). The aim was to enable theory to “emerge” from the data and from the analysis of a situation. Grounded Theory is theory that is “grounded” or solidly based in the data. This is in contrast to the hypothetico-deductive model of scientific research that is aimed at verifying the application of existing theory in a particular situation. Grounded Theory offers a structured process for recording and analysing data and for developing this data into an explanation or a theory. According to Strauss and Corbin (emphasis in the original):

*The grounded theory approach is a qualitative research **method** that uses a **systematic** set of **procedures** to **develop** an inductively derived grounded **theory** about a **phenomenon**. The research findings constitute a theoretical formulation of the reality under investigation, rather than consisting of a set of numbers or a group of loosely related themes. Through this methodology, the concepts and relationships among them are not only generated but they are also provisionally tested.*

(Strauss and Corbin, 1990 p 24)

The Grounded theory approach includes a series of key elements (Charmaz 2000; Strauss and Corbin 1990):

- **Data collection** generally uses qualitative information such as interviews and observations. **Note taking** records this information. The researcher also prepares **memos** that contain preliminary hypotheses and possible explanations suggested by the information that is being collected.
- **Open coding** involves considering and categorizing data. Categories will almost certainly develop and change as more information becomes available.
- **Axial coding** is a process of linking the categories developed in open coding through connections such as cause and effect or context. Often possible connections will have been identified in memos during data collection.
- **Selective coding** involves choosing the central category, systematically relating other categories to this, and verifying these relationships. The explanation that emerges as various categories are linked through different connections becomes the essence of the grounded theory.
- **The research literature** is used to help identify possible categories and connections between these categories. Additional literature may become relevant as the researcher collects more data and as theory starts to emerge.

The importance of these elements and the ways in which they have been applied in my research will be described in the following sections.

2.5.3 Sources of data

Data used in this research comes from fieldwork in the *Haute-Mauricie* using a variety of sources. Principal sources include interviews with members of the Wemotaci community and with representatives of the forestry companies; discussions in small groups with members of the community; and participant observation of meetings, consultations, planning processes and activities on forestlands. I also used documentary sources such as reports and position statements prepared by the Atikamekw and by the forestry companies, minutes and reports of meetings, workshops and other activities, and the work of other researchers, both published and unpublished. Section 2.5.4 provides details of data collection techniques

Data has been collected through five sub-studies. Each of these sub-studies examines the research question and objectives from different perspectives using a variety of data sources. Differing data sources provide complementary information to enable a more

complete understanding. The different sub-studies each contribute to identifying various characteristics of the Atikamekw and the industrial forestry paradigms and to the development of the theoretical explanation. Each sub-study forms the basis of a later chapter of this thesis, including details of the research techniques used. In this section, however, I will briefly describe the sources used in each of these sub-studies:

- The history of the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*.
- Atikamekw participation in forestry and contemporary forest management.
- Contemporary Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*.
- Consultation between the forest industry and the Atikamekw.
- Atikamekw and industrial perceptions of forestlands.

2.5.3.1 The history of the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*

Chapter 3 provides information on historical occupation and utilisation of the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie*, initially by the Atikamekw and subsequently by the Atikamekw and Euro-Canadians, including the forest industry. This knowledge facilitates the comprehension of contemporary occupation, especially by the Atikamekw. Information presented in this sub-study is based principally on published (and unpublished) research concerning the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*. This is complemented by information from my own interviews with representatives of the industry and with the Atikamekw and from documentary information.

2.5.3.2 Atikamekw participation in forestry and the contemporary management of forestlands

Chapter 4 is a review of several different ways in which the Atikamekw have participated in the forest industry in recent years. This sub-study shows that there have been several attempts to develop relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. The experiences of different approaches help to identify some of the differences between paradigms and to suggest possible directions for the future. My own interviews with representatives of different organisations, supported by reports and minutes, provide the main sources of information in this sub-study. The writings of several researchers provide complementary information.

2.5.3.3 Contemporary Atikamekw occupation and use of *Nitaskinan*

Chapter 5 describes the ways that members of the Wemotaci community use the area that would be used to supply timber to the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* during its first five years. This sub-study supplies information about the utilisation and occupation practices of the Atikamekw and about the way that they perceive and value this specific area and the rest of *Nitaskinan*. Data for the study is based on semi-directed interviews with approximately thirty members of the community. This was supplemented by comments and advice from Atikamekw with particular experience and knowledge concerning traditional practices and knowledge. Several documentary sources were also used.

2.5.3.4 Consultation between the forest industry and the Atikamekw

Chapter 6 examines a series of consultation processes and events over a three year period, involving the Atikamekw and the forest industry in discussions about forest management around Wemotaci. I was a participant-observer in the majority of these consultations. My observations, together with semi-directed and informal interviews with various participants, provide most of the data used in this sub-study. Other data, usually in the forms of reports and minutes of meetings, are used to complement and to verify observations.

2.5.3.5 Atikamekw and industrial perceptions of forestlands

Chapter 7 examines differing perceptions through a series of semi-directed interviews with Atikamekw leaders, with members of the community and with representatives of the forestry companies. This is complemented by documents prepared by the Atikamekw and the industry as part of the revision of Québec's forestry regime in 2000. The statements, perceptions and suggestions contained in this sub-study complement the information obtained through other sub-studies, and provide a deeper understanding of the significance of some of this information.

2.5.3.6 Limitations of the data

The selection of these five sub-studies represents a slight emphasis on determining characteristics of the Atikamekw paradigm rather than that of the forest industry. While chapters 4 and 6 examine partnerships and consultations between the industry and the

Atikamekw, I have not undertaken a specific sub-study of how forestry companies consult and relate to other groups involved in forests, or how they plan and conduct forest management in the absence of Atikamekw representations. Such a study could have benefited this research by providing comparative details of forest industry practices. However, the emphasis on the Atikamekw paradigm is a response to the lack of knowledge concerning participation by the Atikamekw, and by First Nations generally, in forestry. This contrasts with relatively greater availability of information describing the forest industry, or concerning other aspects of indigenous cultures. This emphasis is also a reflection of the dominant position of the forest industry paradigm in Québec forestry, and the need to explore options for coexistence for the Atikamekw paradigm.

2.5.4 Data collection techniques

In this research I used a variety of techniques to collect data from various sources, as shown in Table 1. Most of these techniques have been developed by the social sciences, notably anthropology and sociology. Different sources and different techniques have particular strengths and weaknesses (Marshall and Rossman 1999). Using multiple methods enabled me to search for information in a variety of situations and from different sources. It also contributes to validation of the information (section 2.5.6). In this section, I will explain general principles for the use of these techniques. Within each sub-study chapter, a section on methods will explain how the technique was applied in the context of the sub-study.

2.5.4.1 Fieldwork

The majority of data for this research was collected during fieldwork in the *Haute-Mauricie*. From 1999 to 2002 I travelled regularly to the *Haute-Mauricie*, spending a total of 170 days at Wemotaci village and a further 35 days elsewhere in the region, notably at the sites of the forestry companies. Anthropological fieldwork often involves continuous residence in a community over a period of months, if not years. While such an intensive study would have been useful, it was not possible in this study. Instead I opted for frequent, short visits (three to five days), totalling six months between late 1998 and the end of 2002. This arrangement enabled me to develop relationships and monitor events over a longer time period.

Table 1
Data collection techniques

<p>Fieldwork, interviews and observations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fieldwork • Interviews – semi-directed and informal • Participant observation • Group discussions / focus groups • Key informants • Snow-ball sampling <p>Documents, reports and other studies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minutes and reports of meetings and other events • Position statements • Reports prepared by organisations • Published and unpublished research
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2.5.4.2 Semi-directed and informal interviews

Interviewing is one of the most important techniques used for the collection of qualitative data. Patton (1990) described three types of open interview:

- the informal interview as a casual discussion which nevertheless provides useful information to the researcher;
- the semi-directed interview, where a guide or checklist is used to determine topics for the interview, without preparing specific questions;
- the standardized interview, where the same questions are posed in the same way to each participant.

In this research I used semi-directed and informal interviews.

Semi-directed interviews enable a researcher to seek specific information from informants while maintaining flexibility to explore important issues or themes that arise during the interview (Patton 1990). I prepared interview guides based on the information I was seeking in a particular sub-study (see relevant chapter), and used the same guide for all participants. However, questions were not prepared in advance and each interview was slightly different from others. This approach enabled me to seek the same information from all informants, while still acknowledging differences between an elderly Atikamekw woman and a professional forester. I conducted semi-directed interviews with seventy-five informants (58 Atikamekw and 17 non-Atikamekw) totalling approximately eighty hours (Annexe B). A number of interviews were recorded (with the agreement of the informant) using a micro-cassette so as to facilitate later analysis of this interview. However, many informants preferred that their words were not recorded on tape. In these cases I made notes of the subjects discussed and comments made during the interview and subsequently prepared a more complete written record. Transcripts exist for all semi-directed interviews included in this research.⁵

Informal interviews were often carried out as occasions arose – in the forest, in the village, after a meeting, in an office or while travelling. While these did not follow an interview guide, I maintained a mental list of important topics and sought additional information and views on these wherever and whenever possible. I conducted many such informal interviews with my key informants and was generally able to obtain their views on all topics included in the interview guides. Information from these informal interviews is recorded in a series of Research Notes, each describing a single discussion, event or observation (Annexe B).

2.5.4.3 Participant observation

Observations of activities on forestlands, of meetings, of forestry operations and of other actions are another critical source of data for this research. Participant observation is a technique used extensively in anthropology. Dewalt, Dewalt et al. (1998) describe it, emphasizing that it is not simply “participation” and “observation”, but that it “*requires a particular approach to recording observations (in field notes), and that ..(it) is as critical to*

⁵ Tapes and transcripts do not record the name of the informant. Annexe B describes the coding

social scientific analysis as more formal research techniques" (p 259). They note that participant observation is a tool for both the collection and the analysis of data. Participating in activities with people enables the researcher to develop a greater tacit understanding of the situation, and hence to observe more attentively, to comprehend the observations and to interpret them more accurately.

In this research, participant observation is used in all sub-studies, except for Chapter 3 on history. Observations enabled me to determine how the Atikamekw and the forestry companies use the forest and to establish their roles, their activities, and their opinions concerning forestlands. Through participating in activities with the Atikamekw, I gained a greater understanding of their culture, which assisted me to interpret my observations, interviews and other information. In order to facilitate and to record my observations, I developed a standard form of Research Note that I used to describe actions, situations, participants, issues, information, and informal discussions (see Annexe B). Such observation notes are not just data, but also represent the first step of analysis (Dewalt et al. 1998). Hence my Research Notes also included my interpretations of the information. Within the Grounded Theory method, my Research Notes also served as Memos (section 2.5.5.1).

2.5.4.4 Group discussions / focus groups

Focus groups, round tables and group discussions are used to create a situation where a group of people discuss a particular theme, while the researcher acts either as a facilitator or as observer (Morgan 1988). Participants may find such discussions more familiar than interviews with a researcher. Similarly, discussion and the exchange of views between several people with similar experiences may help to raise issues that would not have occurred in an individual interview. Group discussions are also particularly useful for determining consensus on actions to be undertaken – an important aspect of both action-research and Atikamekw traditions for decision-making (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). However, group discussions can also prevent individuals from expressing their own opinions and can lead to aggregation of information before it is analysed by the researcher. This technique is used in several of the sub-studies in this research and is also used by the Atikamekw themselves within the *Projet d'harmonisation*. As an observer

system that is used to refer to informants in this thesis.

or facilitator of such discussions, I made notes of the comments and views made by participants, as well as of other characteristics of the meeting.

2.5.4.5 Informants and key informants

More than 200 people participated in this research through interviews, in groups discussions, in activities and in meetings⁶. Each of the sub-studies relies on the contributions of these informants. The selection of informants is described in each sub-study, and many informants were part of more than one sub-study. In this thesis, I will often provide aggregated comments attributed to a number of informants (particularly in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). In situations where I need to refer to particular informants, they are identified using a coding system (described in Annexe B).

Key informants have a particular place in several sub-studies, and details are provided in the relevant chapters. Such individuals have particular information, experience or insights that can contribute to responding to the research problem (Bernard 1994). However, it is also important to avoid an over-reliance on the information or perceptions of a limited group of key informants who may provide biased information. In this research, the contributions of key informants are considered together with information from other sources, such as interviews with other persons, documents and observations. Key informants involved in various sub-studies include:

- the leaders of the Wemotaci community;
- other Atikamekw who are recognized by the community as being particularly knowledgeable, such as the elders;
- Atikamekw who work for SFAA and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*;
- senior staff of the forestry companies;
- participants in consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

⁶ 191 Atikamekw and 27 non-Atikamekw participated in various research activities. Annexe B provides more details on this distribution.

2.5.4.6 Snow-ball sampling

“Snow-ball” sampling was used to identify participants in the sub-study on contemporary occupation of forestlands. This sampling method commences with the identification of one or several people, for example key informants, who are then interviewed. Each of these is then asked to suggest other possible participants. These are subsequently interviewed and then asked to propose others. The process continues until one of several stopping points is reached (Seidman 1991):

- all categories of possible informants have been included;
- people proposed as possible informants have already been interviewed;
- new participants repeat or confirm information provided by previous participants rather than providing new information.

When using “snowball” sampling it is important to ensure that a range of groups has been included in the sample and that, for example, youth or women have not been overlooked. It is equally important to ensure that a variety of opinions are included. The exploratory study described in section 2.2.1 showed that the Atikamekw have a variety of opinions concerning forestry. Hence, a snowball sample has to be diverse enough to encompass these differences.

2.5.4.7 Minutes and reports of meetings and other events

The use of minutes and reports of meetings is particularly important in the sub-study of consultations. I was not able to participate in all the different consultation events that occurred during the period of this study. However, in most cases a written record was made of these meetings. Such records take different forms, for example:

- minutes of a meeting of a committee;
- a brief synthesis of discussions in a workshop or in a small group;
- descriptive notes or changes on a map for decisions concerning future forest operations.

2.5.4.8 Position statements

In recent years, both the Atikamekw and the forestry companies have prepared a number of statements presenting their position or their point of view on questions relating to the management of forestlands. Revision of the Québec forestry regime between 1997 and 2001 provided both parties with several opportunities to present documents to the provincial government (MRNQ 2000). The Atikamekw have also prepared an almost countless number of texts as part of the process of negotiation with the federal and provincial governments (see Chapter 3) and I have been able to use a number of such position statements. Many of these documents are not public information and were provided to me by various Atikamekw organisations under privilege. Others, such as submissions to Parliamentary Commissions, are public documents.

2.5.4.9 Reports prepared by organisations

Various organisations involved in forestlands management around Wemotaci have prepared reports or analyses presenting different aspects of their activities or their programs. Of particular importance among these are reports prepared by the *Projet d'harmonisation*, by *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* and by *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

2.5.4.10 Published and unpublished research

There has been relatively little published research on the Atikamekw. Where information from published materials has been used in this thesis it is cited in the usual manner. However, there has also been significant unpublished research undertaken for the *Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais* (CAM), for the *Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw* (CNA) and the *Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw* (AMAA). In particular, major anthropological research was undertaken during the early 1980s principally directed at recording historical patterns of forestland use by the Atikamekw and the Innu (Montagnais) (Dandenault 1983). I was given privileged access to reports from such research (but not to original data).

2.5.5 Data analysis

Data analysis processes are based on the Grounded Theory approach described in section 2.5.2. This section will provide a general discussion of the principle elements of this analytical process based on the explanations of Strauss and Corbin (1990), Charmaz (2000) and Dick (2002). I will provide further details of the application of this process in a methods section with each sub-study chapter. The key elements of the analysis process are as follows:

- Memo preparation
- Open coding
- Axial coding
- Selective coding
- Validation

2.5.5.1 Memo preparation

As mentioned in section 2.5.2, interviews and observations may often suggest to the researcher a new idea or a possible explanation. Within the Grounded Theory, such ideas are an important part of the process of developing theory and should be recorded as hypotheses or as elements to be further investigated (Dick 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Hence, data collection is closely associated with memo preparation, which should be considered as the first step of analysis (Charmaz 2000; Dewalt et al. 1998). The researcher prepares memos concerning types of categories and possible relationships between the data. Categories may be subsequently used, modified or even abandoned while relationships will be examined and verified or rejected using other data.

I developed a standard form of Research Note that served to record both data (such as observations and informal interviews) and memos of my preliminary interpretation of this data. These Research Notes were also used to record categories during coding and to retrieve notes and information for later analysis.

2.5.5.2 Open Coding

Open Coding begins with the examination of research notes, observations, interviews transcripts, documents and other data in order to identify the concepts, actions and ideas expressed by the informants. These are used to establish basic categories – themes or variables that enable the researcher to make sense of the information. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest several strategies that can aid this process:

- Posing questions to the data;
- Comparing observations in different situations;
- Exploring the significance of the observation to the informant;
- Developing “theoretical sensitivity” through an understanding of the culture, and an awareness of making assumptions.

Through this research I developed an increasingly complex series of categories based on my Research Notes, interviews, documents and other data. These categories were not static. Instead they were modified as I established relationships between different categories and events. On a practical level, this entailed the re-coding of some of my earlier work in order to determine if newly established categories had actually been present but overlooked.

2.5.5.3 Axial Coding

Axial coding is aimed at establishing relationships and causal links between the concepts and categories developed during open coding. Strauss and Corbin (1990) propose different types of links to help relate categories and sub-categories:

- Causal conditions;
- Phenomenon;
- Context;
- Intervening conditions;
- Action and interaction strategies;
- Consequences.

Relationships established in this way need to be verified back against the data – does the same link make sense in relating the same categories in another situation. For example, a single interview may suggest that a lack of information concerning forestry operations contributes to concerns by the Atikamekw about these operations. This possible link should be investigated in other interviews and using other data sources, such as group discussions and documents.

2.5.5.4 Selective coding

Selective coding is the identification of a principal category, and the relation of other categories to this using links established during axial coding. For this research, I identify separate principal categories for each of the Atikamekw and the industry paradigms. In choosing this category, and in relating it to others, it is necessary to examine various possibilities in relation to the data. The explanation that emerges from the selection of the principal category and the establishment of links with other categories represents the theoretical explanation of the situation, a theory that is grounded in the data.

2.5.5.5 Validation

Validation is an integral part of the analysis process. It occurs at each of the data analysis steps described in this section, and also during much of the data collection. The techniques that I have used for validation are derived both from the Grounded Theory approach and from other research in the social sciences. Section 2.5.6 will present basic validation techniques.

2.5.6 Validation

Strauss and Corbin (1990) propose three elements to consider when evaluating research based on the Grounded Theory: the validity and credibility of the data; the rigour of the research process; and the empirical anchorage of the results. The preceding sections describing the data collection and analysis techniques, and similar sections in each sub-study, contribute to demonstrating the process used to pass from data to a theoretical explanation. In this section I will present the principal techniques used to validate different parts of this process – the collection of the data, coding and linking, and development of

the paradigm descriptions. Each sub-study also contains details on the validation techniques used.

2.5.6.1 Verifying sampling procedures

Two principal techniques have been used to choose informants for this research: key informants and snowball sampling. Both these techniques are potentially biased as they may result in a lack of diversity among participants, particularly if the earliest informants propose others who share similar points of views. In order to avoid such a bias among my Atikamekw informants, I sought a variety of informants. My earliest key informants included the promoters of the sawmill project as well as those who were concerned about its impacts. In the sub-studies on contemporary occupation and on consultation processes I used different methods of identifying informants, thereby avoiding a consistent bias. Furthermore, I maintained a summary of the age, sex and points of view of informants. This enabled me to note the lack of Atikamekw women participating in the research. Accordingly, I met with women's leaders and worked with them to organize small group meetings with women. A similar lack of youth participants was also identified, but proved more difficult to overcome. Nevertheless a single potential bias remains; all Atikamekw informants were interested in forestlands. Hence I do not have any data from uninterested Atikamekw, and have not included their views in this research. However, as I found no Atikamekw who were not interested in forestlands, it seems unlikely that such a group represents a significant proportion of the Wemotaci population.

2.5.6.2 Triangulation

Triangulation is a crucial means of validation in qualitative research. It means using a variety of different techniques to collect complementary information (Miles and Huberman 2003; Neuman 1994). If different data sources and collection techniques provide similar information, showing the same categories and linkages, then we can place greater confidence in the results. In doing so, these sources and techniques corroborate each other and contribute to a stronger theory. In this research, I have used multiple data sources, collection techniques and five sub-studies to achieve this form of validation.

2.5.6.3 Triangulation of informants and data sources

Multiple data sources have been used in this research. A total of 191 Atikamekw participated, providing a wide diversity of information and viewpoints from the Wemotaci community. Industry participation was lower (16 people) but the hierarchical structure of the forestry companies suggests less variation in viewpoints. Information from informants has also been supplemented by information from documents provided by the Atikamekw and the industry, and by my observations. All information in this thesis, together with categories and linkages based on this information, has come from a number of independent sources – either people participating in different research events, or by comparing data from different sources. In some cases, I specifically sought people, or other sources, that could support a particularly interesting concept or a linkage between concepts. However, if information could not be confirmed, it was subsequently excluded from this thesis (or is noted as being unconfirmed). This triangulation of informants and data sources contributes to the validity of the data used and presented in this research.

2.5.6.4 Triangulation of methods

In this research I have also used multiple data collection methods (Singleton and Straits 1999). Information collected through one method, such as semi-directed interviews, was triangulated with information from other sources and methods, such as informal interviews, participant observation or from group discussions. In some cases I was clearly responsible for conducting the activity (such as some interviews), in other cases I worked with an Atikamekw co-researcher, while in others I was only an observer or worked from records made by other people. Furthermore, the research was designed with five independent sub-studies. Each of these sub-studies contributes complementary information to understanding forestry paradigms. Triangulation between these different methods and the sub-studies helps to establish the validity of the information, the rigour of the process, and to support the final theoretical explanations.

2.5.6.5 Internal hypothesis testing on categories and linkages

Strauss and Corbin (1990) also stress the importance of internal hypothesis testing. As codification of data and the identification of linkages progress, it is possible to verify these through questioning and through internal hypotheses. Is a particular categorisation also

apparent in data from another source? If two categories are linked in one sub-study, then a similar linkage could be expected in another sub-study. This testing process was particularly important during open and axial coding as I considered different possible categorisation and linking structures. In some cases, I looked for particular information, or for informants, to validate these categories or links. Internal hypothesis testing contributes to demonstrating the validity of data analysis and the research process.

2.5.6.6 Internal acceptance, verification and application by key informants

In this research, I am investigating and developing descriptions of the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies. The acceptance, or no, of these descriptions by the parties involved is clearly a critical means of validation (Miles and Huberman 2003). Do the informants believe that the analysis and the theoretical explanation are correct? Throughout this research I have discussed my observations and interpretations closely with several Atikamekw (including an Atikamekw co-researcher) and with representatives of the forestry companies. Additionally, I have prepared a series of working papers and reports on several of the sub-studies, as well as several conference papers. All these documents have been provided to various key informants (depending on the document) who have provided comments and suggestions on the contents. All documents were revised as a result of these verifications. Such acceptance of my research by key informants is a way of verifying both the analysis process and the resulting explanations.

Application of the research by the parties involved also represents a form of validation. If the Atikamekw and the forestry companies consider that this research is useful in helping them to understand each other's position and in developing future actions, then this may be considered as partial validation. The *Projet d'harmonisation* is already basing some of its consultation and planning mechanisms on the information gathered during this research. Other actions are likely to be undertaken by the forestry companies and by the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, if the project goes ahead. In action-research, such as this, application by the parties involved is a critical form of validation.

2.6 The scope and limits of this research

As demonstrated by the range of experiences and issues described in Chapter 1, First Nations' participation in forestry is a complex and wide-ranging issue. Accordingly, this research could have followed many different paths, both conceptual and methodological, and examined relations between the Atikamekw and the industry in a variety of ways. However, as a doctoral student, I needed to define limits as to what I examined and how I undertook this.

My first choice was to limit my research to a single case study, rather than undertaking a comparison of a number of situations. Many such comparisons would have been possible. The *Tackipotcikan* sawmill partnership could have been compared with other sawmills at Waswanipi, Meadow Lake, or Opitciwan (among others). Contemporary Atikamekw occupation and utilisation of forestlands could have been analysed in relation to studies among the Innu, the Cree, the Dene, and older research with the Atikamekw themselves. My research concentrated on the community of Wemotaci, and views in the other two Atikamekw villages of Manawan and Opitciwan may be different. Similarly, many forestry companies have established their own processes for relations with First Nations, and a comparative study of these would be most useful. Finally, the diversity of Model Forests and co-management structures across Canada would be fertile ground for a study of governance mechanisms for forestlands. All of these studies would have been potentially useful and would have permitted a more generalized application. However, working in two or more sites would have significantly added to the complexity of the study and would have prevented me from examining the experience of the Atikamekw and their partners in such detail. I chose to emphasize a detailed analysis of a range of issues in a single situation, rather than a more shallow comparison of a number of cases.

In planning the research, I adopted a methodology that would permit me to gather information from a range of sources, in order to avoid an over-reliance on a single source. As a result, I present five complementary sub-studies, each taking the form of a chapter of thirty to forty pages. Each of these sub-studies could be considered as subject worthy of more detailed analysis, with a wider range of data, alternative methodological choices, or the inclusion of other issues. Indeed, chapters 5 and 6 are reduced forms of reports of over 100 pages each, prepared for the *Tackipotcikan* partners (both companies and the

Atikamekw). Similarly more detailed analyses could, without doubt, be prepared for the sub-studies in chapters 3, 4 and 7. Unsurprisingly, the same issues often appear in more than one sub-study. This triangulation supports the validity of the analysis, and of the theoretical explanation in Chapter 8, but results in some repetition. Accordingly, charts at the end of each chapter facilitate the comparison of issues across sub-studies by summarising the key points. Again, my choice was to seek information from a variety of sources and informants, rather than relying on a limited range of data.

This research examines both industrial and Atikamekw forestry paradigms and I initially intended that both should occupy an equal place in the thesis. Coexistence requires an understanding of the ways in which both parties occupy and manage forestlands. Accordingly, Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 7 consider the characteristics of both paradigms. However, as the study progressed, I realised that a detailed analysis of both paradigms was impossible within the scope of a single doctoral project. I was obliged to choose between a superficial study of both paradigms, a study of only one paradigm, or examining one paradigm in greater depth than the other. Accordingly, I chose to concentrate on the Atikamekw paradigm, while still seeking a basic understanding of the industrial paradigm. A deeper consideration of the industrial forestry paradigm could have included an examination of industry planning processes, a comparison of various approaches to sustainable forest management, or an investigation of foresters values. These sub-studies would have added significantly to the duration of my research, as well as to the length of the final thesis.

The way in which the industrial paradigm affects the Atikamekw, particularly through the effects of logging and management activities on Atikamekw practices, is a recurrent issue in discussions with both Atikamekw and industrial representatives. Atikamekw concerns about forestry, and industrial responses to these concerns, are presented in several sub-studies (sections 5.4.8, 6.4.2.1 and 7.3.2). However, I have not attempted to conduct a detailed study of the effects of forestry upon the Atikamekw. Such a study could commence with the identification of Atikamekw perceptions of these effects, but would also need to consider the outcomes of industry practices in the forest and to evaluate the effectiveness of existing mechanisms for reducing negative impacts. It would also be appropriate to consider the ways in which Atikamekw practices and expectations impact upon industrial management of forestlands. In contrast to this approach, my emphasis on forestry paradigms contributes to understanding the interactions between the Atikamekw

and the forestry companies as they plan and implement logging and management activities. A greater understanding of forestry paradigms should help in identifying the full range of possible forestry impacts on the Atikamekw, thereby facilitating a more detailed study of these impacts.

Finally, it is most important to note that the forestlands of the St-Maurice river basin are not occupied solely by the Atikamekw and the forest industry. There are also a wide variety of other interested parties, such as hunters and fishers, chalets owners, tourists, outfitters, and local non-Atikamekw populations. Other industries also use these resources, including hydro-electric generation, wild berry harvesting, and hunting, fishing and tourism businesses. Of particular importance are the various levels of government. The federal government is responsible for First Nations affairs, and for the Wemotaci reserve, and has an important role in determining forestry policy. The provincial government has primary responsibility for managing forest resources on public lands, and participates in negotiations with the Atikamekw and the federal government. Local governments are concerned with their region, and the majority of Atikamekw traditional lands fall within the limits of the town of La Tuque. Inclusion of all these interests within a single doctoral project would have required a very different method⁷. My choice was based on seeking a deeper understanding of relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry, and particularly the *Tackipotcikan* partnership.

These choices, and the resulting limits, have all served to support my central research question: *“How can the partnership established between the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and the forestry companies integrate differing perceptions, needs and expectations ?”* This focus has closed off many potentially interesting research projects, but has permitted a much deeper examination of the complexity of issues associated with First Nations’ participation in forestry. The insights gained through this examination, and an appreciation of the nature of the different paradigms, should contribute to posing hypotheses and questions for future research. As my self-imposed limits indicate, First Nations’ participation in forestry provides many opportunities for challenging and usefull research.

⁷ Two other research projects at Univesité Laval have examined the interests of other groups; see Martineau-Delisle (2001) and Nadeau (2002).

2.7 Synthesis

This chapter provides details of the methods used in this research. In essence, it is an exploratory research using qualitative data to develop a theoretical explanation of the presence and significance of differing forestry paradigms held by the Atikamekw and the forestry companies in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The research approach is based on the Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) as a rigorous way of developing theoretical explanations in this type of situation. Techniques of data collection, analysis and validation are drawn from the Grounded Theory and from other research in anthropology and the social sciences.

I stress the research method in recognition of the fact that the subject, the theoretical basis and the techniques used are different to the hypothetico-deductive mode of research that is most common in forestry. However, the nature of the research problem, as presented in section 2.4, is not conducive to research based on verification of a hypothesis, or on experiments performed in a controlled environment. Accordingly, I have used methods and techniques that are more common in other domains. The Grounded Theory approach and the techniques used all contribute to a rigorous study, as demonstrated in section 2.5. I believe that this approach has proved successful in this research, and that similar techniques will prove to be increasingly useful in studying other problems in forestry.

The research approach also establishes the structure of this thesis. Chapter 3 contains the sub-study on the history of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies. The following four chapters present separate sub-studies; each sub-study examining the research question from a different perspective using a diversity of data sources and collection techniques. These sub-studies are complementary, serving both to discover information, categories and linkages, and to validate by means of triangulation. The final chapter of this thesis will synthesize this information, propose theoretical explanations and draw several conclusions for the future.

Chapter 3

A history of the Atikamekw and the forest industry

3.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the existing relationship between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. The exploratory study described in Chapter 2 identified the need to understand Atikamekw traditions of occupation of forestlands and showed that the two forest industry partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* had particular histories of managing forestlands in the region. Hence, this chapter examines the history of both the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the St-Maurice river basin. Anthropologists and historians have already investigated Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and I present a brief review and identify several characteristics that appear to be important for understanding current Atikamekw perceptions of forestland management. This is followed by a history of the forest industry in Québec and in the *Haute-Mauricie*, establishing characteristics that contribute to industry decision making for forestland management. This review shows how the work of other researchers contributes to understanding the paradigms of the Atikamekw and of the forest industry.

In this chapter:

Section 3.2 reviews anthropological and historical research concerning the Atikamekw occupation of Nitaskinan and identifies several characteristics of this occupation that are relevant to the contemporary participation of the Atikamekw in forestlands management.

Section 3.3 briefly describes the history of the forest industry in the Haute-Mauricie and in Québec, the role of professional foresters, and specific characteristics of the two forestry companies participating in the Scierie Tackipotcikan.

Section 3.4 and Chart 3 conclude the chapter and summarize the contributions of this analysis to understanding different forestry paradigms.

3.2 The Atikamekw in *Nitaskinan*

The first inhabitants arrived in the *Haute-Mauricie* approximately 4000 years ago (Gélinas 2000). The people who are now known as the Atikamekw have also been referred to as the “Attikamègues” (by the Jesuits in 1636) and as the “Têtes de Boule” (Davidson 1928)¹. The Atikamekw are members of the Northern Algonquian peoples – semi-nomadic inhabitants of the Canadian sub-arctic (Davidson 1928; Gélinas 2000). Their language and culture are similar to that of other Algonquian groups in north-eastern Canada; the Innu (or Montagnais), the Algonquins and the Cree.

At the time of European contact in the 1600s, the Atikamekw occupied the upper reaches of the St-Maurice river basin, as indicated in Map 2 (page 54). The traditional life-style was one of semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers (Clermont 1977; Gélinas 2000). For the majority of the year, they lived in small family hunting groups, each being relatively isolated from others and living on a family territory (Map 3, page 90, Speck 1915, Gélinas 2000). Each group comprised several families (10 to 20 people), usually related by blood or marriage. The group enabled several hunters to cooperate in hunting and trapping enough animals to provide food, clothing and materials for the group. Women were responsible for fishing, small game trapping and collecting of berries and medicines, as well as maintaining the campsite while men spent periods of a week or more on hunting trips. In early summer, the various family groups would meet at several locations, including the current site of Wemotaci, for social gatherings and for trade (Clermont 1977; Gélinas 2000). This was also an occasion for discussion about hunting and trapping areas for the coming season. However, the capacity of these summer sites to provide enough fish and summer fruits for a larger population was strictly limited, and in early autumn each group would return to its family territory. For the Atikamekw, utilization of forestlands meant taking various animal and plant products for food, clothing, dwellings, canoes, medicines and other uses. Just as importantly, these forestlands were where they lived.

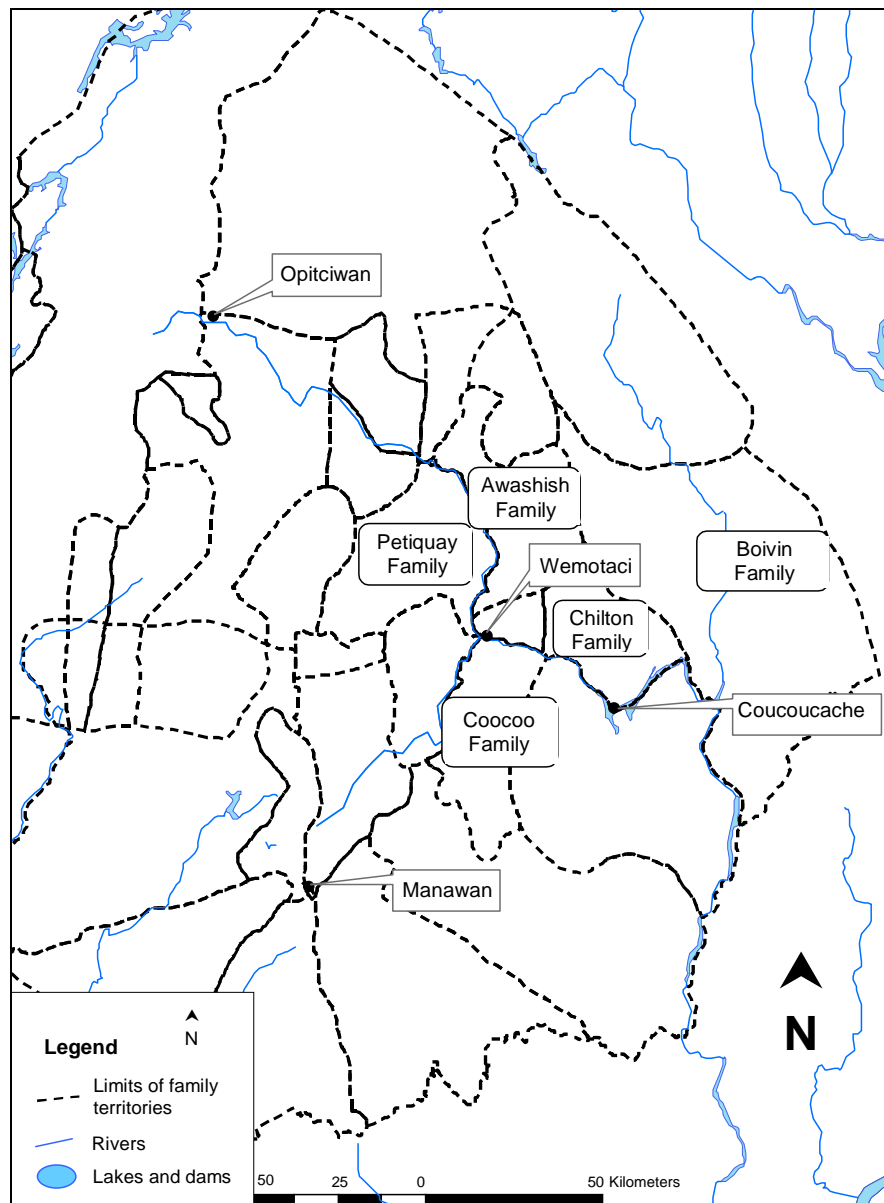
¹ There has been some debate as to whether or not contemporary Atikamekw are actually descended from the first Attikamègues met by the Jesuits in the 1600s. A review of this debate is presented in *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, (Anon. 1996).

Europeans, or *kawapisit*, first appeared in the St-Maurice basin about 1700 as itinerant fur traders. The first trading post appears to have been established at Wemotaci in 1778 (Gélinas 2000). Over the next two hundred years, the Euro-Canadian presence in the *Haute-Mauricie* expanded steadily (Clermont 1977). The trading post at Wemotaci was followed by catholic missionaries in 1837 and a church was built in 1846. Following representations by missionaries and Atikamekw leaders, and in accordance with its policy of assimilating Indians, the federal government established the Weymontachie Indian Reserve in 1895. In 1910, the transcontinental railway reached Wemotaci, and continued on to promote colonisation of the Abitibi region of northern Québec (inhabited by the Algonquin people). A hydro-electric dam was constructed nearby in 1914, leading to the founding of the Euro-Canadian settlement of Sanmaur. In 1930 the forestry company, Canadian International Paper (CIP) took over the village of Sanmaur and used it as the base for their operations in the upper reaches of the St-Maurice river, floating logs downriver to their paper mill. During the early 1940s, the Atikamekw began to be employed in the forestry industry, as Euro-Canadians left to participate in the War effort. They worked principally as timber-cutters, a seasonal occupation which enabled them to continue to hunt and trap and to occupy their territories. In 1951, after thirty years of declining populations of fur animals, the provincial government established a Beaver Reserve (see Map 4, page 95), granting the Atikamekw exclusive trapping rights in the upper most reaches of the St-Maurice river (Dandenault 1983; Gélinas 2000). However, through all these changes, the Atikamekw continued to live on the forestlands, spending time in Wemotaci only as necessary. Up until the 1950's, the Atikamekw remained relatively autonomous on their territories, and it was not until the 1970s that Wemotaci began to be a permanently inhabited settlement (Clermont 1977).

Since the 1970s, the Atikamekw have become increasingly active in asserting their identity and in seeking political autonomy, corresponding to similar trends elsewhere in North America (Poirier 2001). The *Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais* (CAM) was established in 1975 to negotiate with the provincial and federal governments. Subsequently, in 1982 the Atikamekw established the *Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw* (CNA), prior to the dissolution of CAM in 1994 (Charest 2001; Dupuis 1993). The Atikamekw also established a language institute, an association of hunters and trappers and a forestry company (Poirier 2001, see Chapter 4). During the late 1980s and the 1990s, the Atikamekw have also taken over responsibility for social services such as

education, health, police and infrastructure through agreements with the federal and provincial governments. Nevertheless, political autonomy and recognition of Aboriginal rights over *Nitaskinan* (as described in relation to other First Nations in Chapter 1) remains a subject of negotiation with the governments, more than twenty-five years since the first claims were lodged with the federal government.

Map 3
***Nitaskinan* and several Atikamekw family territories**



Map data : Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, Gouvernement du Québec, Government of Canada

3.2.1 *Atikamekw* occupation of *Nitaskinan*

The occupation of *Nitaskinan* is an issue of great importance to the *Atikamekw*. It has been a recurrent theme in this research, and in each of the sub-studies presented in the following chapters. It is also an issue that has been examined by other researchers, both among the *Atikamekw* and among other Algonkian peoples.

Within *Nitaskinan*, the *Atikamekw* had an established system of territorial organisation based on two elements – the family territories and the trapping circuits. The importance of family territories and hunting groups among the Algonkian peoples was first described by Speck (1915). At Wemotaci, family territories, *natoho aski* in *Atikamekw*, have been mapped several times since 1928 (Davidson 1928), and Map 3 illustrates current *natoho aski* as identified by the CNA. Dandenault (1983) presents a series of maps that illustrate changing delimitations of these territories. He also notes that Davidson's map is based on a concept of private property that reflects European views, rather than those of the *Atikamekw*. Leacock (1954), examining Montagnais family territories, argues that such territories probably developed in response to the demands of the fur trade. Mailhot and Vincent (1980) described the flexibility of the Montagnais system of hunting territories and the ways in which hunters could arrange use of another area. They also noted that Montagnais consider themselves to be responsible for the proper management of a territory, and that they are “guardians” rather than “owners”. Gélinas (2003) notes that although the areas occupied by various families remained consistent, there were many exchanges between families. Accordingly, the *natoho aski* should probably be regarded as flexible subdivisions of *Nitaskinan* that were modified to reflect the needs of the society, rather than as strict lines delimiting the property of a particular family. Certainly, the trapping lots designated by the provincial government in 1951 do not correctly represent the way that the *Atikamekw* occupy *Nitaskinan* (compare Map 3, page 90 and Map 4, page 95). Dandenault (1983) believes that the Beaver Reserve probably created more problems than it resolved.

Within *natoho aski*, individual *Atikamekw* and smaller family groups maintained trapping circuits; routes that they would follow in order to place traps, to seek other materials, or to travel through the territory. These circuits, *atosk meskano* or *natoho meskano*, have also been described by Dandenault (1983), and by the Association Mamo Atoskewin

Atikamekw (AMAA, see Chapter 4). The AMAA has also documented knowledge held by elders and by others about each territory, and the animals, plants and the human presence on the territory. Poirier (2001) describes how Atikamekw elders use itineraries, along waterways and across the land, as ways of indicating the territory. These itineraries include places, experiences and stories. They represent an “engagement” with the territory, a sense of collective and individual identity, not just an area that is determined by lines on a map. The flexibility of *natoho aski* and the importance of circuits and itineraries as ways of representing the territory suggest that Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* is better understood as a journey through the territory and as a living place, rather than as the establishment of a fixed domain.

The Atikamekw engagement with *Nitaskinan* also extends to the other inhabitants, to the animals, plants, water and the earth itself. Wemotaci elder, Charles Cocoo, describes the close relationship between the Atikamekw and the animals, presenting hunting as a spiritual act carried out with full respect for the animal (Cocoo 2001). Poirier notes that in the Atikamekw language, animals, plants and the land can be referred to as “beings” in the same way as human beings (Poirier, *pers. comm.*). This relationship between people and their environment has been closely examined among the Cree of northern Québec, where animals are seen as being fundamentally similar to humans (Scott and Webber 2001). Within this relationship, animals give themselves to the Cree and the Cree respect this gift and the giver (Feit 1973; Tanner 1979). Hunting practices, religious rites and ideology all demonstrate the importance of the relationship between people and their environment. Ingold (1996) notes that this reciprocal relationship is what outside observers refer to as “hunting”.

These concepts of the Atikamekw engagement with *Nitaskinan* demonstrate an important element in the perception of forestlands. For the Atikamekw there is no fundamental division between “culture” and “nature”, between *Wemotaci iriniw* and *Nitaskinan*. The existence of a dichotomy between nature and culture has long been a basis of western thought, and of anthropological analyses (Ingold 1996). In this framework, forestlands and the animals that live there, are completely distinct from humans, and human use of forestlands implies going there, taking what is needed, and then returning home. However, in reviewing research on hunter-gatherer societies around the world, Ingold argues that this dichotomy often does not apply. Instead, recognising the engagement of humans in their environment enables the world to be understood as an environment for

people, not as “nature” separated from human “culture” (Ingold 1996). Accepting this interpretation suggests that Atikamekw culture is intimately linked to their forest environment and to animals as other beings that share this environment. *Nitaskinan* is perceived as a place to live, and systems of knowledge and territorial organisation represent ways of living on forestlands². This relationship with *Nitaskinan* becomes a key element in understanding the Atikamekw paradigm for forestlands.

3.2.2 *Kawapisit* encroachment on *Nitaskinan*

If the last two hundred years have seen an increasing *kawapisit* presence in *Nitaskinan*, it is important to understand how the Atikamekw have reacted to this presence. Colonisation of the *Haute-Mauricie* brought many problems for the Atikamekw society, notably the loss of access to territory and reduction in animal populations due to settlement, dams, and forest exploitation (Gélinas 2003; Lavoie 1999). In 1977, Clermont reviewed the history of Wemotaci, describing the change from traditional ways of life, with increasing acculturation through the influences of the fur trade, missionaries and schools, the loss of the territory to Euro-Canadians, and the development of a money economy. He concluded by noting that a return to the traditional lifestyle was impossible for the Atikamekw, and that they were faced with choosing between extinction, abandoning their territory, and integration into a money economy (Clermont 1977, p 127).

However, an alternative interpretation of these changes is that the Atikamekw have not been assimilated into *kawapisit* society, but have instead attempted to incorporate new developments into their culture, into their way of occupying *Nitaskinan*. Ethno-historian Claude Gélinas has exhaustively documented Atikamekw relations with Euro-Canadians from 1760 to 1940, based on historical documents and archival research (Gélinas 2000, 2003). In particular, he shows how the fur trade provided the Atikamekw with opportunities to obtain manufactured goods and new foodstuffs, augmenting the capacity of families to pass the winter and to continue to hunt and trap, in spite of the encroachments of Euro-

² In keeping with this view, I will also use the term “lifestyle” to indicate the Atikamekw culture; their way of living and of understanding *Nitaskinan*, encompassing activities, practices, knowledge, values and social systems. In chapter 5, the Atikamekw term *Nehirowisi pimatisiwin* is used to describe the Atikamekw lifestyle, encompassing the knowledge and the practices that a person needs to be autonomous (*nehirowisi*) on forestlands. Scott (1989) identifies a similar Cree term, *pimaatisiwin*, as meaning “life”, including humans and animals, and as “continuous birth”.

Canadians. The Atikamekw were also able to integrate other changes into their way of living (Poirier 2000). The railway facilitated travel between their family territories and Wemotaci. Atikamekw men and women worked in the forest industry as loggers or supplying food to logging camps. The development of private hunting and fishing clubs enabled the Atikamekw to apply their traditional knowledge and skills as guides for *kawapisit* tourists. None of these activities involved yearlong commitment, but instead followed the seasons, thereby permitting the Atikamekw to combine them with an occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

This trend continues. As demonstrated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, despite near-permanent habitation in the village of Wemotaci since the 1970s (when Clermont wrote his history), the Atikamekw have maintained an occupation of *Nitaskinan* and have consistently attempted to influence *kawapisit* management of these forestlands. Although there is no doubt that *kawapisit* encroachment into *Nitaskinan* lead to many difficulties, the Atikamekw have also worked to incorporate Euro-Canadian developments into their lifestyles and into their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. The Atikamekw, along with other indigenous peoples (as described in Chapter 1), are establishing their own contemporaneity through the integration of new developments with their traditional values, practices and knowledge (Poirier 2000).

3.2.3 Negotiating for *Nitaskinan*

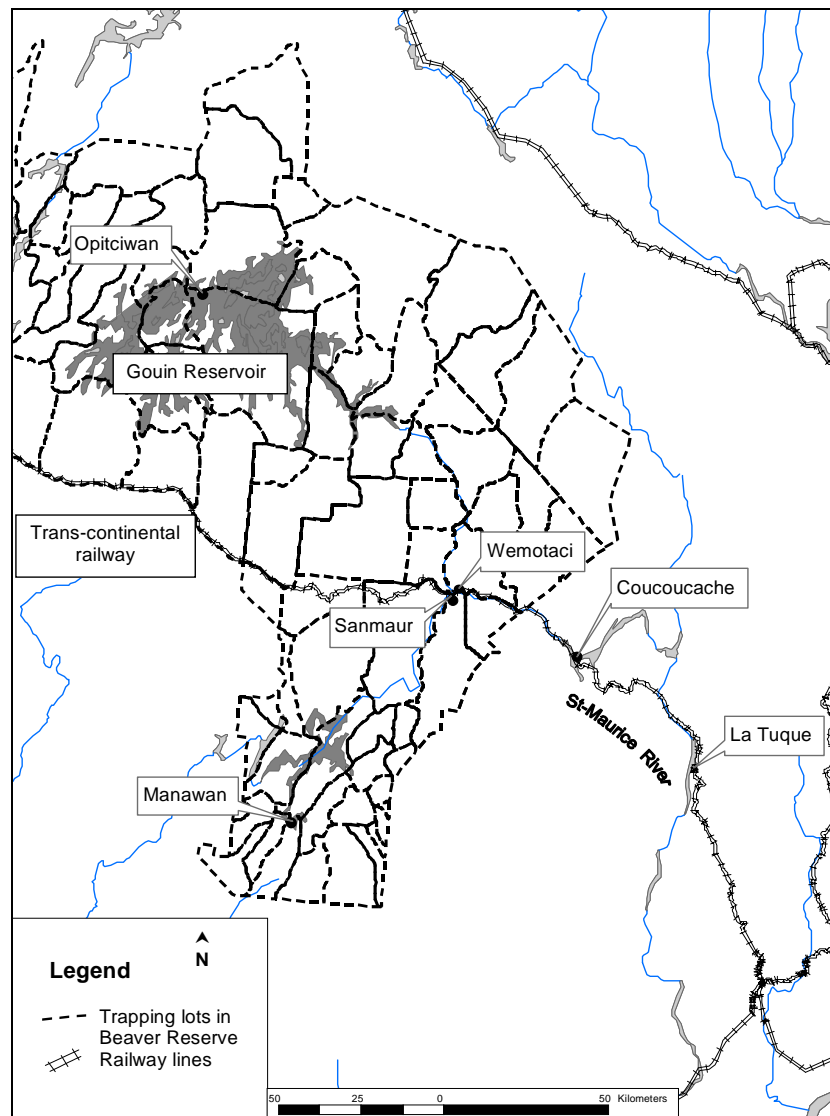
Faced with the increasing encroachment of *kawapisit*, the Atikamekw have negotiated with governments to maintain their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. In 1881, four Atikamekw chiefs asked the federal government to establish two reserves, including one at Wemotaci. The chiefs explained that animals, notably rabbits and beaver, were becoming scarce and that “*we want to be able to spare them*” (Gélinas 2003, p 77). Gelinas notes that the Atikamekw saw the reserves as a way of enabling them to manage their traditional territories. Conversely, the federal government was beginning to doubt the effectiveness of its policy of using reserves to encourage assimilation of Indians into Canadian society. When the reserves at Wemotaci and Coucoucache were established in 1895, these represented much less territory than the Atikamekw needed to maintain hunting and trapping to support their population.

Even as a reserve, this limited territory was sought for economic development. In 1914, forestry companies applied to the Department of Indian Affairs to log the reserve, while others proposed that the Atikamekw be moved to another location (Gélinas 2003). With the assistance of their missionary, the Atikamekw appealed to the government, opposing the timber sale. Nevertheless, permission was finally given for logging on the reserve, with payments for timber being used to establish a fund managed by the government.

Map 4

Kawapisit on Nitaskinan

The Beaver Reserve, railway lines and some Euro-Canadian settlements



Map data : Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, Gouvernement du Québec, Government of Canada

Since 1979, the Atikamekw have been negotiating with the federal and provincial governments for recognition of their rights on *Nitaskinan*. As described in Chapter 1, Canadian federal government policy has been that First Nations relinquish undefined rights. However, the Atikamekw (and the Innu) have refused to accept extinction of their rights (CAM 1979). This may be compared to the position negotiated with the Cree in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, also signed in 1975 (Dupuis 1993). The JBNQA replaced undefined Aboriginal rights on this territory with new rights as determined in the negotiations (see Chapter 1). Dupuis notes that Atikamekw and Innu insistence on maintaining their rights has been a critical stumbling block in negotiations.

In 1994, the Québec government proposed an agreement enlarging existing reserves for the Atikamekw and the Innu, and the co-management of public lands outside these reserves (Charest 2001). Both Nations rejected this proposal because of the small areas added to the reserves, and the lack of control over natural resources on the public lands. Charest notes that the co-management arrangements were not clearly described in the government proposal, and that it appeared to exchange Aboriginal rights for more limited rights to “traditional activities”. Neither the Atikamekw nor the Innu were prepared to relinquish their rights to the occupation of their territories.

Currently, twenty-five years after commencement, negotiations are still underway between the Atikamekw and the governments, while the provincial government continues to authorize *Kawapisit* uses such as forestry, mining and recreation development. The year 2002 saw an agreement in principle with four communities of the Innu nation, confirming the existence of their traditional rights, rather than seeking to extinguish these. However, there has been no such agreement involving the Atikamekw, for whom the recognition of their rights and the refusal of extinction continue to be key positions in their negotiations³. Occupation of *Nitaskinan* and responsibilities towards it remain crucial issues.

³ In early 2002, following the signing of the *Paix des braves* with the Cree, informant B21 said that this was not a model for the Atikamekw and that they would never give up their land.

3.2.4 Synthesis - maintaining Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*

This brief review of Atikamekw history demonstrates the importance that the Atikamekw attach to occupying *Nitaskinan*. Anthropological research suggests that this occupation is based on an engagement with *Nitaskinan* and with the other beings that live there, necessitating a reciprocal respect and establishing responsibility for the effects of human actions. The Atikamekw system of territorial organisation and their perception of the territory reflect itineraries through forestlands, rather than the delimitation of areas of land analogous to private property. Although Euro-Canadian development of *Nitaskinan* has increased demands upon the animals and plants that were previously available only to the Atikamekw, this development has brought new opportunities for Atikamekw occupation. The effects of these changes on the occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and the way traditional systems continue to apply, will be examined in Chapter 5. Through negotiations with governments, the Atikamekw have attempted to obtain recognition of their continuing occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and have refused to accept proposals that require them to relinquish their rights to this territory. This understanding of the Atikamekw experience over the last two hundred years suggests that their involvement in forestry, and specifically in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, is their most recent step in integrating Euro-Canadian developments into the Atikamekw lifestyle, looking for ways that will permit their continued occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

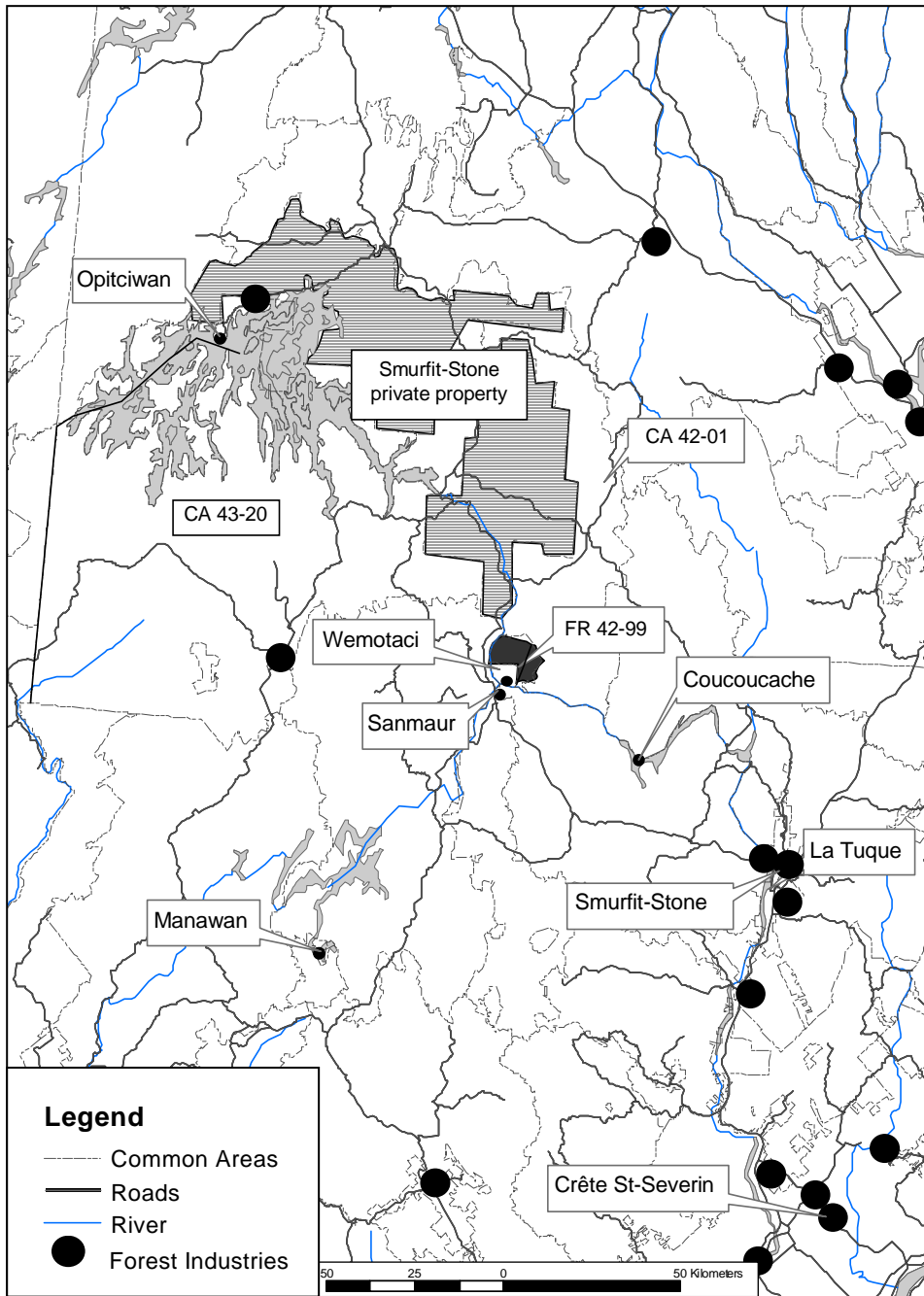
3.3 The forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*

After the fur traders and the missionaries, the forest industry was the next phase of Euro-Canadian activity in the *Haute-Mauricie*, and one that continues to be the mainstay of the region's economy. Sawmills began to operate along the St-Maurice river in the 1820s, gradually pushing further upstream in search of accessible forests of white pine (Gélinas 2003). A forest inventory was carried out in 1847 to determine the extent of commercially valuable forests that could then be cut by private sawmillers under government licence. Government policy, particularly after Confederation in 1867, was to encourage economic development, and forestry was seen as a way of achieving this and of opening up new lands for colonisation. The forest industry grew at such a rate that in 1869 there were an estimated 6-7000 timber cutters in the St-Maurice region⁴. In the early 1900s, the pulp and paper industry began to dominate sawmilling interests (Bouthillier 2001) and a paper mill was established at La Tuque in 1910 (Hardy and Séguin 1984). Construction of the railway in 1910 improved access to parts of the *Haute-Mauricie* and led to tracts of land being granted as freehold to promote colonisation. Various timber companies obtained forest concessions, the Sanmaur became a forestry village next door to Wemotaci, and by the 1930s almost all of the *Haute-Mauricie* had been ceded to forestry companies (Gélinas 2003).

During the war years, the forest industry faced labour shortages and began to recruit Atikamekw as timber-cutters, log transporters and *draveurs* (men who steered rafts of logs downriver). This Atikamekw involvement in the industry was to last until the 1970s. Gélinas (2003) describes an annual cycle of forestry operations; commencing with the clearing of rivers in July, followed by tree felling from September to January, transporting logs to the rivers in February and March, and finally floating logs downstream to the mills in April and May. This cycle was convenient to the Atikamekw, enabling them to undertake particular jobs at specific times of the year, while continuing their other activities on their territories.

⁴ Gélinas (2003) estimates that the Atikamekw population at this time was possibly around 200.

Map 5
The forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*



Map data : Gouvernement du Québec, Government of Canada

In the 1970s, the advent of mechanized logging led to year-round forestry operations and a declining Atikamekw participation in the industry⁵. Forestry companies expanded the road network in the *Haute Mauricie*, opening new areas to logging, intensifying management activities (planting, clearing, thinning etc), and enabling greater recreational use by non-Atikamekw. At the present time, almost all land in the *Haute-Mauricie* is allocated to forest production under the management of the MRNQ and the forestry companies⁶, and forestry is the principal economic activity in the region.

3.3.1 The evolution of the Québec forestry regime

In Chapter 1 I introduced the concept of the forest management system, incorporating the forest resource, the management bureaucracy, industries and the public, including First Nations (Miller, Gale et al. 1987). In Québec, the term “regime” is often used to describe the political and administrative system established to exploit and manage forest resources, incorporating the legal framework, and the roles and responsibilities of the government, the industry and other parties (MRNQ 1998). This regime directs the actions of all parties in the forest sector, including the industry, the Atikamekw and the government forestry ministry (MRNQ). The regime is also in constant evolution as various parties attempt to modify it, and as the government responds to social concerns with new legislation.

Bouthillier (2001) has traced the development of the Québec forestry regime since the first government edicts concerning forestry were issued in 1669. As colonial Québec passed from French to English hands, the emphasis remained on accessing timber resources for economic development, meeting local needs and exporting timber to Europe and to the USA. In the mid-1800s, governments moved to establish greater controls over forestry development through forestry licences and payment of fees based on timber volumes. Companies were expected to run the forests under their ‘care’ to maintain long-term timber production. In the early 1900s, forest management became more scientific with the establishment of University level forestry training, the expansion of forest inventory programs, and requirements for formal management plans. The pulp and paper

⁵ Informants A03, A05, A15, B02, B03 and B21, all men over 50 years of age, spoke of having worked for forestry companies prior to the 1970s.

manufacturers also became the dominant users of the forest, obtaining concessions from the government for the exploitation of public forests. Bouthillier notes that in 1968, over 72% of the area of forest concessions was held by only eight pulp and paper companies. Under these concessions, the government ceded management responsibility of a particular area to a company, with a right to cut a specified annual volume of wood. Foresters working for the government calculated annual logging volumes (sustained yields) based on maximizing the long-term production of timber for the industry. In the 1980s, in response to changing public demands on forests and concerns about over-cutting of forest resources, the Québec government modified the regime. Forestry concessions, a centrepiece of the regime for over a hundred years, were replaced by new contracts that obliged forestry companies to undertake specified management activities in return for a guarantee of long-term supply from the public forests. According to Bouthillier *“they wanted industry to abandon its role as exploiter of the forest in favour of a new role as producer of wood”* (Bouthillier 2001, p 255). However, even with this change, the companies continued to be responsible for a wide range of management activities over a specific area. For its part, the government continued to have the dual obligations of protecting public interests in the forests, and of supplying the wood promised to the industry. However, during the 1990’s, public concerns about clear-cutting, environmental issues, and the role of the forest industry as manager of public forestlands have continued (Desjardins and Monderie 1999; Dubois 1995). The regime was again modified in 1994 and 2001, notably increasing obligations on companies to enable public consultation of management plans and tightening environmental controls (Bouthillier 2000; Bouthillier 2001).

Québec’s forestry regime, as it existed at the time of this study, included the following elements of particular importance to relations between the Atikamekw and the industry⁷:

- The government has the responsibility of determining the rules for forestry practices, of undertaking forestry inventories, and of calculating the volume of timber available to the industry.

⁶ Exceptions include reserves around the communities of Wemotaci and Opitciwan. The large block of private land owned by Smurfit-Stone is, of course, managed principally for timber production.

⁷ This description is based on Québec’s 1986 Forestry Act, incorporating amendments enacted in 1994, representing the regime in place during my field research. It does not include modifications enacted in May 2001, which are being progressively introduced from 2001 to 2005.

- Forestry companies are responsible for preparing and implementing forest management plans for logging, planting and other activities in ways that comply with government regulations. As a “producer of wood” companies are expected to undertake these in the most efficient ways (while meeting standards) and are also required to use all the wood that has been committed to them.
- Companies and the MRNQ are obliged to manage public forests in recognition of long-term “sustainable yield”⁸. They employ professional foresters to conduct forest inventories, prepare management plans, and carry out other activities to meet this obligation.
- Public forests are divided into management units and companies are responsible for management activities within specified units. The MRNQ changed the delimitation of these units in 2002.
- Other resources occurring on forestlands (notably animals, fish and water) are the responsibility of other government agencies. Forestry companies are required to comply with government regulations that protect these resources, but are not expected to manage for them.
- First Nations, and other parties, may contribute to forest management processes through consultation or through pressure, but the principal roles and responsibilities rest with the MRNQ and the forest industry.

It is important to note that forestry companies have significant responsibilities for forest management under this regime. However, private companies must also comply with economic considerations and make profits for return to their owners or shareholders. Income for forestry companies is generally derived from the sales of wood products, while forest management activities are costs that must be incurred in order to obtain raw materials. Accordingly, the industry needs to minimise costs associated with forest management⁹. For forestry companies, Québec’s forestry regime provides them with a supply of wood from the public forests, but also requires that they manage these forests for long-term timber production in accordance with government regulations.

⁸ See Bouthillier (2000) for a detailed examination of “sustained yield” in Québec, and Chapter 1 for a more general explanation.

⁹ For example, a submission made by Crête to the government in 2000 emphasises the need to control the high costs of forest management. (Crête, 2000)

3.3.2 The role of the *ingénieur forestier*

In Québec *ingénieurs forestiers*, as professional foresters are known, have a critical role in management of forestlands. The Forestry Act (and associated regulations) specifies particular obligations for *ingénieurs forestiers*, while another law requires that people acting in this capacity must be members of the *Ordre des ingénieurs forestiers du Québec* (OIFQ). Forest management plans must be prepared by members of the OIFQ, while individual *ingénieurs forestiers* work for forestry companies, the government and other organisations in a wide variety of tasks related to management of forestlands. Almost all of Québec's 2000 *ingénieurs forestiers* are also graduates of the Forestry program at Université Laval.

The OIFQ describes itself, and its members, as being devoted to the protection of the public interest in relation to forestry. The organisation oversees a professional accreditation scheme (as for doctors, lawyers and accountants), organizes training, and is generally active in promoting the profession. As part of its submission to the Parliamentary Commission on the Forestry Act in 2000, the OIFQ commented the training and skills possessed by *ingénieurs forestiers*, concluding that “*the diversity of his training, supported by profound knowledge of forestlands, makes the ingénieur forestier the ideal professional to ensure the integration of the range of overlapping activities in the forest environment.*” (OIFQ 2000) p. 11). While forestry students are increasingly being offered other subjects, their professional training particularly emphasizes *sylviculture* (the growing of trees) and *aménagement forestier* (the management and harvesting of timber resources). The training and professional organisation of *ingénieurs forestiers* establishes them as having primary responsibility for managing forestlands to produce timber products, in accordance with the public interest.

Within their professional obligation to manage forestlands, *ingénieurs forestiers* have adopted a number of guiding principles. The origins of forestry science are commonly accepted to lie in Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries where forests were to be managed to ensure a sustainable supply of wood for utilisation (Wiersum 1999). As noted above and in Chapter 1, “sustainable yield” has been an important principle for forestry in Québec and Canada. Duerr, Teeguarden et al. (1982) note that sustained yield is the most enduring doctrine of classical forestry. However, they also describe three other tenets that are central to forestry: the primacy of timber as a forest product; the long time

spans of forestry, implying that the future should be managed as the past; and management to absolute standards. These principles will affect, at least in part, decisions made by foresters.

Within Québec, the professional characteristics of *ingénieur forestiers* were examined by Dubois (1986), himself an *ingénieur forestier*, member of the OIFQ, and graduate of Université Laval. He described the emphasis placed by foresters on the rational management of forest resources, and a corporate perception that this management can only be achieved through the application of science and planning techniques of which they themselves are the masters. Dubois notes two fundamental values for foresters: Science as a base for rational planning, and the economic interests of the industry. His principal critique of *ingénieur forestiers* is that, through a “fetish” for rational planning, they are justifying the economic domination of Québec’s forestlands by the forest industry. While such an interpretation may be extreme, it does highlight the importance that foresters attach to scientific and technical management of forests and to the production of timber.

However, while *ingénieurs forestiers* as a group may have similar training and share some common principles, they are not homogenous. In a classical treatise on the environment, Aldo Leopold, himself a forester by training, noted two types of foresters: those who were “content to grow trees as cabbages, with cellulose as the basic forest commodity” and those who see “forestry as fundamentally different from agronomy because it employs natural species, and manages a natural environment rather than creating an artificial one” (Leopold 1949 p. 259). In Québec, forest management uses native species and manages the natural environment, but the forestry regime is also focused on timber as the basic forest commodity. Even within Leopold’s second category, foresters are seen as managing the forest, an activity that requires special knowledge and understanding.

In their analysis of US Forest Service employees, Brown and Harris (1992) contrasted two different forestry paradigms. The dominant paradigm emphasizes technical approaches to the production of commodities, principally timber and grazing. But Brown and Harris also noted the emergence of a new resource management paradigm shared by a limited number of employees, promoting less intensive management, participative decision-making and the importance of amenity values. They concluded that Forest Service employees were increasingly questioning the timber production bias in the agency and that new forest management values were being adopted. In a study of *ingénieurs forestiers* in

Québec, Guay (1988) noted a similar debate within the profession between partisans of ecological forestry and those of traditional forestry. He also reported that foresters felt that the public did not respect their profession and that they (the foresters) were seeking an increased recognition of their competence and their responsibility as managers of the public forests. Bouthillier (2001) has also described changes in Québec's forestry regime, and the efforts of various foresters to promote new ideas concerning the multiple functions of forests and public participation, among other issues. However, Bouthillier also noted that, despite a new forest protection strategy and the inclusion of sustainable development criteria, the forest regime in 1996 "*remains, as ever, primarily oriented towards industry*" (Bouthillier 2001 p. 271).

Professional foresters in Québec are not simply neutral parties in forest management: instead they have particular responsibilities, values and training. Their role is not simply that of cutting forests to produce timber, but rather one of managing forest resources. The place of the *ingénieur forestier* as a specialist manager of forestlands is supported by the forestry regime, by the OIFQ and by the industry. These factors lead to management systems that are based on forestry science, on the importance of the timber industry, and on confidence in the role of foresters as specialist managers of forestlands.

3.3.3 The place of forestry companies

3.3.3.1 Smurfit-Stone inc.

Smurfit-Stone inc. is an international forest products company headquartered in Chicago, USA. Since 2000, the company has been proprietor of the La Tuque paper mill and of 3,700 km² of private forestlands in the *Haute-Mauricie*, following its purchase of Cartons St-Laurent inc. (CSL). In buying CSL, Smurfit-Stone has also taken over a history of forestry activity in the *Haute-Mauricie*, a history that appears to influence the company's forest management activities.

Nadeau (2002) has reviewed the history of La Tuque since 1910, examining the relationship between the community and its paper mill. The mill was established in 1910 by the St-Maurice Industrial Company, which changed its name to the Brown Corporation several years later (Gélinas 2003). Nadeau describes the company, and the Brown family itself, as critical institutions in the development of the community. However, in 1954, the

Brown Corporation was bought by the Canadian International Paper company (CIP), which was already an important forestry company in the *Haute-Mauricie*. Nadeau notes that although CIP abandoned the “paternalistic” role of the Browns, the town continued to revolve around the mill and CIP. In the early 1990s, CIP sold the mill to *Produits forestiers Canadian Pacific* (PFCP). Another change followed quickly in 1994 when, faced with the closure of the mill due to difficult economic conditions, senior managers created a new company, CSL, to buy and reinvest in the La Tuque mill. CSL maintained close links with the community, even as it expanded its operations to other locations in Canada and the USA. During this period the company considered a proposal to establish a sawmill with the Atikamekw community of Opitciwan, before finally proceeding with the partnership with Wemotaci¹⁰. In 2000, the company again changed hands, being bought by Smurfit-Stone inc. Although this ownership change occurred at a crucial stage in negotiations for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, Smurfit Stone maintained its participation in the project¹¹.

This history, and Nadeau’s analysis, shows the continuing importance of the participation of Brown Corporation, CIP, PFCP, CSL and Smurfit-Stone in the La Tuque community. Although there have been changes in the forestry regime, in harvesting techniques, and in the company ownership, the La Tuque paper mill has continued to be responsible for forest management in the *Haute-Mauricie*. Many of the individual staff members responsible for forestry operations in the *Haute-Mauricie* have maintained their responsibilities through ownership changes¹², even though management policy is now determined in Chicago, rather than in La Tuque or in Montreal. It appears likely that this local influence, coupled with a long-term view of forest management and exploitation, are factors in the decisions that local managers make concerning forestry plans and operations for the *Haute-Mauricie* forests¹³.

¹⁰ Informant F06.

¹¹ In February 2000, when Smurfit-Stone bought CSL, documents had already been prepared for signing to establish the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partnership. The signing of this agreement was subsequently delayed until December 2000; Informant F06.

¹² Informant F06 explained that the company has changed its name seven times while he has worked there.

¹³ This hypothesis, and a similar one for Crête, requires more research than I was able to undertake. A thorough examination of the interests and values of these companies, and the way that these reflect ownership, would be an interesting research project.

Throughout their participation in forest management in the *Haute-Mauricie*, Smurfit-Stone and its predecessors have had relations with the Atikamekw. Many Atikamekw worked for Brown Corporation and CIP from the 1940s to the 1970s, mainly in logging and transporting logs (Gélinas 2003). Up until the 1970s, *Wemotaci iriniw* frequented the forestry village of Sanmaur, where the school and shops were located. More recently, the company has engaged Atikamekw on tree-planting, thinning and brushing contracts through the *Services Forestiers Atikamekw Askî*¹⁴ and with *Services Forestiers Opitciwan* (the Atikamekw community of Opitciwan is close to Smurfit-Stone's private forestlands). Several Atikamekw elders and middle-aged men spoke to me of their experience of working as timber cutters, and some still speak of "CIP" when referring to current logging operations being undertaken by CSL or Smurfit-Stone¹⁵. As noted above, it is probable that these existing relationships with the Atikamekw are also factors in Smurfit-Stone's decisions for forest management and for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

Finally, the existence of the private forestlands is also a critical element for Smurfit-Stone¹⁶. The company has been managing the forests on these lands since the Brown Corporation, and is now planting fast growing species in order to increase its future timber yields (Jutras 2000). However, these private lands are situated in the heart of *Nitaskinan*, between Opitciwan and Wemotaci, and could be affected by territorial negotiations between the Atikamekw and the federal and provincial governments. If Smurfit-Stone continues to be interested in the long-term management of these lands, it is in the company's interest to maintain good relations with the Atikamekw.

Smurfit-Stone is a new company in the *Haute-Mauricie*, but it has inherited a long history of forest exploitation and management, of involvement in the La Tuque community, and of relations with the Atikamekw. Their ownership of 3,700 km² of private forestlands is an issue of importance to both Smurfit-Stone and to the Atikamekw. It appears likely that all these factors contribute to the company's decisions about how it manages forestlands within the context of the Québec forestry regime. The following four chapters provide

¹⁴ See Chapter 4. Informants F06 and F12.

¹⁵ Informants A03, A05, A15, B02, B03 and B21.

¹⁶ Gélinas (2003) refers to the Brown Corporation holding concessions above the Gouin dam in 1917, and to freehold land being granted along the railway line. Although he does not provide

greater detail on the company's actions in managing the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie*, and on its relations with the Atikamekw.

3.3.3.2 *Gérard Crête et fils inc.*

The sawmilling company, *Gérard Crête et fils*, is the youngest of the three partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Nevertheless, the company has a history of over fifty years in the *Haute-Mauricie*, having been established in 1949 at Saint-Severin de Prouxville¹⁷, and having operated sawmills in many parts of the region. Currently Crête owns four sawmills, plus other related facilities, and harvests over 800,000 m³ of timber from the public forests of the *Mauricie*. The majority of this wood comes from forestlands surrounding Wemotaci¹⁸.

Two characteristics of Crête are particularly interesting in the context of this research. Firstly, Crête is a family company, currently under the direction of the son of the founder, who intends to pass control to his son in the coming years. This characteristic was maintained even when Kruger Inc., a much larger Québec forestry company, obtained a 50 % share in the company in 1987, as Kruger is also a family company. Informant F14 stressed the advantages of being a family company, enabling management to react quickly to problems, and of having a partner that was also a family company. He also noted that it was easier to make and explain decisions when dealing with a single person, than in a public company.

Secondly, Crête is a regional company, with operations concentrated in the *Mauricie*¹⁹. The company maintains its headquarters at Saint-Séverin, rather than establishing itself in a regional town, or even in Québec City where it maintains a sales office. Informant F03 described Crête as “*an entrepreneurial company and a regional company. We have always lived with people in the region*”. Informant F14 referred to the benefits of remaining

details on the origins of the Smurfit-Stone private land, it seems probable that this land was exchanged for the freehold land along the railway.

¹⁷ Saint-Séverin de Prouxville is a small village in the lower *Mauricie*, approximately 200 km southeast of Wemotaci.

¹⁸ This history of Crête is based on information in *Le Nouvelliste*, (1999), and on interviews with informants F03, F14 and F15.

¹⁹ Although Crête has owned a small sawmill in Maine, USA, since 1994.

in “*my parish*”, where he knows the people who work for the company. The maintenance of its position in the Mauricie appears to be of importance to Crête and to contribute to their decisions about forestland management.

Crête’s forest management activities also include its relations with the Atikamekw. Crête was the first forestry company to arrange an experimental logging contract with *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski*, which subsequently lead to other contracts between the companies (see Chapter 4). Crête is also a partner with the Atikamekw in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* project and participates in consultation processes between the forest industry and the Atikamekw, even though the company does not hold overall management responsibility for any of the forests surrounding Wemotaci.

As a regional family company, Crête’s history suggests values and interests that may contribute to its management of forestlands. According to informant F03, Crête “*is very different to a big company that has its offices in a big city and its operations in other places.*” The analysis presented in the next four chapters provides more information about Crête’s forest management activities within the forestry regime, and about its relations with the Atikamekw.

3.3.4 Synthesis – managing the forests of the *Haute-Mauricie*

Companies within the forest industry are neither neutral nor identical. The history of both Smurfit-Stone and Crête presented here shows a long involvement in the exploitation and management of the *Haute-Mauricie* forests, together with an involvement in the communities and the people that live there. These characteristics also appear to contribute to their interest in establishing relations with the Atikamekw. However, these companies must also operate within the Québec forestry regime, following roles and responsibilities determined by this regime. This responsibility for forest management, together with the regulations under the regime and the role of professional foresters, is aimed at rational and scientific management of forestlands to produce a sustained yield of wood to the industry. These companies are also part of the private sector, and are obliged to make profits for their owners, whether these are local families or distant shareholders. Although they are interested in working with the Atikamekw to manage the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie*, both Smurfit-Stone and Crête have a primary role as profitable manufacturers of wood products.

3.4 Synthesis

Nitaskinan of the Atikamekw and the *Haute-Mauricie* of the forest industry are geographically similar, but the review presented in this chapter illustrates the different perceptions that these two parties have of the same territory. Chart 3 provides a summary of important elements in these differing perceptions, as revealed through anthropological research and through the history of each party's occupation of the region.

Nitaskinan has been occupied by the Atikamekw and their predecessors for 4,000 years. They have developed systems of occupation of this territory and the knowledge necessary to support their life there. For the Atikamekw, *Nitaskinan* is not just a place to which they go; instead they are engaged with the territory, and with the animals and plants that also occupy it. They have developed values and knowledge necessary for this occupation. In adapting to an increasing Euro-Canadian presence, the Atikamekw have not abandoned their traditions, but are establishing a contemporary culture rooted in these traditions.

For the forest industry, the *Haute-Mauricie* is a region of important timber resources. Forestry companies have exploited these forests for nearly two hundred years, but have also had legal and moral responsibility to manage these forests for long-term timber production. Forest management is based on a scientific approach and must be carried out within the framework established by Québec's forestry regime, while returning profits to company owners. Professional foresters employed by the industry and by the government are responsible for implementing this management, based on the values and the knowledge obtained through education and experience. Working within this regime, companies such as Crête and Smurfit-Stone manage and exploit forests, but have also supported local communities and established relationships with the Atikamekw.

This historical review shows that the Atikamekw have previously integrated Euro-Canadian developments into their ways of occupying *Nitaskinan*. It has also identified some of the factors that contribute to the management decisions made by Smurfit-Stone and Crête, their partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. The following chapters of this thesis will present my research about the contemporary relationship between the Atikamekw, the forest industry, the *Haute-Mauricie* and *Nitaskinan*. This may help anticipate if the Atikamekw will again be able to integrate new developments with their traditional lifestyle.

Chart 3

Contributions of history and research to understanding forestry paradigms

The anthropological research and the historical information provided in this chapter reveal various characteristics of the industrial and Atikamekw forestry paradigms. This chart summarizes these characteristics, based on the information presented in the chapter. Similar charts at the ends of Chapters 4 to 7 provide summaries of the characteristics identified in these chapters, and are complementary to the information presented here.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Ways of perceiving and understanding the environment
- Approaches to the management of forestlands
- Relations between Atikamekw and Euro-Canadians

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Organization and subdivision of the territory
- Knowledge used for management of forestlands
- Management roles and responsibilities

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Ways of perceiving and understanding the environment</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human beings and “culture” are distinct from “nature” or the environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Forests of the <i>Haute-Mauricie</i> are resources for management and exploitation. ○ People visit the forest but rarely live there. • Timber, animal and water resources are distinct. • The <i>Haute-Mauricie</i> is subdivided into distinct units to facilitate management. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> and other beings share the same environment. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Nitaskinan</i> is a place to live. ○ Other beings should be respected. • <i>Nitaskinan</i> is perceived through itineraries and journeys through the territory.

<i>Approach to management of forestlands</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forests are managed to produce a sustained yield of timber. • Management is based on rational and scientific planning. • Industry has long had the right and the responsibility to manage forestlands. • Management must provide timber at competitive costs. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occupation reflects engagement with <i>Nitaskinan</i>, not just use of resources. • Activities organized on an annual cycle and follow circuits around the territory. • Taking of plants or animals to meet needs implies respect.

<i>Relations between Atikamekw and Euro-Canadians</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early government policy of assimilating Indians into Euro-Canadian society was probably shared by the industry. • Forestry provides employment and economic development opportunities to Atikamekw. • Smurfit-Stone and Crête both demonstrate interest in supporting local communities. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration of new developments in ways that maintain Atikamekw occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Critical importance of maintaining Aboriginal rights of occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i> in face of Euro-Canadian presence. • Maintenance of Atikamekw language and of lifestyle, rather than assimilation into Euro-Canadian society.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Management roles and responsibilities</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roles and responsibilities shared between industry and MRNQ. • Participation of other parties is limited to an advisory or consultative role. • Industry complies with forestry regime and regulations. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leaders of family groups responsible for management. • Meetings with other family groups to plan future activities.

<i>Organization and subdivision of the territory</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Haute-Mauricie</i> is divided into distinct forest management units. These may be changed by MRNQ. • Forests are also mapped according to age and types of trees. • Companies have traditionally been responsible for management of particular units. • Companies organize logging and other activities within each area to meet timber production objectives. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nitaskinan</i> is subdivided into family territories, <i>natoho aski</i>. • Delimitation of <i>natoho aski</i> is probably flexible, able to be modified according to needs. <i>Natoho aski</i> is not equivalent to private property. • Circuits, <i>meskano</i>, are followed to journey through the territory and to carry out different activities.

<i>Knowledge used for management of forestlands</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documented information for scientific forest management: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Forest inventories ○ Management plans for 1, 5 and 25 years ○ Calculation of permitted logging volumes. • Principle of “sustained yield”. • Knowledge of <i>Haute-Mauricie</i> forests 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of <i>natoho aski</i> and of the animals, plants and human presence. • Respect for <i>Nitaskinan</i> and for animals and plants as other “beings”. • Engagement with <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

Chapter 4

Atikamekw participation in forestry and in contemporary management of forestlands

4.1 Introduction

Over the last twenty years the Atikamekw have made a number of attempts to participate in forestry and to reconcile their interests with those of the forest industry. During the last ten years, forestry companies have taken a greater interest in these attempts, and have supported Atikamekw participation. This sub-study examines four different Atikamekw organisations, each of which represents a different approach to coexistence of the Atikamekw and the forest industry. The successes and difficulties of these organisations highlight important issues of Atikamekw participation in forestry. The ways in which the forestry companies have responded to this participation, the support that they have provided, and the mechanisms and procedures that they have adopted for dealing with the Atikamekw, also illustrate the industry's view of this participation. On the basis of these four organisations, I identify a series of elements that contribute to our understanding of different forestry paradigms.

In this chapter:

- Section 4.2 provides details on the methods used to examine the different organisations and approaches.*
- Section 4.3 presents Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski, a forestry services company owned and operated by the Atikamekw of Wemotaci.*
- Section 4.4 presents the Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw, an association of Atikamekw hunters and trappers.*
- Section 4.4 describes the project to establish the Scierie Tackipotcikan sawmill at Wemotaci – a project that has not yet been realised.*
- Section 4.6 presents the Projet d'harmonisation, a recent effort to promote measures to protect Atikamekw interests during forestry operations.*
- Section 4.7 and Chart 4 conclude the chapter and summarize the contributions of this analysis to understanding different forestry paradigms*

4.2 Sub-study method

This research was initially conceived as an examination of different forestry paradigms as they existed within the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partnership. As the project developed, I learnt that several other organisations had already developed mechanisms for coexistence of the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Subsequently, I became directly involved in the establishment of the *Projet d'harmonisation* as a means of harmonizing Atikamekw and industrial occupation of forestlands. Clearly, it is important to consider the experience of these organisations, to identify lessons from their successes and failures and to understand how these organisations have confronted differing paradigms.

In order to examine these organisations, I adopted an approach of considering:

- **the history of each organisation**, to understand what had been done, the results of actions, and the factors that could have contributed to successes and to difficulties;
- **the goals and objectives of each organisation**, whether formally stated or as revealed through their activities, in order to understand what they were aiming to achieve and why;
- **the important elements in the experience of each organisation**, especially the ways that their actions address, or demonstrate, the existence of different paradigms.

4.2.1 Selection of the organisations

I selected four organisations for inclusion in this sub-study :

1. *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* (SFAA) has the longest history, was my original point of entry for Wemotaci (and the basis of my exploratory study), and represents existing participation by the Atikamekw in the forest industry.
2. The *Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw* (AMAA) documented Atikamekw knowledge and proposed changes to forestry practices in the early 1990s.
3. The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was the initial focal point of this study, demonstrating the establishment of a partnership between the Atikamekw and the industry.

4. The *Projet d'harmonisation* is the most recent vehicle for Atikamekw concerns and is now the principal liaison between the industry and Wemotaci.

These four organisations represent the principal efforts of the Atikamekw to develop coexistence mechanisms with the forest industry. In addition, the political negotiators of the *Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci* (CAW) and the *Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw* (CNA) have made numerous representations for the protection of Atikamekw rights and for their occupation of *Nitaskinan* (see Chapter 2). However, I did not include these organisations in this sub-study as they have been principally concerned with negotiations with the provincial and federal governments, rather than with the forest industry.

4.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Data for this sub-study was collected from a variety of sources using different techniques (as described in Chapter 2).

I carried out **semi-directed interviews** with representatives of SFAA, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation* to learn about the history and objectives of the organisations, also asking them to identify critical steps in the development of their activities. **Informal interviews** with representatives of all four organisations, and other people involved (both Atikamekw and non-Atikamekw), provided additional information.

Documents provided valuable information about the history of all four organisations, and particularly for AMAA, which has been inactive since 1996. **Internal reports** and **financial information** were provided by SFAA and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. I reviewed **minutes of meetings** from the SFAA, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, *Projet d'harmonisation* and the CAW, which enabled me to establish historical sequences and to identify issues that had been discussed by participants. I was also given access to **reports** prepared by consultants for AMAA and for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Published material referring to the Atikamekw served as a final source of information, although this material is rare.

Finally, I was a **participant** and **observer** in many activities and meetings associated with the SFAA and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Furthermore, I was directly involved in the establishment and development of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, especially during its first two years (2000 and 2001).

This information was analysed by firstly establishing the history of the organisation and its activities. In this, I particularly noted changes in the organisation's activities, its management structures and its relations with other parties, especially the forestry companies. I then identified the objectives of the organisation, working from documents and interviews, and also through consideration of the activities actually undertaken by the organisation. This enabled me to understand what the organisation was trying to achieve through its actions, and to ascertain the extent to which it was successful in this.

Following the Grounded Theory approach, I then identified key concepts within each organisation that represented particular objectives, actions, difficulties or successes. These concepts, presented in the following sections as "important elements", describe various aspects of each organisation's experience relating to forestland management and to relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. In particular, I was searching for elements that illustrated the beliefs, the values and the techniques of the Atikamekw and of the industry, contributing to the decisions that the organisations make about forestlands. These are the characteristics of forestry paradigms defined in Chapter 2.

4.2.3 Validation

Data collection and analysis were validated in several ways.

Information on each organisation presented in this sub-study comes from multiple sources. For each of SFAA, *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and *Projet d'harmonisation* I interviewed (through either semi-directed or informal interviews) a range of people, from the industry, from the Atikamekw and among the non-Atikamekw who work with the different organisations. My personal observations and documentary sources, such as minutes of meetings and reports, complemented and validated these interviews. Where differences occurred, I tried to establish reasons for these differences, usually by additional informal interviews. Within this chapter, footnotes are used extensively to identify the sources of information.

Once I had completed histories of each organisation, these were verified by people associated with that organisation. Section 4.3 was verified fully by informants in SFAA.¹

¹ This same process was not repeated with the other organisations, as I did not prepare a French language version of this chapter.

Each organisation within this sub-study has been treated separately from the others. I have not attempted to identify equivalent elements in each organisation, although an awareness of an issue in one organisation certainly made me more sensitive to the existence of the same issue in others. Triangulation between the organisations thus provides partial validation of the elements described for each organisation. Several of these elements are also supported by reference to published literature, particularly relating to the experiences of other First Nations described in Chapter 1.

Finally, the elements of the Atikamekw and forest industry paradigms that are identified in this chapter are to be considered in relation to the other sub-studies presented in this thesis.

4.3 Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski

Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski (SFAA) is an enterprise owned by the *Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci* (CAW), providing harvesting, tree-planting and clearing services to the larger forestry companies that are responsible for managing the forests of the *Haute-Mauricie*. SFAA has been in operation for twenty years, as an example of Atikamekw participation in the forestry industry. An appreciation of the historical development, the goals and the achievements of SFAA can help to understand issues of coexistence of Atikamekw and industrial paradigms.

4.3.1 History

SFAA was established by the *Conseil de la nation Atikamekw* (CNA) in 1982 to employ Atikamekw on small tree-planting and clearing contracts on reserve lands and for forestry companies. In 1992, SFAA gained a major contract with Hydro-Québec to clear electricity transmission lines, leading to incorporation as a company jointly owned by the councils of Wemotaci and Manawan. In 1994, SFAA negotiated a small logging contract with Crête – the first logging contract undertaken by SFAA, and Crête's first contract with the Atikamekw. This proved successful and other annual contracts with Crête followed². However, despite undertaking a number of contracts, SFAA was not profitable and the company accumulated debt³. In November 1996, Manawan withdrew from the company, ceding its shareholding to CAW⁴.

In 1997, the company office and management moved from La Tuque to Wemotaci and a new board appointed a non-Atikamekw forester as manager with a specific mandate to turn-around the company finances⁵. From 1998 to 2001 SFAA increased its logging activities for Crête and for other forestry companies, constructed roads for these operations, and continued planting, clearing and thinning contracts. These changes brought SFAA into profitability for the first time in 1999, as the company developed from a

² Informants S21 and S22

³ SFAA, Annual financial statements

⁴ Official minutes of SFAA, official minutes of CAW

sub-contractor of labour for silvicultural work to a provider of forest harvesting services for the industry. Annexe C provides more details on the development of SFAA.

The changes in SFAA's contracts also lead to a change in its workforce⁶. Prior to 1994, SFAA employed predominantly Atikamekw. Planting and thinning require little equipment, some Atikamekw already had experience in these tasks, and the work was seasonal. SFAA organized regular training programs to train new workers and to improve the skills of existing ones. As SFAA undertook larger harvesting and road construction contracts, they needed skilled operators and appropriate machinery. However, few Atikamekw had the necessary skills or machinery and so SFAA engaged non-Atikamekw forestry contractors who were accustomed to working in the industry. In 1997, the company aided an Atikamekw to establish himself as a forestry contractor, but he abandoned this arrangement in 2000. In the year 2000, SFAA was employing ninety Atikamekw, mainly in planting, thinning and road construction, and forty non-Atikamekw, most in harvesting⁷.

In 1996 SFAA took on forest management responsibility for the Forestry Reserve 42-99-Sud (see Map 5, p. 99), adjoining Wemotaci, including the right to sell timber harvested from this area⁸. The company organized public consultations within the community and prepared a plan for managing the timber resources of the reserve while reflecting Atikamekw values and interests⁹. Initially, logging followed normal industry practices, but in 1997 SFAA introduced small-area mosaic cutting¹⁰. In 2000, CAW, with the participation of SFAA, established the *Projet d'harmonisation* to develop new forest management systems for use by the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Hence, the period from 1997 to 2001 was one during which SFAA worked to develop new harvesting and management practices that reflected Atikamekw interests.

⁵ SFAA, Report by new manager, march 1996

⁶ Informants S21, S22, Personal observations 1998 - 2002

⁷ Informant S21

⁸ The MRNQ granted SFAA a *Convention d'aménagement forestier* under the Forestry Act.

⁹ SFAA (1998)

¹⁰ In the *Haute-Mauricie*, the most common logging practice is heavy logging of areas up to 50 ha in size, separated by narrow band of retained forest. In mosaic logging, logged areas are separated by unlogged blocks of the same size. The small-block mosaic used by SFAA uses blocks of between 2 and 25 ha in size.

During the year 2000, SFAA's management changed with the departure of the forester-manager, the appointment of a new Atikamekw managing director, a new board of directors, and an organisational link with the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*¹¹. However, without an experienced forester on staff, SFAA had difficulties in planning operations, in negotiating prices and in completing contracts, leading to falling turnover and profits in 2001 and 2002. In 2003, SFAA is continuing contracts for timber harvesting, planting and thinning at a level similar to that of 1999. In May 2003, recognising the continuing delay in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, the provincial government agreed that SFAA would be given a forest management contract for timber volume that was previously committed to the sawmill¹². This gives SFAA management responsibilities over a larger area of public forest, the ability to sell this timber to other sawmills, and a much greater role in forest management. The way in which the company fulfills this role remains to be seen.

4.3.2 Objectives of the company

Formal objectives for SFAA have not always been clearly stated, except for two policy documents in 1997 and 1999¹³. By considering these documents and the actions of the company since its establishment, I have identified a series of objectives that appear to guide SFAA's actions. These are similar to the First Nations' objectives for participation in forestry as described in Chapter 1. They also represent, to varying degrees, common objectives with the forestry companies with which SFAA works.

- **Creating employment opportunities for Atikamekw** was the reason for the establishment of SFAA in 1982 and is included in the 1999 policy. The need to create employment was mentioned in almost all interviews with Atikamekw.
- **Training and experience for Atikamekw forest workers** are provided by SFAA, enabling Atikamekw to successfully complete its contracts¹⁴.

¹¹ The managing director of SFAA holds the same post for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the boards of the two companies comprise the same members, although they are legally distinct. Both companies were established as « Société en commandite », with certain financial benefits.

¹² This contract should take the form of a *Contrat d'aménagement forestier*, a new form of tenure introduced with the May 2001 modifications to the Forestry Act. Informants S05, S08 and S21.

¹³ SFAA, Report by new manager, march 1998; Environmental policy, 1999.

¹⁴ Personal observations 1998 - 2002

- **Obtaining financial returns to the community** is included in the 1997 and 1999 documents. Financial returns to the community include both profits and salaries.
- **Achieving responsibility for forest management** is not evident in the early years of the company, but is demonstrated by SFAA's actions since 1997.
- **Involving the community in forest management** is among the 1999 objectives. This can mean both employment in forestry, and different roles in forest management planning.
- **Developing new techniques for forest harvesting and management** is not identified in any policy, but SFAA has experimented with such techniques since 1997 as a way of responding to Atikamekw interests in forest management.

4.3.3 Important elements in the SFAA experience

From the SFAA's history, objectives and experiences, and based on discussions with SFAA staff, with members of the Wemotaci community, and with industry foresters, I have identified a number of characteristics of SFAA as a form of coexistence between the industry and the Atikamekw. These elements can help understand forestry paradigms.

1. Employment and training opportunities for the Atikamekw
2. Financial returns to the community from forestlands management
3. Experience for the Atikamekw in working with the forest industry and compliance with the forestry regime
4. Interest of forestry companies in establishing a relationship with the Atikamekw
5. Development of Atikamekw responsibility for forestlands management
6. Development of new techniques for forestlands management
7. Establishment of organisational structures – legal requirements or Atikamekw traditions
8. Development of Atikamekw capacity to negotiate and compete with companies and government.
9. Existence of multiple objectives

4.3.3.1 Employment and training

Employment creation is a significant concern for the community of Wemotaci, has been a primary objective for SFAA, and is consistently identified in interviews as the principal

reason for the establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*¹⁵. SFAA consistently employs thirty to forty people in planting and thinning contracts during summer and autumn each year, with priority given to Atikamekw from Wemotaci¹⁶. The company provides training and equipment to support these workers and employs Atikamekw supervisors for these contracts, including three Atikamekw with formal training in forestry. Atikamekw employment in forest harvesting operations has been less successful, as this sector remains dominated by non-Atikamekw sub-contractors. Efforts to support an Atikamekw sub-contractor failed in 2000. In 2001, other Atikamekw were trained to operate harvesting machinery for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, but have not yet progressed with plans to establish a sub-contracting business¹⁷.

SFAA's employment function relates not only to the numbers employed, but also to the training and experience gained. However, Atikamekw employment and experience is principally limited to seasonal planting and thinning operations; they have not yet established a significant role in year-round logging.

4.3.3.2 Financial returns

SFAA provides financial returns to the community in two ways; profitability and payments to Atikamekw. The company's profitability, providing income to the CAW, has not been very successful, with net losses until the year 1999¹⁸. The turnaround in company finances followed a charge given to the new manager in 1997 - to make the company profitable. Profitability enabled SFAA to repay some of its accumulated debt and to contribute funds to other CAW projects, including the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

Salaries and other payments represent a significant return to the community, totalling over 400,000 \$ each year¹⁹. Although total payments to non-Atikamekw contractors are greater, some of this amount is spent in the community. Fuel purchases by logging and

¹⁵ Appendix 2 provides population data from Wemotaci, highlighting the need for employment.

¹⁶ Informants S21 and S22; personal observations.

¹⁷ Informant A09; personal observations

¹⁸ SFAA financial reports; Informants S21 and S22. See Annexe C

¹⁹ SFAA financial reports, 2000 - 2002

transport contractors help to support Wemogaz, a fuel station established at Wemotaci in March 2000 as a privately owned Atikamekw business.

Considered together, the returns from SFAA operations enable the Atikamekw to obtain a part of the financial benefits that are generated through forestry development in the *Haute-Mauricie*. However, it should also be noted that the Atikamekw share is a very small proportion of an industry which generates approximately 2 billion \$ of goods and services in the Mauricie region.²⁰

4.3.3.3 Working with the industry and complying with the regime

SFAA's contractual relationships with forestry companies, and its management role for the reserve 42-99, bring both advantages and difficulties. Through contracts, SFAA's initial role of providing clearing and planting services to the industry has progressed to logging and road building and finally to a joint venture to establish the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. The company's links with the forest industry, with the government, and with university researchers have contributed to the *Projet d'harmonisation* and to the development of modified forestry practices. Informants among both the industry and the Atikamekw have mentioned the importance of developing relationships and learning more about the other party, often referring to particular individuals, rather than to companies or organisations (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7)²¹.

However, in working with the forest industry, SFAA is also required to act as part of the industry and is bound by the same forestry regulations. The company has been able to introduce small-block mosaic logging on the reserve 42-99, but the management contract does not permit them to reduce (or increase) the volume of timber to be cut. SFAA has modified logging techniques in association with the *Projet d'harmonisation*, but must also compete financially with other companies that are producing timber for a difficult international market. While SFAA tries to respond to Atikamekw concerns about forestry practices, it must balance these concerns against the costs of implementing alternative

²⁰ The *Association forestière de la vallée St-Maurice* also estimates that 80 forestry companies employ over 10,000 people and pay 300 million \$ annually in salaries in the region (AFVSM). A separate research project is currently underway at Université Laval examining economic aspects of the forest industry at Wemotaci, Bergeron (*pers comm*).

²¹ Interviews with Atikamekw and forest industry representatives; personal observations.

practices. Furthermore, some observers believe that acceptance by SFAA, and the CAW, of forestry laws and contracts could constrain future political negotiations with provincial and federal governments (Poirier, *pers. com.*).

Hence, the benefits of SFAA participation in the forest industry come at a cost. This participation contributes to closer links between the Atikamekw and the industry, but also involves the Atikamekw in forestry practices with which they may not agree and which are difficult to change. This is a crucial dilemma for the Atikamekw, and a recurrent theme in this research.

4.3.3.4 Interest of forestry companies

The development of SFAA also demonstrates the interest of the forestry companies in establishing relationships with the Atikamekw. Tree-planting and plantation thinning contracts enable companies to employ Atikamekw in activities that require little equipment, thereby distributing some of the economic benefits of the industry. Forestry companies, starting with Crête in 1994 have awarded increasingly important contracts to SFAA, choosing the Atikamekw over other forest services companies with greater experience, and sometimes with lower costs²². In interviews, company representatives stress their recognition of Atikamekw occupation of the *Haute-Mauricie*, and of the industry's need to facilitate Atikamekw participation in forestry (see Chapter 7). In very practical terms, forestry companies hope that closer relations with the Atikamekw, and more Atikamekw involvement in forestry, will help avoid protests and road blockages that have occurred elsewhere in Québec²³.

4.3.3.5 Forest management responsibility

SFAA has enabled the Atikamekw to gain management responsibility for an area of forestlands, and to influence management on other areas (through the *Projet d'harmonisation*). In its management of the reserve 42-99, SFAA organized public consultations, prepared a management plan, introduced new practices, and continues to

²² Informants S21 and F03

²³ Despite this hope, in May 2003, the Atikamekw community of Manawan blocked logging roads being used by one of the companies that participated in this research.

construct roads, log and replant sites. This management of the reserve represents a government delegation of forestry responsibilities to the Atikamekw, although these must be exercised within the framework established by Québec's forestry regime.

Through this forest management role, SFAA has also demonstrated that the Atikamekw have a certain capacity to manage forestlands. Contracts with forestry companies suggest that these companies are becoming accustomed to Atikamekw participation in forest management, and may be contributing to changing forest management practices in the *Haute-Mauricie*. With changes in forestry regulations, other forestry companies are increasingly adopting mosaic logging and consultation processes with the Atikamekw. Furthermore, SFAA's experience in managing the reserve 42-99 probably contributed to the MRNQ agreeing to award them a forest management contract for the timber volume previously committed to the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, thereby giving them greater responsibility for forest management on larger areas of forestlands.

Achieving management roles for forestlands was an important issue identified in Chapter 1 and through interviews in Chapter 7. SFAA's management of the reserve 42-99 is contributing to developing an Atikamekw capacity to accomplish this role.

4.3.3.6 New forest management techniques

SFAA has enabled the Atikamekw to experiment with and to demonstrate modified practices for use in the forest industry. Community consultations organized by SFAA in 1997 were the first involvement of members of the Wemotaci community with logging plans. The use of informal meetings, in the Atikamekw language, with a variety of people remains the closest consultation yet undertaken between loggers and the Wemotaci community (Chapter 6). In response to these consultations, SFAA introduced small-block mosaic logging in its operations on the reserve 42-99 in 1998²⁴. This technique represented a departure from more conventional operations, and was also a practical response to the small volumes of timber available on the reserve.

²⁴ SFAA (1998), Personal observations

Since 2000, SFAA has been less involved in the development of new practices, and has abandoned its consultation process²⁵. This coincided with management changes at SFAA and the establishment of the *Projet d'harmonisation* to promote new ways of protecting Atikamekw interests (section 4.6). SFAA continues to cooperate in adopting measures proposed by the *Projet d'harmonisation*. While new practices do not currently respond to the full range of Atikamekw concerns (as presented throughout this thesis), they do indicate that industrial forestry can be modified and demonstrate the usefulness of an Atikamekw company that is able to innovate in forest management.

4.3.3.7 Organisational structure

As described in section 4.3.1, SFAA has passed through a number of different organisational structures since 1982, changing its ownership, its legal status, and the board of directors. The current structure, established in September 2000, links SFAA to the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and provides certain financial and legal advantages. The existing board of directors comprises two Atikamekw, two Innu businessmen²⁶, and a non-Atikamekw professional forester. Directors were selected by the CAW to provide the business experience necessary for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*²⁷.

In the organisational structure, the board of directors represents the interests of the CAW, the owners of the company. In turn, the CAW represents the population of Wemotaci. However, this means that the population has only an indirect voice in the company and Atikamekw are a minority on the board. In 1999, SFAA considered establishing a community advisory committee, but this was not implemented²⁸. A similar committee was established by the *Projet d'harmonisation* in late 2000, but this group has no role in the management of SFAA or the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

Throughout its recent changes, the organisational structure of SFAA has been arranged following the legal and commercial structures that apply elsewhere in Québec society.

²⁵ The staff member responsible for these consultations left SFAA to work for the CAW.

²⁶ The Innu are another Québec First Nation with similar language and culture to the Atikamekw.

²⁷ Informant B05. The same group of directors form the boards of both companies.

²⁸ SFAA, Minutes of board meetings

SFAA's organisational structure does not follow Atikamekw decision-making traditions²⁹, but is instead consistent with the norms of the forest industry.

4.3.3.8 Capacity to deal with companies and the government

SFAA is a small enterprise with limited resources and few professional staff³⁰. However, in planning and in contract negotiation, SFAA needs to work with other forestry companies and the MRNQ, which are well staffed by forestry professionals and technicians. These organisations, with greater financial resources, are also able to equip themselves with more physical resources, particularly including computerized management tools. Although SFAA has modified forestry practices to reflect Atikamekw interests, the company remains a very small participant in the forest industry and its capacity to promote Atikamekw interests is strictly limited. As discussed in Chapter 1, forestry services companies can bring a number of benefits to First Nations, but they rarely enable them to establish their own forms of forestland management.

4.3.3.9 Multiple objectives

As described in section 4.3.2, SFAA has a number of different objectives, not all of which are complementary. Provision of employment for Atikamekw can act against profitability if it leads to employment of unskilled workers, if costs are too high, if contracts are not completed, or if results do not meet industry standards. Similarly, SFAA's objectives of increasing financial returns and obtaining forest management responsibilities have led it to expand forest harvesting operations using non-Atikamekw sub-contractors. Furthermore, as discussed in section 4.3.3.3, SFAA is obliged to comply with the forestry regime, even though this may not be consistent with Atikamekw interests. These multiple objectives reflect the diversity of expectations that First Nations often have in relation to participation in forestry, as described in Chapter 1. SFAA has achieved results in relation to each of these objectives, but it also appears that multiple, and sometimes conflicting, objectives contribute to a difficult operating environment for the company.

²⁹ Some characteristics of Atikamekw traditions for forestland management and decision-making are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

³⁰ In 2003, SFAA professional staff comprised a general manager (without forestry training), three forestry technicians, a part-time accountant and a consulting forester. Personal observations.

4.3.4 SFAA – becoming part of the forest industry

SFAA shows the way in which the Atikamekw have gained experience in the forest industry. As the company developed from clearing transmission lines to planning and implementing forest management, the Atikamekw have developed new skills, earned valuable income and established close links with the industry. SFAA negotiated the first logging contract between the Atikamekw and a forestry company, and was able to obtain forest management responsibilities from the Québec government. The work of SFAA has contributed to the application of harvesting and consultation techniques for use in the industry, and to the establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation*. However, through SFAA's participation in the industry, the Atikamekw have also been obliged to accept many aspects of Québec's forestry regime – of the forest industry's approach to management of forestlands. They have accepted the need to follow government regulations (with possible implications for future negotiations), to adopt logging and other practices used by the industry, to compete with other companies and to use organisational structures based on Euro-Canadian principles rather than on their own traditions. Most significantly, the Atikamekw are now loggers of *Nitaskinan*.

4.4 Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw

The *Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw* (AMAA) is an association of Atikamekw hunters and trappers that was established in 1990. The association has been responsible for preparing and managing an extensive databank of information concerning Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*. It has also promoted concepts of integrated resource management, taking account of both timber and non-timber values. However, AMAA had only limited success in changing forest management practices as their proposals for forest harvesting regulations were not adopted by the industry or the government. The experience of AMAA in applying Atikamekw knowledge to develop integrated management is particularly relevant in understanding the use of Atikamekw knowledge in forestland management, and the difficulties faced by the Atikamekw in promoting their interests.

4.4.1 History of AMAA

Between 1988 and 1990, a major survey was undertaken for the *Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais* (the predecessor of CNA) and for Hydro-Québec to document the knowledge of Atikamekw hunters and trappers. Using maps at a scale of 1:50,000, experienced hunters and trappers were asked to identify areas that were important for hunting, trapping and fishing. These areas included moose breeding or wintering sites, beaver colonies, fish spawning areas and particularly good hunting zones. They also included aspects of human occupation such as camping sites, canoe portages, and sacred or historical places. Following from this research work, the AMAA was formed as a non-profit organisation to manage this information and to use it to promote improved management of the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie* (E.D.S. Inter 1989; AMAA 1992).

In 1991, AMAA agreed with Hydro-Québec to undertake an environmental study to identify and protect Atikamekw use of forestlands. In conjunction with private consulting firms, AMAA established a computerized geographic information system (GIS) and undertook biological surveys to compare Atikamekw information against observations made by the surveyors (AMAA 1994; Biofaune 1994). The association also engaged an anthropologist to document elements of lifestyle related to Atikamekw occupation (Deschênes 1991). This approach to collecting and recording information is similar to that used in traditional land use and occupancy studies described in Chapter 1 (MacKinnon et al. 2001; Robinson

and Ross 1997). The information provided by the Atikamekw hunters and trappers in 1989/90, and managed by AMAA since then and is now used by the *Projet d'harmonisation* for consultations with forestry companies.

Concurrently, the AMAA began to promote integrated resource management as a way of responding to the needs of the forest industry whilst enabling the Atikamekw to continue their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. In 1992, AMAA proposed a model of integrated resource management, combining the information provided by Atikamekw hunters and trappers with specific prescriptions for the protection of these areas (AMAA 1992a). For example, beavers were to be protected through the maintenance of a 20 m forested band on each side of a stream and surrounding lakes where beavers were likely to be found. Although this proposal was used in negotiations with the forestry companies and the government, it was not adopted. Reasons for this include questions raised concerning the scientific validity of the model (Bouthillier *pers. comm.*) and the lack of Atikamekw political influence on the provincial government and the companies (Poirier 2001). However, the AMAA proposals for integrated management have continued to be used in negotiations, and now form the basis of activities by the *Projet d'harmonisation*.

More recently, AMAA has lapsed into inactivity, although it still exists. The computer and GIS capacity that AMAA began to develop in 1992 was subsequently devolved to an incorporated company, *Kitaskino XXI*, which was wholly owned by the association. *Kitaskino XXI* organized computer and GIS training courses for members of the Atikamekw nation, and developed other projects related to technology and the management of geographic information. The company ran into financial difficulties in 2001, and has since ceased operations.

4.4.2 Objectives of AMAA

The goal of AMAA is to protect and to develop the resources of Atikamekw lands³¹. Acknowledging the basis of AMAA in the information collected in 1989/90 and the actions of the association since then, it is possible to identify the following objectives:

³¹ « Protéger et mettre en valeur les territoires traditionnels de chasse, de pêche et de piégeage Atikamekw ainsi que les ressources qui s'y trouvent », AMAA (1994), p 3.

- **Managing Atikamekw information** collected from hunters and trappers has led to establishment of a GIS. However, this information has not been updated.
- **Enhancing respect for Atikamekw knowledge.** AMAA documented extensive information concerning the resources of *Nitaskinan*. Their actions suggest that they hoped that this information would be incorporated into forestry planning.
- **Promoting integrated resource management.** AMAA proposed guidelines and prescriptions for integrated management of fauna and forest resources.

Two other objectives for AMAA may also have been considered, but are not so clearly demonstrated. Firstly, AMAA may have been modelled on the Cree Trappers Association, which was established in the 1970s to distributed funding to active Cree trappers³². Secondly, according to one informant, AMAA was established independently of the CNA specifically so that it would be able to take legal action against the government or other parties, while minimising effects on political negotiations³³. Although these comments by individual informants are unsupported, they may have contributed to the way that AMAA was structured, to the activities that it undertook, and to expectations of the association.

4.4.3 Important elements in the AMAA experience

From the history and experiences of AMAA, and supported by discussions with informants associated with the organisation, I have identified a number of elements that can help understand the different paradigms:

1. Enhancing, maintaining and applying Atikamekw knowledge
2. Confirming other Canadian experiences with traditional knowledge
3. Developing integrated resource management
4. Preparedness to use new techniques
5. Failure of the industry to adopt AMAA proposals

³² Informant A11 said that hunters should receive financial compensation for hydroelectric and forestry activities on their family territories. See Scott and Feit (1992) for further details on the Cree Income Support program.

³³ Informant S03

4.4.3.1 Atikamekw information and knowledge

The information, maps and database prepared by AMAA demonstrate the extent of Atikamekw knowledge concerning the resources on their territories, especially the fauna resources. Specialist consultants in biology validated this information using conventional fauna survey techniques (Biofaune 1994)³⁴. This information, representing observation and experience on the terrain over many years, is unmatched by other surveys of fauna resources of the *Haute-Mauricie* and should be of great value to forestlands management.

AMAA has recorded this information, converting the oral transmission of Atikamekw knowledge into maps and a computerized database, similar to work undertaken elsewhere in Canada (Chapter 1; MacKinnon, Apentiik et al. 2001). However, AMAA has lacked resources to update this information since the 1993 Hydro-Québec environmental study (AMAA 1994). Forest harvesting and other activities since this time have almost certainly affected the accuracy of habitat information recorded in the AMAA database.

AMAA and the CNA maintain control of the maps and the database as a way of respecting the Atikamekw hunters and trappers who provided this information. The CNA and individual community councils use the information to comment on forest management plans prepared by the industry. Forestry companies would like to have direct access to the GIS to enable them to include it in their forest planning, but the databank is not available to outside organisations³⁵. However, the forest industry must also respect First Nations' concerns about the use of information, and the value systems that underlie this information (Natcher 2001).

The experience of AMAA shows that the collection of Atikamekw knowledge does not ensure that this knowledge will be applied to forestlands management as wished by them. Although such information may be potentially valuable, the forestry companies may be unable, or unwilling, to include it in their planning processes.

³⁴.However, I have not seen independent confirmation of this work.

³⁵ Informants F03, F05, F06, F08, F10 and S23

4.4.3.2 Traditional knowledge studies

Chapter 1 briefly summarized Canadian experiences with traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) and traditional land-use and occupation studies (TLUOS). AMAA's objectives are similar to those presented by Robinson and Ross (1997): to collect and document knowledge; to use this information in forestry planning; and to achieve active participation in planning. As noted by these authors, the second two objectives are more difficult to achieve than the first. Reasons for this difficulty include: differences between western science and traditional knowledge, different perceptions of nature and of resources, ownership of and access to information, government policy, and the failure of map-based approaches to describe the cultural importance of forestlands (MacKinnon et al. 2001; Natcher 2001). Again, as discussed in Chapter 1, these issues suggest that Atikamekw knowledge needs to be recognized as part of their own forest management system, linked to the social systems and institutions that sustain this knowledge (Berkes and Folke 1998). Chapter 5 describes a sub-study of Atikamekw occupation carried out following this approach.

AMAA's experience with Atikamekw knowledge confirms the experiences of other First Nations; collecting and recording traditional information is useful, but does not ensure that forestlands management will incorporate this knowledge.

4.4.3.3 Integrated resource management

AMAA's approach to integrated resource management aimed to protect Atikamekw interests whilst enabling the forest industry to continue its activities (AMAA 1992a). Specific prescriptions were proposed to protect not just fauna habitats, but also campsites, travelling routes, medicinal plants, historical sites and sacred places. Such prescriptions are similar to the procedural rules for logging established by the MRNQ (1996). Both the MRNQ rules and the AMAA proposals include features such as the identification of important sites, the use of protection bands, and the prohibition of logging on particular areas, although AMAA prescriptions are often more stringent. Forestry companies are very familiar with the MRNQ rules and planning and operational systems are based on them. Hence, the AMAA proposals represent an extension of the existing approach, enhancing the protection of Atikamekw interests but remaining within the management system established by the forest industry. It appears that AMAA's proposals reflect a

compromise between their goal of protecting Atikamekw occupation and their understanding of industry interests.

However, this approach to management does not take account of all aspects of Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* (see Chapter 3, Chapter 5 and Chapter 7). Cultural values, traditional systems of management and spiritual beliefs cannot usually be recorded on maps (Natcher 2001). Furthermore, sites that can be fixed on a map may not be adequately protected by prescriptions such as protection bands. For forestry companies, such Atikamekw values or concerns may be ill defined (or poorly understood), unmarked on a map, and have no clear measures of protection. Such values are difficult to include in industry forest management plans.

AMAA's proposals for integrated resource management illustrate the Atikamekw view of managing both the natural resources and the human occupation of *Nitaskinan*. They also demonstrate that the industry is accustomed to working with regulations that define forest management practices, and the Atikamekw have tried to adapt their view to this reality.

4.4.3.4 Technology

AMAA has been able to use contemporary computer technology and GIS techniques to manage their traditional knowledge and to promote their interests and their views. Such use of techniques common in the forest industry could facilitate closer Atikamekw participation in forestlands planning and management (subject to the limitations described in preceding sections). It can also be seen as an example of the indigenous "contemporaneity" discussed in Chapter 1 (Poirier 2000).

4.4.3.5 Failure to implement AMAA proposals

Despite the potential value of Atikamekw knowledge, the interest of the AMAA proposals for integrated management, and the use of industry technology and techniques, AMAA's proposals were not adopted by the forest industry. Poirier (2001) attributed failure of the industry to act on this approach to integrated management to a lack of Atikamekw influence on the government and on the industry. The validity of the AMAA proposals was also questioned on scientific grounds by government officials. Furthermore, the AMAA proposals were presented to the government and the industry, rather than being negotiated with them, and it is perhaps unsurprising that they were not adopted.

However, since the early 1990s, the Atikamekw have established closer relations with the forest industry and have continued to negotiate autonomy and territorial rights with the federal and provincial governments. Furthermore, as described in Chapter 1, the last ten years have witnessed growing legal and moral justification for First Nation participation in forestry. In this new situation, the *Projet d'harmonisation* is having greater success in applying proposals and ideas that were disregarded by the industry in the early 1990s.

4.4.4 AMAA – promoting Atikamekw knowledge and occupation

The experience of the AMAA shows some of the difficulties faced by the Atikamekw in incorporating their perspective into the current forest management system. The collection, organisation and validation of Atikamekw knowledge concerning the fauna and other resources of *Nitaskinan* represents important information of great potential use in forest planning. Through its use of technology and its proposals for integrated management, AMAA promoted this information as a way of enabling continued timber production consistent with Atikamekw occupation. Several of their initiatives were based on the approaches used in the forest industry, but the Atikamekw maintained control of their own information. However, AMAA's actions in promoting Atikamekw knowledge and occupation of *Nitaskinan* did not lead to changes in forest management until nearly ten years later. The collection and organising of Atikamekw knowledge about *Nitaskinan* does not mean that this information will be incorporated into forestlands management.

4.5 *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

The proposed establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* provided the initial focus point for this research as a way of examining the forestry paradigms held by the Atikamekw and their industry partners Smurfit-Stone and Crête. I have followed the development of the project closely over a period of five years, discussing objectives, expectations and concerns with the parties and observing (and contributing to) the development of plans and processes. The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* represents an effort by the Atikamekw to increase their participation in the forest industry, complemented by the efforts of forestry companies to support this participation. The continuing delay of the project indicates the difficulties faced by all the parties.

4.5.1 History

Scierie Tackipotcikan was initiated through informal discussions between representatives of CAW, Cartons St-Laurent (CSL, now Smurfit-Stone) and Crête in late 1995 and early 1996³⁶ (Annex C summarizes the key dates in the development of the project). In September 1996, the CAW presented three projects to a regional economic development meeting – a sawmill, a hydroelectric facility and fish-farming³⁷. In February 1997, following further discussions, the CAW, Crête and CSL agreed to work towards the establishment of a sawmill at Wemotaci, in which the CAW would be the majority shareholder. Although the project was discussed at CAW meetings, there is no record of public consultations on the project.

During 1997 and 1998 representatives of the three parties established the general characteristics of the project: a sawmill with a capacity of 120,000 m³ per year; employment of 60 Atikamekw in the mill; SFAA to manage forestry operations, employing another 60 Atikamekw; training programs to provide the necessary skills; shares to be held in the ratio 60:20:20 favouring the CAW; CSL to buy sawmill waste and Crête to undertake finishing and marketing of timber products. These characteristics remain essentially

³⁶ Minutes from CAW and from the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* committee, Informants B01, F03 and F06

unchanged. Consultants were engaged to conduct a feasibility study and subsequently to prepare construction and business plans. Finance for the project was to come from the partners, from government and semi-government sources and from private financial institutions. In September 1998, the partners planned that the sawmill would commence operations in November 1999.

In April 1999, the population of Wemotaci elected a new chief and Council. The incoming leadership remained supportive of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, but was also convinced of the need to minimize the effects of forestry operations on the Atikamekw utilisation of forestlands. In late 1999, the CAW established the *Projet d'harmonisation* to achieve this goal (section 4.6) and organized public meetings about forestry and the sawmill in March and April 2000 (Chapter 6). During the year, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation* advanced in parallel; the former aimed at augmenting Atikamekw participation in the forest industry, and the latter aimed at ensuring that this participation was consistent with Atikamekw utilisation. Although the change of focus by the CAW delayed progression of the sawmill, organisational, financial, and technical planning continued, and on December 14th 2000 a formal agreement established the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

Although much work had been done between 1998 and 2000 to develop technical and financial plans, this continued in 2001. The partners established a board for the company on which all five members were nominated by the CAW. The two industrial partners attend board meetings but, at their own request, do not have voting rights³⁸. In early 2001 the partners examined the possibility of buying an existing forest products mill at La Tuque, which would complement *Scierie Tackipotcikan* operations and facilitate financing of the project. However, this option was finally abandoned. By November 2001, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* board had obtained financial commitments for almost all the project cost (then at 10.8 M \$), was preparing to buy equipment in advance of starting construction in May 2002³⁹. An opening date for the sawmill was set for October 7th 2002.

³⁷ The fish-farming project was abandoned in late 1997, while the hydroelectric project has recently been finalised with Hydro-Québec.

³⁸ Informants F03 and F06, personal observations of *Scierie Tackipotcikan* board meetings.

³⁹ *Scierie Tackipotcikan* board meeting

However, progress on the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was halted by factors affecting the whole of the Canadian forest industry. Since April 2001, Canada had been involved in a trade dispute concerning the exportation of timber from Canada to the USA. The USA imposed tariffs that reduced the profitability of timber producers in Canada⁴⁰. This subsequently reduced the interest of financial partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. At the beginning of November 2001, a federal government agency, which was contributing 700,000 \$ to the project, withdrew its support⁴¹. Other financiers followed suite and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was put “on ice”, in the words of the CAW chief.

In December 2003, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* remains “on ice”. The project has not been abandoned, but it is not progressing. During 2002, the board attempted unsuccessfully to organise a new financial package to enable the sawmill to go ahead. However, the trade dispute with the USA remains unresolved, the Canadian timber industry remains in financial difficulties, and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* has not attracted new investors. In May 2003, the provincial government transferred the timber supply previously committed to the sawmill to the SFAA, enabling the Atikamekw to log this volume for sale to other sawmills⁴². SFAA may expand its forestry operations and engage Atikamekw for this work, but ownership of a sawmill and additional jobs are not currently an option for the population of Wemotaci.

4.5.2 Objectives of the partners

The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was conceived as a joint project between the Atikamekw and the two forestry companies, responding to the interests of each party. Hence I interviewed representatives from each of the parties to learn their reasons for embarking in the project and their objectives concerning the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Unsurprisingly, the objectives of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies are different, but not necessarily conflicting. The following objectives are based on interviews and on documents relating to the history of the project.

⁴⁰ Tariffs and levies of 32 % imposed in August and October 2001 were confirmed at 27 % in March 2002; Bouthillier (*Pers. comm.*).

⁴¹ *Scierie Tackipotcikan* minutes; Informant F04.

⁴² Informant S21.

Atikamekw objectives

- **Economic development** is identified as a primary goal, comprising several related themes:
 - o Creation of employment
 - o Financial returns to the community
 - o Creation of other small businesses
- **Benefiting from forest exploitation.** Atikamekw seek to obtain a proportion of the economic benefits accruing to the forest industry from the exploitation of *Nitaskinan*.
- **Training and development of new skills** are valued by the Atikamekw.
- **Exercising control** over forestry exploitation of *Nitaskinan*, through both modified forestry practices and a recognized responsibility for forestland management.

Industrial objectives

- **Existence of good relations with the Atikamekw** is identified as the principal goal.
 - o Companies seek to avoid conflicts that could affect their logging operations.
 - o Smurfit-Stone has 3,700 km² of private forestland close to Wemotaci.
- **Access to additional volumes of timber** is possible through the partnership
 - o Smurfit-Stone will buy woodchips and sawdust for its paperboard mill.
 - o Crête will use their processing facilities and sales network
- **Profit-making is not a primary objective.** Neither company expects to make large profits in the short-term, although they expect the sawmill to cover its costs.
- **Economic and social development for the Atikamekw** is identified by both partners. Representatives of one partner refer to the sawmill as a “social project”.

4.5.3 Important elements in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Through analysis of interviews with representatives of the partners, together with information from minutes and other reports, I identified a number of elements that illustrate the existence of different forestry paradigms within the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partnership:

1. The existence of differing objectives.
2. Exercising control over forestry exploitation.
3. Economic development for the Atikamekw.
4. Attitudes and concerns of the Wemotaci community.
5. Recognition of Atikamekw interests.
6. Organisational and management structures
7. Participation within the forestry regime
8. Questions of leadership and power

4.5.3.1 The existence of differing objectives

As noted in section 4.5.2, the parties each have different objectives and expectations for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. These differences are not necessarily in conflict, and it is likely that the sawmill will be able to meet the objectives (in full or in part) of both the Atikamekw and the companies. In particular, the companies attach great importance to maintaining good relations with the Atikamekw, and less importance to the profitability of the sawmill (provided that it does not lose money). This suggests that, in the interests of good relations, the companies could forego their other objectives in favour of the Atikamekw.

However, different objectives also imply that the parties approach management decisions with different goals. For example, these differences may have contributed to the delays in the establishment of the sawmill. Crête and Smurfit-Stone chose not to “push” planning and construction of this sawmill, believing that it this was a role for the Atikamekw leaders themselves⁴³. Planning progressed slowly, with the result that the project was not finalised prior to the eruption of the trade dispute. The importance attached by the companies to maintaining good relations may have contributed to the failure to construct the sawmill and to realise Atikamekw objectives for economic development⁴⁴. Conversely, the companies approach is consistent with Atikamekw interest in autonomy and in exercising control over forestry operations.

⁴³ Informants F03 and F06

⁴⁴ Other factors described in this section also contributed to delays in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

4.5.3.2 Exercising control over forestry exploitation

The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* provides a means for the Atikamekw to exercise control over forestry operations on *Nitaskinan*. As described in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, the Atikamekw and other First Nations across Canada are seeking a share of the economic benefits of forest exploitation, as well as greater control over the management of forestlands. According to informant B01: “*If others are doing it (establishing sawmills), then why not us? If we don’t do it, then others will anyway. It is better to sit down with them and say ‘we are going to have a sawmill, and we also want to protect what is there’.*”⁴⁵ Other Atikamekw informants expressed similar views; the forests are going to be logged anyway, we should do it ourselves so that we can get jobs and money, as well as protecting the forests.

Although the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* has not been constructed, it has still contributed to modifying the practices used by the forest industry. Since the beginning of the project, the Atikamekw representatives have said that logging should be carried out in ways that respect Atikamekw interests. In parallel, SFAA was consulting the population and modifying logging practices for use in part of the sawmill’s supply zone. These activities expanded after the election of a new council in 1999 and the establishment of the *Projet d’harmonisation*. New practices are now being introduced with most of the forestry companies operating in *Haute-Mauricie*.

Neither Atikamekw nor industry representatives related the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* to Atikamekw demands for greater political autonomy within *Nitaskinan*. However, the legal and institutional frameworks suggest that this could also be a factor. Under Québec’s forestry regime⁴⁶, operating a sawmill is one of the few ways that the Atikamekw can obtain forest management responsibilities from the government. Such an action may be viewed as a temporary substitute for autonomy while political negotiations continue, or as a form of Atikamekw control within the existing legal framework. Similarly, for the forestry companies, an existing partnership with the Atikamekw may enable them to continue

⁴⁵ “*Si les autres le faisaient, pourquoi pas nous on ne le ferait pas? Si nous autres on ne le faisait pas, les autres allaient le faire pareil. On était bien mieux d’aller s’asseoir avec eux autres puis leur dire : bon, nous autres on va avoir une usine de sciage, on veut aussi protéger qu’est qu’il y a dans le bout* ». Informant B01, February 2000.

⁴⁶ As it existed prior to the 2001 reforms.

operations in the event of a negotiated settlement recognising Atikamekw control over parts of the *Haute-Mauricie*. This element remains hypothetical.

4.5.3.3 Economic development for the Atikamekw

The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was originally considered as one of three economic development projects, the others being fish-farming and a hydroelectric facility. The importance of creating jobs, especially for the youth, and of promoting economic development of Wemotaci is a recurrent theme in interviews, even with those who do not support the establishment of a sawmill. These three projects were seen as enabling the Atikamekw to gain economic benefits from the resources of *Nitaskinan*, from the forests and the water⁴⁷. The fish-farming joint venture was abandoned in late 1997 following the withdrawal of the partner, while the hydroelectric facility is still under negotiation.

Economic development for the Atikamekw is also important for the forestry companies. Company representatives described the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* as a “social project” which would address problems of unemployment, lack of education and skills, low income and lack of self-esteem and self-confidence⁴⁸. The sawmill would help the Atikamekw to take their place in wider society and to be less dependent on the government, although informant F15 stressed that “*we don’t want to assimilate the Aboriginals, but we want to give them the opportunity to work. This is a social role - to help them and to give them our know-how in running a sawmill.*”⁴⁹

However, among both Atikamekw and the forestry companies, there appears to be an assumption that “development” means raising the Atikamekw to the level of Euro-Canadians. Chapter 1 considers the concept of “development”, noting the importance of establishing alternatives and frameworks that support local practices and identities (Escobar 1997). Economic development should not necessarily be seen as implying that the Atikamekw must adopt Euro-Canadian practices, but rather that these practices could be adapted to respond to Atikamekw interests.

⁴⁷ Minutes of CAW meetings

⁴⁸ Informants F03, F06 and F15

⁴⁹ Informant F15, notes made in English during an interview in French.

4.5.3.4 Attitudes and concerns of the Wemotaci community

The Wemotaci community recognizes both advantages and concerns with the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. In interviews and discussions, Atikamekw informants spoke of the sawmill as way to create new jobs in the village (especially for youth). However, most informants also expressed concerns about the effect of the sawmill on forestlands and on the Atikamekw lifestyle. They stressed the need to develop practices that are consistent with Atikamekw beliefs and practices (see Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7).

Although members of the Wemotaci community have concerns about the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, there appears to have been a lack of information and consultation concerning the project. A public meeting organized in March 2000 supported the project, but expressed concerns, while a second meeting in April 2000 was dominated by discussion of the training to be offered to prospective workers. Informal discussions almost certainly took place, but there is no record of these. Plans for the sawmill were also frequently discussed at CAW meetings, but one council member commented, “*it was as if everything had already been decided*”⁵⁰. A lack of information about the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* may have contributed to popular concerns about the project, or may have been a strategy to avoid division or conflict within the community. In either case, the absence of information sharing is inconsistent with Atikamekw traditions for decision-making, as described in Chapters 5 and 6.

I deliberately did not attempt to determine what proportion of the community supported or opposed the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Instead, the range of views expressed by informants in this research suggest that the sawmill does have widespread support, as long as operations reflect Atikamekw concerns rather than following common industry practices.

4.5.3.5 Recognition of Atikamekw interests

Planning for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* included several elements to adapt the sawmill to the Atikamekw. Firstly, sawmill project leaders plan that the mill will operate for only eight months each year (instead of eleven or twelve). This enables the Atikamekw to take time for traditional practices on forestlands, as well as recognising that the volume allocated to

⁵⁰ *C'est comme si tout était déjà décidé*, Informant B07, November 2000

the sawmill is too small for full-time operations. Extensive training programs were organized in 2001 to provide Atikamekw with skills for both sawmill work and forest operations. However, with the delay of the sawmill, few trainees have been employed elsewhere. Secondly, the *Projet d'harmonisation* has the specific task of developing planning methods that protect the Atikamekw utilisation of *Nitaskinan*. This supports previous work by SFAA to develop and demonstrate modified logging practices.

Although the partners in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* have made efforts to recognize the Atikamekw lifestyle, these changes represent modifications to standard practice within the industry, rather than new practices. These modifications should be compared with the complexity of contemporary Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and the Atikamekw approach to management, as described in Chapter 5. This suggests that the modifications made for the sawmill represent changes made within the industrial paradigm, rather than recognition of an Atikamekw forestry paradigm.

4.5.3.6 Organisational and management structure

The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partners have established a relatively conventional organisational structure with a company board comprising two Atikamekw and three non-Atikamekw. Representatives of Smurfit-Stone and Crête participate in board meetings, but voluntarily declined a voting role, saying that they believed that it was important that the Atikamekw themselves had responsibility for the operations of the sawmill⁵¹. This structure contrasts with those adopted for sawmill partnerships at Waswanipi and Opitciwan where the industrial partners are full members of the company boards⁵².

My own observations of board meetings, together with an examination of meeting minutes, show that discussions are dominated by financial and technical matters relating to the establishment and operating characteristics of the sawmill itself. In addressing these matters, the Atikamekw rely on the advice of their consultants – legal, financial and technical. Unsurprisingly, non-Atikamekw consultants are more experienced in their professional domains than they are in understanding First Nations' viewpoints. Questions relating to forest management practices, the concerns of the community, or to the

⁵¹ Informants F03 and F06; personal observations of board meetings.

Atikamekw culture are rarely discussed. One industry representative noted that they preferred to leave such questions to the CAW, but also noted that he now doubted that the CAW had sufficiently consulted the population⁵³. Hence it appears that although the industry partners express a willingness to leave management responsibility with the Atikamekw, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* is nevertheless managed in ways that are consistent with the forest industry.

4.5.3.7 Participation within the Forestry regime

Participation in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* obliges the Atikamekw to participate in Québec's forestry regime and in the forest industry. Access to timber from the *Haute-Mauricie* forests requires them to have a contract from the provincial government, entailing the respect of industry regulations (as described for SFAA in section 4.3). Access to finance for the sawmill requires compliance with the expectations of financial institutions, both public and private. Although there are advantages for First Nations in establishing businesses, there are also numerous difficulties⁵⁴. One industry informant explained that if his company decided to build a new sawmill, planning and financing would be fairly straightforward, and they would be able to commence construction within several months. By contrast, the Atikamekw need to seek external consultants and advisors for planning and have more difficulty in obtaining finance. As a result, planning for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* has now been underway for over five years⁵⁵.

The effect of the Canada-USA trade dispute demonstrates that the Atikamekw are also subject to the pressures that affect the Canadian timber industry. Similarly, fluctuations in international timber prices and currency exchange rates affect all of the forest industry, whether companies are owned by First Nations or not. Both the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and SFAA need to manage operations in ways that enable them to sell timber at prices that are competitive with other forestry companies⁵⁶. Such factors may hinder efforts by the

⁵² Waswanipi is a Cree community, while Otipciwan is another of the three Atikamekw communities.

⁵³ Informant F03 in separate interviews.

⁵⁴ Advantages include taxation exemptions and financial subsidies; difficulties include lack of experience and human resources, high expenses and obtaining investment finance.

⁵⁵ Informant F04

⁵⁶ An "Atikamekw" or "Indigenous People" labelling initiative is being considered to aid marketing.

sawmill management and the *Projet d'harmonisation* to modify operations to recognize Atikamekw interests. As noted by Curran and M'Gonigle (1999), participation in the forestry regime can push First Nations towards large-scale logging and away from ecosystem or multiple-value management.

4.5.3.8 Questions of leadership and power

The preceding elements pose several questions about leadership and power in planning for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, and in relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. The industry possesses significantly greater human and financial resources, and has had a crucial role in the development of the Québec forestry regime (see Chapter 3). In this situation, the Atikamekw may be perceived as having little capacity to implement changes, whether in general industry practices or in their own sawmill.

Questions of power also apply within the community of Wemotaci. Council elections in 1999 and 2003 changed the leadership of the community, with the chief responsible for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* losing his position in 1999 and regaining it in 2003. It appears probable that the sawmill project was an issue in both elections, although there were certainly many other factors involved. Similarly, the various activities and proposals of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, of SFAA and of the *Projet d'harmonisation* represent different approaches to Atikamekw participation in forestry, which have often not been in harmony⁵⁷. Changes in the SFAA board during 2000 reflected these differences.

However, a full exploration of these questions of power and leadership would require more information than I collected in this study, more detailed analysis and a different theoretical framework. Accordingly, I chose not to examine these questions, instead simply identifying them as an element of the different paradigms and as a subject for future research.

⁵⁷ Informants S08, S21 and S22; personal observations.

4.5.4 *Scierie Tackipotcikan* - barriers to participation

Scierie Tackipotcikan represents an attempt by the Atikamekw and the two forestry companies to develop closer relations than those already established through the SFAA. Both the Atikamekw and the companies have their own objectives for the sawmill. The Atikamekw have been prepared to adopt industry practices and systems, while the companies are prepared to modify these practices, and have invested money, time and expertise. However, the goodwill and interest of the partners have not been sufficient to carry the sawmill proposal through to realisation. The experience of *Scierie Tackipotcikan* described in this section shows that there are many barriers to First Nations' participation in forestry.

4.6 *Projet d'harmonisation*

The *Projet d'harmonisation* is the most recent of the four initiatives described in this sub-study, and is currently the organisation that is making the greatest changes in forestry operations in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The *Projet d'harmonisation* operates under the authority of the *Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci* and comprises a technical team and a group of community representatives (the *Table d'harmonisation*). The technical team represents the CAW in consultations with the forestry companies and is establishing new planning procedures with the industry. The experience of the *Projet d'harmonisation* shows how the forest industry and the Atikamekw are currently collaborating, and the changes that each have made in order to enable such a collaboration.

4.6.1 History

The *Projet d'harmonisation* was established following the 1999 CAW elections as a way of ensuring the operations for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* would respect Atikamekw interests⁵⁸. The project was a joint initiative of the CAW and a consultant from CERFO⁵⁹, with the participation of SFAA, MRNQ, Crête, Smurfit-Stone and the *Université Laval*. Consultants prepared a forest operations guide, a technical team was established, and a public consultation organized in March 2000⁶⁰. As a result of this meeting, a number of community members were invited to form a *Table d'harmonisation*, which would work in conjunction with the technical team to develop and apply the prescriptions in the guide.

Beginning in late 2000, the technical team proposed changes to harvesting operations being undertaken by SFAA and other forestry companies, based on the guide and the information collected by the AMAA in the 1990s. Subsequently, the technical team

⁵⁸Informants B02, S21, S24; personal observations

⁵⁹ CERFO, the *Centre d'éducation et de recherche forestière*, is a forestry consulting group based in Québec. The CERFO consultant had previously proposed forest protection measures for the CNA in the early 1990s and had established similar measures for the Cree community of Waswanipi in the mid 1990s. Neither of these initiatives has been maintained.

⁶⁰ The technical team comprises an Atikamekw director, a non-Atikamekw professional forester and several Atikamekw technicians. Several non-Atikamekw consultants and advisors work with the project from time to time, including myself.

established closer contacts with several forestry companies so that they could comment on logging plans as these were being prepared. The team also organized several consultations with members of the community, my own research activities contributing to this. In particular, the team aimed to identify specific sites of value to the Atikamekw, which could then be protected during logging operations, and organized meetings of the *Table d'harmonisation*. Through 2002 and 2003, all the major companies operating in the *Haute-Mauricie* have cooperated with the technical team, providing copies of forestry plans, and receiving comments and recommendations on these plans.⁶¹

The approach adopted by the *Projet d'harmonisation* technical team is to identify specific sites of particular importance to the Atikamekw, such as campsites, fauna habitats, and canoe portages. The technical team forester uses this information to comment on forestry plans prepared by the companies, recommending changes to protect these sites where possible. The team's recommendations are based on information provided by members of the community (including the maps prepared in the 1990s by AMAA) and the operations guide prepared in 1999. Changes to plans are then negotiated between the team's forester and the foresters employed by the companies. The team is currently trying to establish contacts with representatives of each Atikamekw family so that their views can be taken into account in negotiations with companies.

4.6.2 Objectives

The goal of the *Projet d'harmonisation* is to develop measures that will harmonize forestry operations in *Haute-Mauricie* with Atikamekw utilisation of this territory. This general goal can be resolved into several distinct objectives:

- **Protecting Atikamekw occupation and utilisation** by identifying important sites and developing prescriptions to protect these sites during forestry operations.
- **Informing and educating the community** about the activities of forestry companies throughout *Nitaskinan* and on the territory of each family.
- **Liasing between the CAW and the forestry companies** and the MRNQ on matters relating to forestry operations and the forest industry.

⁶¹ *Projet d'harmonisation* consultation activities are also described in Chapter 6.

4.6.3 Important elements in the *Projet d'harmonisation*

From the history of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, from interviews with various participants in the project and from my own observations, I have identified five elements that can help understand forestry paradigms.

1. The AMAA approach and changing attitudes in the industry.
2. Negotiating measures with the forestry companies.
3. The role of specialists and consultants.
4. The role of the *Table d'harmonisation*.
5. Financing of the *Projet d'harmonisation*.

4.6.3.1 The AMAA approach and changing attitudes in the industry

The approach adopted by the *Projet d'harmonisation* is based on the identification of specific sites and zones and on the use of prescriptions designed to protect the particular attributes of these zones. This is the same general approach used by the AMAA in the early 1990s (see section 4.4)⁶². The location of sites is based on the maps prepared by the AMAA, with additional information supplied by members of families responsible for particular areas. Plan modifications proposed by the project forester are based on the operations guide, which is in turn based on the prescriptions suggested by the AMAA in 1992. The principal differences between the approach used by AMAA and that of the *Projet d'harmonisation* are in the negotiation of site-specific requirements with the forestry companies, and the advisory role given to the *Table d'harmonisation*.

Within this process, if no specific sites have been identified on the maps used by the *Projet d'harmonisation*, then both the technical team and the company representatives will assume that the area may be logged without particular measures. The technical team is trying to identify all significant sites, seeking information from the community, but complete maps do not yet exist. Furthermore, as described in Chapter 1, mapping of traditional knowledge often fails to recognize the cultural importance of landscapes for First Nations (Natcher 2001). Chapter 5 describes many such aspects of Atikamekw occupation, while

⁶² The same consultant was involved in both processes.

Chapter 6 identifies a number of community concerns that are difficult to address through mapping and prescriptions. The approach used by the AMAA and the *Projet d'harmonisation* does protect many important sites during forestry operations, but does not address all aspects of Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

It is important to note that the AMAA proposals of 1992 were not adopted by the industry, but that very similar recommendations made by the *Projet d'harmonisation* technical team are now being integrated into forestry planning. It appears that the forestry companies are now prepared to recognize Atikamekw concerns, and to include these in their plans where possible. Factors contributing to this recognition may include: the working relationships established with SFAA; the initiatives of Crête and Smurfit-Stone in establishing ties with the Atikamekw; and the increasing general recognition of First Nations rights (see Chapter 1). Forestry company informants also appreciate the presence of a professional forester employed by the CAW who is able to act as an intermediary between them and the Atikamekw⁶³, as well as a an approach in which measures are negotiated between the parties, rather than prescribed by the Atikamekw (or by the law).

4.6.3.2 Negotiating measures with the forestry companies

Unlike the 1992 AMAA proposals, the *Projet d'harmonisation* has adopted a process of negotiating measures to protect specific sites, rather than calling for the full application of Atikamekw prescriptions across *Nitaskinan*. This process is consistent with the operational planning process used by the industry and enables flexibility in the application of prescriptions (within the limits of the forestry regime), which can work to the advantage of both parties⁶⁴. The process of negotiation between companies and the Atikamekw also enables companies to respond to legal requirements for consultation of First Nations , as called for by changes in Québec's Forest Law (see Chapter 3). The establishment of a dialogue between the industry and the Atikamekw may also be more conducive to a deeper understanding of the position of each, than would the prescriptive approach.

⁶³ Informants F08 and F10, personal observations of meetings for the *Projet d'harmonisation*.

⁶⁴ For example, protection bands around *Lac Cyprès* were modified to maintain forest cover along the lakeshore while maintaining the size of blocks to be logged; personal observations.

However, as a negotiation, it must also be recognized that the result will be a compromise between Atikamekw and industrial interests. The nature of this compromise will probably depend on the resources and on the negotiating power available to each party in the process (see Chapter 6). Hence some sites of importance to the Atikamekw may not be protected, or the level of protection expected by members of the community may not be that which is finally agreed with the forestry company.

4.6.3.3 The role of specialists and consultants

The development of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, and particularly its negotiations with the forestry companies, illustrates the important role of non-Atikamekw specialists and consultants. The forestry planning process in Québec is confusing for non-foresters⁶⁵, there are no Atikamekw professional foresters, and so the project employs a non-Atikamekw. He interprets plans prepared by forestry companies, prepares alternatives, negotiates with companies and with the MRNQ, and also advises the CAW on forestry matters⁶⁶. Forestry companies welcome the presence of a professional forester with whom they can discuss technical issues of planning, and who acts as an intermediary between themselves and the Wemotaci community⁶⁷.

However, this critical role acts in both directions: the *Projet d'harmonisation* forester explains the industry to the Atikamekw, but the technical team also represents the Atikamekw to the forest industry. While the Atikamekw leader of the *Projet d'harmonisation* is usually present at negotiations with the industry, such negotiations are often dominated by the technical issues of planning. Equally, industry foresters are “insulated” from other *Wemotaci iriniw*, and so their understanding of the Atikamekw approach to occupation and utilisation of the forest is based largely on information provided during negotiations with the *Projet d'harmonisation* (see also Chapter 6).

The need for a non-Atikamekw specialist in a critical position illustrates a particular difficulty for First Nations in participating in forestry. Negotiating a place for the Atikamekw

⁶⁵ The MRNQ acknowledges that planning processes are often incomprehensible for the general public (MRNQ 1998). Modifications to the law in 2001 require that plans be made clearer.

⁶⁶ Informants B05, S23, *Projet d'harmonisation* annual reports, personal observations.

⁶⁷ Informants F08, F10

within the forestry regime requires specialized forestry knowledge. Relations and contacts with foresters within the regime are almost certainly assisted if one has similar training and experience⁶⁸. Familiarity with technical knowledge, management processes, funding mechanisms and other aspects of forestland management, makes it easier for specialists and consultants to develop and implement projects such as the *Projet d'harmonisation*. The complexity of the forestry regime is such that the Atikamekw are unable to participate directly, but must instead rely on non-Atikamekw to negotiate their participation in this regime.

4.6.3.4 The role of the *Table d'harmonisation*

Within the project, the *Table d'harmonisation* advises the technical team and provides information to the community⁶⁹. In fulfilling this role, the Table is responsible for ensuring that the proposals of the technical team and their agreements with the forestry companies respect the interests of the community. However, there are limitations on the capacity of the Table to fulfill this role. The Table does not include elders or the *ka nikantic*⁷⁰, members of the community do not attend meetings of the Table, and there are no regular communications between the Table and the community. The Table does not participate in meetings and negotiations with the forest industry, and members comment rarely on the forestry plans prepared by the companies or by the technical team itself⁷¹. Although the Table provides a way of involving the community in the work of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, it does not bring direct participation in planning or decision-making.

4.6.3.5 Financing of the *Projet d'harmonisation*

The *Projet d'harmonisation* is financed by the provincial MRNQ and by the federal DIANC from annual assistance programs, subject to the availability of funds, the support of the forest industry, and the decisions of government officers. Although all parties currently support the activities of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, it is important to note that the

⁶⁸ In my initial contacts with foresters working in the *Haute-Mauricie*, I always emphasized my own training and work experience as a professional forester.

⁶⁹ Second meeting of the *Table d'harmonisation*, November 2000. See also Chapter 6

⁷⁰ The *ka nikantic* is traditionally responsible for management of a family territory (Chapter 5)

⁷¹ Minutes of *Table d'harmonisation* meetings, personal observations, informants B05, S03, S23.

Atikamekw rely on external and discretionary financing of their participation in forest industry planning. By contrast, the *Haute-Mauricie* forests provide income for the industry and the governments, enabling them to manage these forests. Atikamekw participation in forestlands management is hindered by the lack of financial resources, and by their limited share in the economic benefits of forest harvesting.

4.6.4 *Projet d'harmonisation* – negotiating with the industry

The *Projet d'harmonisation* illustrates the achievements and the difficulties of Atikamekw negotiations with the forest industry. The approach of protecting specific Atikamekw uses of *Nitaskinan* through modifications to forestry plans has achieved results, and is appreciated by the forestry companies. However, the complexity of the forestry regime obliges the Atikamekw to engage non-Atikamekw specialists. Their approach is dependant on the effectiveness of the technical team in representing the community, the degree to which the community contributes to negotiations, and the resources necessary to support the team. Negotiating with the forest industry does enable the forestry companies to address a number of Atikamekw concerns, but it is still a limited form of participation in forestry.

4.7 Synthesis

The four organisations presented in this sub-study represent different approaches to the coexistence of Atikamekw and industrial paradigms. The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the SFAA have sought to engage the Atikamekw in the forest industry, reaping benefits of employment, economic development and greater control over forestlands management. In contrast, the AMAA and the *Projet d'harmonisation* have worked to convince the industry of the need to change their practices to protect Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*. While all four organisations are managed by the Atikamekw, they are also partnerships with the industry, responding to the interests of each party. For both the industry and the Atikamekw, all four organisations have achieved results, and have faced problems.

The sub-study shows that the forestry companies now accept a role for the Atikamekw in forest management in the *Haute-Mauricie*. They have financed joint initiatives, modified operational and planning practices, sought to incorporate Atikamekw information into plans, and shared the economic benefits of forest management. But company actions are also constrained by the forestry regime, by regulations and by economic pressures.

Through the approaches described in this chapter, the Atikamekw are seeking to share in the economic benefits of forestry operations on *Nitaskinan*, as well as trying to ensure that these operations respect their occupation. The Atikamekw have made many adjustments; working within Québec's forestry regime, complying with the expectations of various institutions, and becoming loggers and sawmill owners. They have had to adapt their interests and their approach to management to the complexity and the requirements of Québec's forestry regime, and have, in return, been able to share in the forest industry and in forest management. The Atikamekw do not seek to oppose the forest industry, but to work with it and to maintain their occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

The experiences described in this sub-study demonstrate the interest that both the Atikamekw and the forest industry have in working together, in coexistence. Chart 4 summarizes the different approaches of each to managing forestlands, and the diversity of elements that need to be considered in planning for coexistence. Most of all, this sub-study suggests that it is unlikely that a single approach to forestlands management could meet the diverse expectations arising from different paradigms.

Chart 4

Forestry paradigms and Atikamekw participation in the industry

The analysis presented in this chapter contributes a number of characteristics to an understanding of the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and of the forest industries. This chart presents and compares characteristics of the two paradigms, as revealed through the analysis of four different organisations that have attempted to reconcile industrial and Atikamekw interests. This presentation is complementary to the characteristics of the paradigms as described in other chapters.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Objectives for Atikamekw participation in forestry.
- The meaning of economic development.
- Relationship with forestlands.
- The place for Atikamekw knowledge.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Developing relationships between the Atikamekw and the industry.
- Compliance with the forestry regime.
- Consultations and Atikamekw participation in forestland management.
- Capacity and resources for forestlands management.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Objectives for Atikamekw participation in forestry and in forestland management</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good relations – to maintain security of wood supply. • Economic – sharing financial returns from the industry with the Atikamekw, access to additional timber volumes. • Timber management that recognises other values. • Development of new forestry practices. • Profit objective is minor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic – employment, training and financial returns. • Good relations – opportunity to participate in planning, access to financial support. • Control of operations on Nitaskinan. • Integrated resource management. • Development of new forestry practices. • Recognition of Atikamekw knowledge, identity and <i>Nitaskinan</i>.
Both parties need to balance multiple objectives	

<i>The meaning of economic development</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atikamekw participation is a “social project” to address problems of employment, income and self-esteem. • “Development” implies creation of employment, wealth and new opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking economic benefits. • Apparent acceptance of euro-Canadian model of “development” – based on employment and income. • Some adjustments to maintain Atikamekw occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

<i>Relationship with forestlands</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atikamekw are now loggers of <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

<i>The place for Atikamekw knowledge</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atikamekw knowledge is one of many information sources. • Preference for Atikamekw information to be related to specific sites. • Sites to be protected by way of MRNQ regulations, and by prescriptions proposed by Atikamekw. • Information should be available for use in management planning. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive knowledge of <i>Nitaskinan</i> - fauna habits and habitats, important sites, history, travel routes, management systems • Contemporary technology used to manage Atikamekw knowledge. • Information should remain under Atikamekw control. • Sharing of knowledge should lead to participation in forestlands management.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Capacity and resources for forestlands management</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly developed capacity in forestland management. • Atikamekw are not employed in planning and management. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much knowledge of <i>Nitaskinan</i> but limited capacity in modern management. • Reliant on non-Atikamekw specialists and external financing.

<i>Developing relationships between the Atikamekw and the industry</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing awareness of Atikamekw interests and concerns. • Acceptance of need to change industry practices. • Expectation that Atikamekw comply with the forestry regime, with some concessions. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of working with the industry as a way of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ sharing in benefits ○ changing industry practices. • Seeking greater power to influence the forest industry.

Compliance with the forestry regime	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Industrial forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry regime applies equally to all participants in the industry: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Government regulations; ○ Industry practices; ○ Economic and international factors; ○ Legal and financial arrangements. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atikamekw are obliged to comply with the regime established by the government and the industry. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Government regulations; ○ Industry practices (with changes); ○ Economic and international factors; ○ Legal and financial arrangements. • Hope to change industry practices to encourage Atikamekw occupation and to protect <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

Consultations and Atikamekw participation in forestland management	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Industrial forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing acceptance of need to consult with Atikamekw. • Benefits from the role of the Projet d'harmonisation as an intermediary • Consultations enable industry planners to take account of Atikamekw interests and concerns. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variety of consultations for forestlands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ AMAA worked with elders and trappers. ○ SFAA and <i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> aim to protect interests. ○ Rare for <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>; • Projet d'harmonisation negotiates with industry. • Limited participation in decision-making

Chapter 5

Contemporary Atikamekw occupation and use of *Nitaskinan*

5.1 Introduction

The exploratory part of this research (Chapter 2) identified the Atikamekw relationship with *Nitaskinan* as being an important element of their perception of forestlands. This sub-study is aimed at determining the characteristics of this relationship; at understanding how the Atikamekw use forestlands, and the significance of *Nitaskinan* for them and their culture. I also wanted to determine the extent to which contemporary Atikamekw use and occupy their traditional lands, and the effects that the forest industry has had on this occupation. Finally, the area chosen for this sub-study is the supply zone for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Hence the sub-study documents Atikamekw practices that would be affected by their own sawmill.

Thirty-one members of the Wemotaci community provided the basic information for this sub-study, describing the range of activities that they practiced within a specific area, giving details concerning these activities and commenting on divers issues concerning their occupation of *Nitaskinan*, their practices, and the impacts of the forest industry. A small group of Atikamekw key informants then helped me to understand the significance of this information in relation to the Atikamekw lifestyle. A detailed report of this sub-study was prepared for the community (Wyatt and Chilton 2003).

In this chapter:

Section 5.2 provides details on the method used to examine the contemporary occupation and utilisation of a specific area.

Section 5.3 presents the results of nineteen interviews and briefly describes Atikamekw practices related to the occupation of the forestlands and comments relating to forest management practices and the Scierie Tackipotcikan.

Section 5.4 identifies a series of characteristics of Atikamekw occupation resulting from the analysis of interviews and explanations by key informants.

Section 5.5 and Chart 5 conclude the chapter and summarize the contributions of this analysis to understanding different forestry paradigms.

5.2 Sub-study method

Nitaskinan has already been the site of several studies to document traditional Atikamekw occupation and use of this area. Anthropological research in the 1980s included dozens of interviews to document traditional practices and ways in which the Atikamekw of Wemotaci occupied forestlands (Dandenault 1983). Other work in 1989/90 mapped the fauna habitats and other information provided by elders, hunters and trappers (AMAA 1992a). In this sub-study, I do not attempt to repeat this work.

As described in Chapter 1, studies of traditional knowledge and of traditional land use and occupation have been seen as a way of documenting traditional knowledge, of integrating this information into forestry planning, and of promoting participation of First Nations in forestry (Robinson and Ross 1997). The mapping effort undertaken by AMAA in the early 1990s adopted a similar approach. As described in Chapter 4, AMAA's work did not lead to significant Atikamekw involvement in forestry planning, a result which is consistent with other Canadian experiences (MacKinnon et al. 2001; Natcher 2001; Robinson and Ross 1997).

In this sub-study, I chose to adopt an alternative approach based on the suggestions and ideas of Folke and Berkes (1998), Natcher (2001) and Stevenson (2001), focusing on the culture and values of the Atikamekw and on their social systems related to the management of forestlands. I also chose to examine contemporary practices, relating Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* to the effects of existing forestry operations, to the establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, and to the different views about the management of the *Haute-Mauricie*. Accordingly, this sub-study is based on interviews with the Atikamekw about their current use of a part of *Nitaskinan* and about their perceptions of the impact of forestry on their occupation of this area¹.

During these interviews, we collected both qualitative information about how the Atikamekw described their occupation of *Nitaskinan*, as well as quantitative information providing details on the current extent of practices and utilisation of the study zone.

¹ In particular, this study did not involve living in camps with the Atikamekw, or following them on hunting and trapping activities, as is often the case in anthropological research (Charest 2003).

However, during interviews we realised that seeking two types of information was not always effective; that the use of maps to record camp sites, place names and trapping circuits tended to preclude qualitative information about reasons for practices or views concerning the occupation and management of forestlands. In response, we chose to concentrate on qualitative information in interviews, identifying practices undertaken and recording other quantitative data as provided by informants. Accordingly, quantitative data is less extensive than would have been the case if we had undertaken a combined quantitative-qualitative study (of the type described by Charest 2003). Table 2 provides a summary of quantitative information about practices in the study zone, while the rest of this chapter provides qualitative results, in accordance with the other sub-studies. More detailed information, including quantitative results, is provided in a separate report (Wyatt and Chilton 2003).

This sub-study was possible only with the participation of an Atikamekw co-researcher, Mr Yvon Chilton of Wemotaci.

5.2.1 Selection of the study zone

The zone used for this sub-study is defined by four trapping lots according to the Abitibi-East Beaver Reserve. This zone covers approximately 1 500 km², as illustrated in Map 6 and falls within the territories of the Awashish, Chilton and Saganash families (Map 3, page 90). This area was chosen primarily because it is proposed as the principal supply zone for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. A detailed knowledge of current Atikamekw use of the area should assist planning of future forestry operations. The area is also close to the village of Wemotaci and is used more frequently than areas further away, leading to a higher number of potential informants and a wider variety of activities and comments².

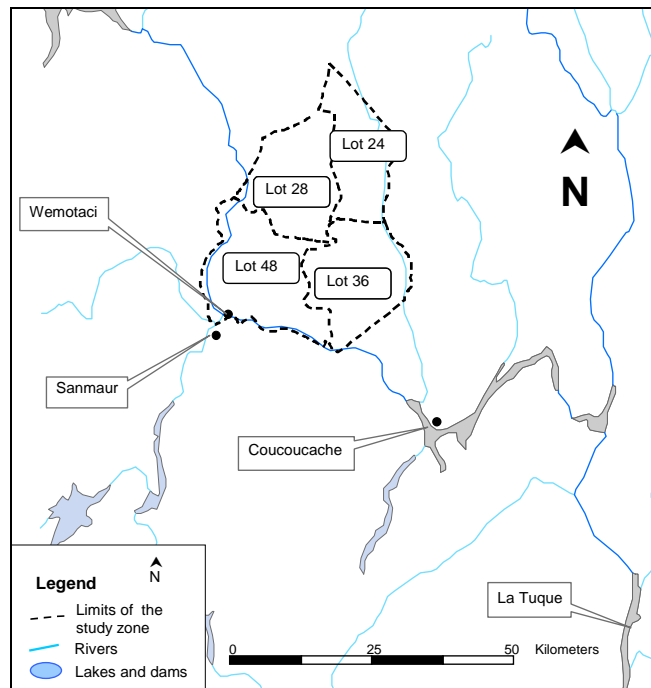
5.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Data collection and analysis for this sub-study was carried out in two separate phases. Firstly, members of the Wemotaci community were interviewed concerning their

² This selection also contributes a bias as the zone is used more intensively than other areas. The study zone should not be considered as typical. However, practices within the zone are likely to include the full range of activities practiced across *Nitaskinan*.

occupation and use of the study zone. Secondly, the results of these interviews were discussed with a reference group of Atikamekw with extensive experience in occupation and management of *Nitaskinan*.

Map 6
Study zone for contemporary Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*



Map data : Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, Gouvernement du Québec, Government of Canada

5.2.2.1 Interviews about occupation of the study zone

Thirty-one individuals participated in nineteen interviews in the first phase of this sub-study³. All participants (except for one interview) regularly use the study zone, and most are members of one of the three families whose traditional territories include this zone. Participants were chosen using a “snow-ball sampling” technique (see Chapter 2), commencing with elders of the three families and proceeding to identify other persons who also use the study zone. In order to ensure a diversity of viewpoints, we also identified all people who have camps in the study zone, and other users of the zone known by the

Atikamekw co-researcher. We also used previous work by Ottawa (2001), an Atikamekw from Manawan, who has detailed Atikamekw terms for over two hundred traditional practices associated with living on *Nitaskinan*.

We conducted semi-directed interviews during the summer of 2001, meeting with people in camps, homes or offices according to their preference. Information was recorded on data sheets based on the interview guide, but interviews were not tape-recorded. Seven interviews were held principally in the Atikamekw language, but all interviews included the use of Atikamekw terms, usually to describe practices and terms that could not be clearly expressed in French⁴. Interviews followed an interview guide (Annexe B) that contained the following principal themes:

- Activities practiced by participants in the study zone – what, when, where, with whom, how often and for what reasons;
- Activities practiced in other areas, and the reasons for this;
- Impacts of forestry operations on the use of the area by the participant;
- Other comments and information relating to their use and occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

I analysed these interviews through a series of coding processes (see Chapter Chapter 2):

1. Identification of different practices, and information describing these;
2. Identification of comments relating to forestry operations, notably changes that have been observed and suggested ways to improve forestry practices;
3. Identification of recurrent themes in concerns and comments relating to practices and to the occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

5.2.2.2 Discussion and explanation with the reference group

Members of the reference group provided a key role in analysing and understanding the results of the interviews. Firstly, the Atikamekw co-researcher helped to identify the

³ Thirty-one people represent 4 % of the adult population of Wemotaci.

⁴ The co-researcher conducted the Atikamekw language interviews, translating and taking notes in French for my benefit. The interview guide was prepared in French, but questions were posed in French and Atikamekw as appropriate.

different activities, explaining the significance of Atikamekw terms used by participants and establishing links between different activities (see section 5.3.4). I then prepared a written report based on the interviews, incorporating the explanations and information provided by the co-researcher. The members of the reference group, together with the co-researcher, subsequently examined this document over a period of six months, providing further information and posing questions about my interpretations of the interviews. These discussions with the group lead to the following changes in ways that I was interpreting and presenting information:

- Explanation and adoption of Atikamekw terms for practices as English and French language words often have meanings that reflect a Euro-Canadian view of forestlands (see Annexe A);
- Description of the knowledge and customs that underlie specific activities;
- Explanation of Atikamekw terms related to the territory and its management (sections 5.3 and 5.4);
- Development of three principal themes for presenting practices of occupation (section 5.3);
- Development of a conceptual framework for uniting the characteristics of Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* (Figure 4).

5.2.3 Validation

Data collection and analysis were validated in several ways.

Firstly, the selection of participants by “snow-ball” sampling was complemented by the identification of other participants to ensure representativeness. Information on practices on the study zone therefore comes from different people and various families within the community. We returned copies of the record of interview to each participant.

Secondly, coding and interpretations were verified firstly by the co-researcher and then by the reference group. They clarified information and interpretations and proposed several key concepts that enabled linking of different categories; notably the three themes used in section 5.3 and the figures. Explanations and links proposed by the reference group were verified back against the records of interviews to determine if the statements and context supported these interpretations.

Thirdly, results and conclusions relating to Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* are also compared against other research, notably that undertaken in the 1980s (Dandenault 1983) and the work of Poirier (1992; 2001), as indicated through citations.

Finally, the elements of Atikamekw and forest industry paradigms that are identified in this chapter are to be considered in relation to the other sub-studies presented in this thesis.

5.3 *Notcimi pimatisiwin*; Atikamekw knowledge and practices

Participants identified a wide range of activities that they undertake in the study area. They also provided great detail about the ways in which they practice these activities: the seasons, the conditions, the people with whom they go, their reasons for these activities, and, importantly, the links between various activities. Table 2 provides a summary of this information, showing the range of responses provided by participants during interviews⁵. The range of practices, the frequency with which they are undertaken, and the reasons for them, show that the continued occupation of *Nitaskinan* is still a part of everyday life for many Atikamekw. Forestry exploitation has had an effect on Atikamekw practices (see sections 5.3.7 and 5.4.8), but members of the Wemotaci community continue to undertake activities, use their knowledge and maintain a lifestyle and a relationship with *Nitaskinan*.

This section presents the ways in which participants in this sub-study maintain an occupation of the study zone. The diversity of practices described by participants is grouped according to three themes. These themes, based on Atikamekw terms, were developed through close discussion with the members of the reference group, particularly Yvon Chilton (co-researcher) and Marthe Coocoo (Wemotaci linguist).

Atikamekw language terms will be used extensively in this chapter to indicate Atikamekw practices; a glossary is provided in Annexe A. In particular, the term *notcimik* indicates the part of *Nitaskinan* frequented or occupied by an Atikamekw (see section 5.4). *Notcimi pimatisiwin* is a general Atikamekw term for practices related to the occupation and utilisation of *notcimik*.

⁵ More complete details on contemporary practices as described by participants is provided in a separate report prepared for the Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci (Wyatt and Chilton 2003)

Table 2
Atikamekw practices in the study zone

Practice	Number of interviews where this was identified (18)	Seasons for this practice⁶	Frequency or number of times per year (Range of responses)	Reasons for undertaking this practices (Range of responses)
<i>Kapeciwin</i> Camping Life in a camp	16	Year-round	Twice a year. Most weekends. Permanent.	Peace & relaxation. Drawing strength. Fishing etc. Keeping the culture and traditions. <i>Nametawin.</i>
Small game hunting Partridge, rabbits + others (Many Atikamekw terms)	16	Year-round	Cultural weeks (twice per year). 10 times per year. Every day.	Food at home. Sharing with the family. Supporting the family. Pleasure of being in nature. Keeping the lifestyle. <i>Nametawin.</i> Teaching.
<i>Wepahapewin</i> Fishing Pike, Trout + others	15	Year-round, mainly <i>Miroskamin</i> <i>Nipîn</i> <i>Takwakin</i>	5 times per year. Most weekends.	Interest and pleasure. Sharing with the family. Supporting the family. Taste and freshness.
<i>Mos atoskaniwon</i> Moose hunting	13	Year-round, mainly <i>Takwakin</i>	1 – 10 times per year.	Food at home. Culture. Drawing strength. Pleasure and interest. Maintaining traditions of support, sharing and respect.
<i>Mowisowin</i> Berry picking (mainly blueberries)	12	<i>Nipîn</i> + <i>Miroskamin</i> , <i>Takwakin</i>	Several weekends per year. 30 days per year.	Food at home. Income. For elders who cannot go themselves.

⁶ The Atikamekw recognize six seasons: *Miroskamin*, spring; *Nipin*, summer; *Takwakin*, autumn; *Pitcipipon*, pre-winter; *Pipon*, winter; *Sikon*, pre-spring. See Annexe A.

<i>Onihikewin</i> Trapping Marten, beaver + others	11	<i>Takwakin</i> <i>Pitcipipon</i> <i>Pipon</i> <i>Sikon</i> (rare)	1-2 weeks per year. Every 3 days during 4 months.	Food. Teaching and learning. Income. Maintaining traditions. Pleasure and interest.
<i>Nanto</i> <i>mackikiwaniwon</i> Collecting medicinal plants	10	Year-round	When needed. 5 times per year.	Healing. Teaching. Maintaining traditional knowledge.
<i>Tipahiskan</i> Management Nametawin Inventories Teaching History	9	Year-round		Practiced through occupation of forestlands. Maintaining culture and traditions. Teaching the way of life and how to live on <i>notcimik</i> .
<i>Pamatisinaniwon</i> <i>notcimik</i> Travelling through <i>notcimik</i>	8	Year-round	Several weekends per year. Every weekend and many evenings.	Knowing what is happening on <i>notcimik</i> . <i>Nametawin</i> . Hunting and fishing.
<i>Ocitasowin</i> Handicrafts	4			Making shoes, clothing, artwork, etc. Keeping the lifestyle.
<i>E ici mikatek notcimiw</i> <i>mitcim</i> Food preparation	3	<i>Nipin</i>		Preparing food for home (particularly preserving).
<i>Makocan</i> Communal meals	2	Year-round		Being with the family Teaching the way of life School activities
<i>Nato maskwaniwon</i> Bear hunting	2	<i>Takwakin</i> <i>Sikon</i>	Once per year. Occasionally.	Food. Maintaining the culture. Drawing strength. Personal protection.
<i>Nehirowisi</i> <i>mantokasonahiwon</i> Social, ceremonial activities	2	<i>Miroskamin</i> <i>Nipin</i> <i>Takwakin</i>	Ten times per year.	Maintaining the culture. Drawing strength. Maintaining friendships.

5.3.1 *Kapeciwin* Living in camp and on *notcimik*

The Atikamekw term *kapeciwin* indicates living in a camp or on forestlands (*notcimik*)⁷. Participants in 16 interviews (out of 19) practice *kapeciwin* in the study zone, varying from overnight stays to permanent habitation⁸. Some participants have permanent camps, others establish temporary camps, which they move from season to season or from one year to another, and some have both.

The importance of *kapeciwin* is related to maintaining a lifestyle and an occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Participants stated that living in camp gives them the opportunity to practice other activities such as hunting, fishing, telling stories and teaching their children. It enables them to rest and to recover their strength, particularly after stress of living in the village. Finally, participants specifically stated that *kapeciwin* was a way of maintaining their traditions and the Atikamekw way of life (section 5.4.2).

5.3.2 *Tipahiskan* Managing forestlands

Tipahiskan is the Atikamekw word used to signify management of forestlands⁹. Participants in the sub-study did not identify *tipahiskan* as an activity. Instead, this term is used as a way of grouping activities related to collecting and maintaining knowledge about *Nitaskinan*.

Principal within this group is *nametawin*, which was identified in eight interviews. *Nametawin* signifies moving about on a territory and leaving marks to indicate that the territory is occupied. Traditionally, the Atikamekw left marks on trees to indicate a trapping circuit. Now, *nametawin* includes other manifestations, such as leaving a canoe rack at a lake. Related to this is the Atikamekw term *pamatisinaniwon notcimik*, which was also identified in eight interviews. This means travelling through the forest, observing what is happening and being able to catch or take something that you need (such as shooting an

⁷ *Kapeciwin* should not be considered as a recreational activity, as in the term “camping”.

⁸ The other three participants all practice *kapeciwin*, but in other areas.

⁹ According to M. Coocoo, the term *Tipahiskan* was originally used to mean assessment of an area. It is now used by the CAW and the CNA to mean forestland management, or “*gestion*” in French.

animal or collecting birch bark for craftwork). Together, these two terms indicate that the Atikamekw maintain a knowledge of *Nitaskinan* by being able to travel around and by leaving indications of their presence and occupation of the area. These two practices were identified in twelve of the interviews, demonstrating that participants in the sub-study continue to occupy and maintain their knowledge of forestlands.

The second group of practices comprising *tipahiskan* relates to teaching and learning about *notcimik*, identified in twelve interviews. Participants described the importance of learning the skills and knowledge needed to live in *notcimik*, both for themselves, for youth and for children. They also related teaching and learning to the practice of activities, and specifically to *kapeciwin*, which provides the opportunity to undertake these activities. *Tipahiskan* represents an Atikamekw approach to management of forestlands, which is examined in detail in section 5.4.7.

5.3.3 *Atoskewin* and *natohowin*

Practices for the use of resources

Atoskewin relates to practices for using the resources of *Nitaskinan* and *natohowin* signifies activities to obtain food and for other products. Together, *atoskewin* and *natohowin* encompass practices for the use of the resources of forestlands to meet the needs of the Atikamekw. These resources include animals, fish, plants and water. The Atikamekw terms for these activities also imply the knowledge and skills necessary to undertake the activity. All participants in the sub-study identified various practices within this group, indicating ways that they use *notcimik* to meet their needs for food, clothing, medicines, and income. Frequently, they related the practice of *atoskewin* or *natohowin* to maintaining the Atikamekw lifestyle, to teaching others about *notcimik* and to *kapeciwin* and *tipahiskan*. The practices most commonly identified in interviews were the following:

Small game hunting¹⁰ was identified in sixteen interviews, with the principal animals being wild rabbits, partridge, ducks and geese. Small game hunting was often described as a family activity, around the camp, along the forestry roads and

¹⁰ There is no general term for small game hunting; the Atikamekw use specific terms for each type of animal (Wyatt and Chilton 2003).

near the village. It was particularly related to *kapeciwini*, to teaching children about *notcimik* and to maintaining the lifestyle.

Wepahapewin **Fishing** was the second most frequently identified activity (fifteen interviews), practiced with family and friends. *Wepahapewin* is not limited to family territories, and several participants referred to a “fishing circuit” – a number of lakes and rivers close to Wemotaci that are used by everybody.

Mos atoskaniwon **Moose hunting** is an activity of great importance for the Atikamekw and was identified in thirteen interviews. Hunting groups will usually contain several people, and others will be called upon to help carry the meat and skins after the moose has been killed. The meat and other products are shared around the family and the community, and contribute to maintaining social links. However, the number of moose killed is low¹¹; several participants saying that they went moose hunting only once per year. Furthermore, three male participants explained that they had never fired a rifle at a moose, even though they used *notcimik* in other ways.

Onihikewin **Fur trapping** was identified in twelve interviews, by men only. Most participants specified that they still follow traditional trapping practices; trapping for a week followed by a week at home, or completing the circuit of their traps every three days. However, they also benefit from roads that improve access to their trapping circuits, enabling them to return each night to their principal camp or to the village. Trapping offers supplementary income to some participants, but is insufficient to provide a “full-time” salary¹².

Mowisowin **Blueberry picking** is a summer-time activity for the whole family and was identified in twelve interviews. Blueberries are picked for use at home (including a traditional blueberry preserve), for sale as supplemental income, and also for sharing with the elderly who cannot go and pick their own.

¹¹ The *Projet d'harmonisation* estimates that members of the Wemotaci community kill approximately fifty moose each year in the *Haute-Mauricie*. FAPAQ estimates that 600 to 1200 moose are killed by non-Atikamekw hunters each year, depending on regulations for the year.

¹² Informant A13 specified that he could earn about 1000\$ from trapping during the season.

Nanto mackikiwaniwon **Collection of medicinal plants** was described in ten interviews, although only one participant described herself as a “healer”. All these participants use traditional medicines as a complement to the government provided medical services (rather than relying solely on traditional treatment).

These practices show the diversity of ways in which the Atikamekw use *notcimik* to provide their needs and to maintain a lifestyle¹³. The Atikamekw use of *notcimik* is not restricted solely to hunting and trapping, or just to men, or to activities for personal consumption. Instead, men, women and children undertake a range of practices throughout the year. Most participants specified that they undertake these activities to maintain Atikamekw traditions and to pass on their knowledge to others.

5.3.4 Links between practices

The three groups of practices identified above are, in fact, closely linked each to the other. The method used in this sub-study focused on identifying activities undertaken by the Atikamekw in the study zone. However, it became clear during the study that the participants do not separate one activity from another. When they go to *notcimik*, it is for a variety of reasons and they undertake a number of activities¹⁴. It appears that participants often assumed that these links are self-evident and that they did not therefore need to describe all their activities. For example, informant A08 is an experienced hunter and trapper, who did not speak of *nametawin* or *tipahiskan*. However, it is highly unlikely that he could successfully hunt and trap if he did not investigate the area first to learn where the animals are.

By examining the way in which activities were described in interviews, and with the assistance of the reference group, I identified different ways in which practices are related to each other. The existence of links between practices means that the occupation of *Nitaskinan* by the Atikamekw cannot be reduced to only one or two activities. Instead, each activity is linked to others, and each practice relies on having necessary knowledge

¹³ More details on these and other practices are provided in (Wyatt and Chilton 2003)

and understanding customs and rules. If Atikamekw are not able to practice a particular activity (such as *kapeciwini* on *notcimik*), then a series of other activities will also be affected.

Activities that are practiced simultaneously.

Frequently, the practice of one activity on *notcimik* provides the opportunity to undertake others. *Atoskewin* requires detailed knowledge of the area, of the animals and of their habits and habitats. This knowledge is gained and maintained while practicing *nametawin* or *tipahiskan*. Similarly, *kapeciwini* provides the opportunity to teach children, to tell stories about Atikamekw history, to hunt small game, to go trapping and to practice *nametawin*.

Activities that are part of annual cycles.

Many of the activities described by participants are arranged in an annual cycle, in accordance with the six seasons recognized by the Atikamekw (see Annexe A). This is most pronounced in *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. Figure 2 shows the Atikamekw seasons in which participants practice different activities within the group *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. This cycle shows that there are always several food sources during each season. The absence of hunting during particular periods for different species (such as *miroskamin* and *nipin* for the beaver) suggests the existence of Atikamekw rules and customs concerning hunting practices¹⁵.

Activities that logically follow (or precede) others.

The practice of an activity is often dependant upon a preceding activity, or will obviously lead to another activities. As noted above, the informant A08 must know the area before going hunting or trapping, but he did not speak of *nametawin* or *tipahiskan*. By way of example, illustrates a series of activities related to hunting moose¹⁶. A moose hunt does

¹⁴ By contrast, I leave my house to go to the supermarket to buy groceries, to the park to play with my children and to the cinema to see a film.

¹⁵ Members of the reference group describe an oral "code of practice", incorporating knowledge, ethics and values. Similarly, Poirier (2001) stresses the importance of systems of knowledge, including values, rather than just activities for meeting basic needs.

¹⁶ Participants in the study described all the elements in this figure, but no single participant listed every activity.

not involve solely the action of searching for and killing the animal, but also sharing the meat, using the skin, retelling stories about the hunt and *notcimik*, and planning future hunts. The hunt may have been planned in *nipin*, the animal shot in *takwakin*, and the skin prepared during *pipon* and *sikon*. This series of activities suggests that a shortage of moose in the forest will affect a large number of other practices, including the maintenance of social links and the teaching of children.

Figure 2
Annual cycle for *atoskewin* and *natohowin*

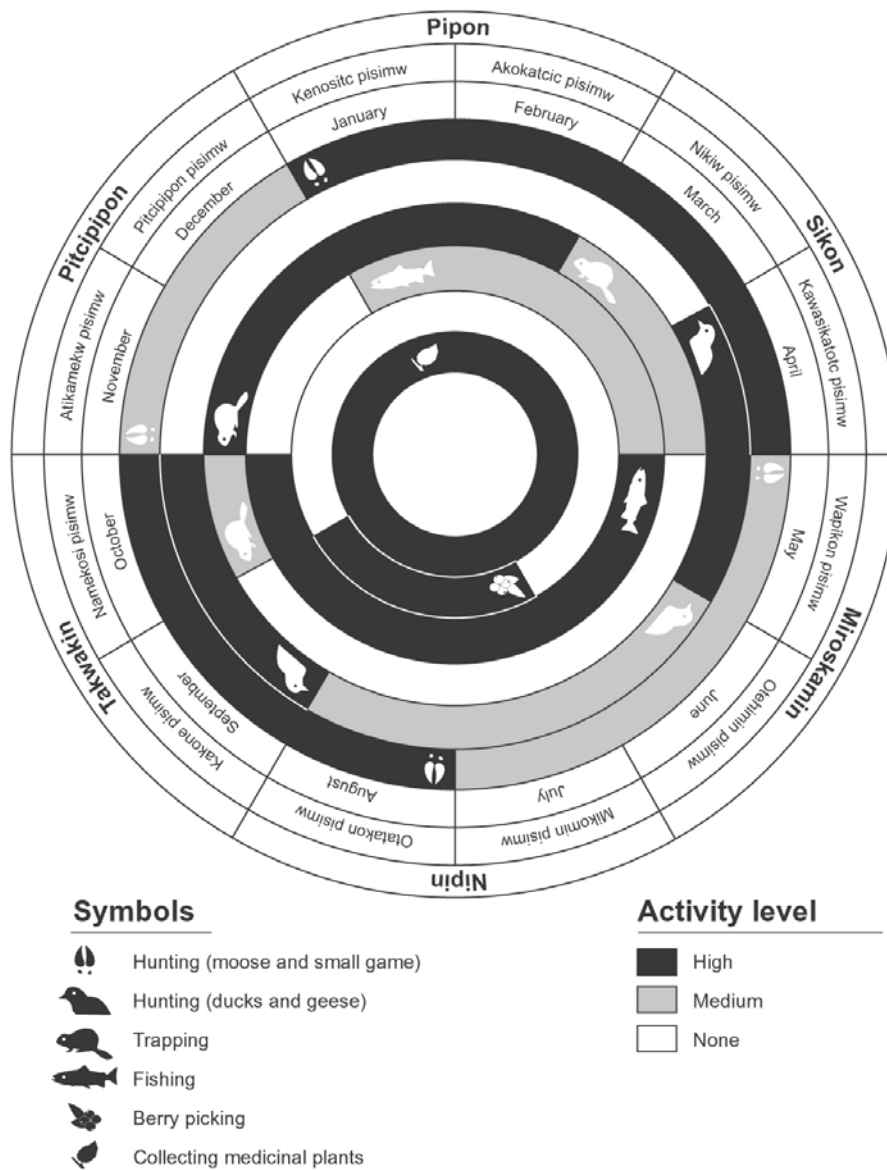
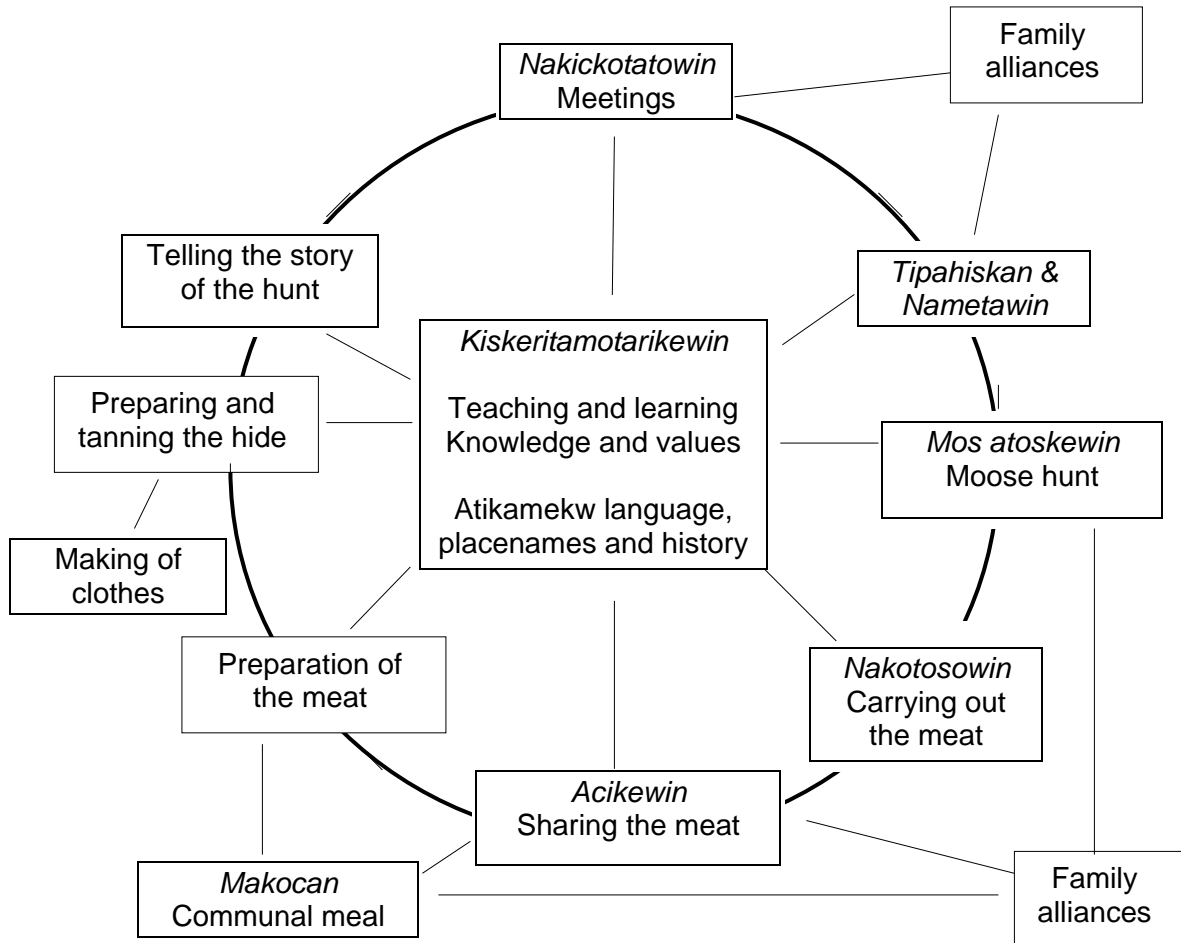


Figure 3
Activities related to moose hunting



- Nakickotatowin* Meetings to arrange where various people will hunt.
- Tipahiskan* Management to know where the moose are.
- Mos atoskewin* Searching for, waiting and shooting the moose.
- Nakotosowin* Several people are needed to help carry the moose.
- Family alliances Are strengthened through the hunt and by sharing the animal.
- Acikewin* Sharing the meat and other parts of the animal with other people.
- Makocan* An occasion for families and members of the community to meet.
- Tanning the hide Used for making clothes, craftwork or other items.
- Telling the story Tell other people about where and how the moose was hunted.
- Atikamekw language and placenames. Stories reinforce the use of the Atikamekw language, especially in maintaining specialized terms and the meanings of placenames.
- Kiskeritamotarikewin* All these activities can contribute to learning and to maintaining the Atikamekw way of life.

5.3.5 Reasons for undertaking practices

Participants in the sub-study gave many reasons why they undertook particular activities and practices on *notcimik*. As so many activities are linked to each other, it is unsurprising that the reasons given are also closely related. Based on the statements and the information provided in interviews, this diversity of reasons is grouped according to three principal themes.

Participants want to occupy *Nitaskinan* and maintain the Atikamekw lifestyle

All the participants in the sub-study expressed their interest or desire to maintain a presence on *Nitaskinan* that would enable them to continue to practice the Atikamekw way of life. Some said that they liked hunting, fishing or other activities, or that they simply wished to be in the forest. Others were more precise, stating that they wished to maintain their culture, their traditions or their lifestyle. Many participants added that they had learnt these practices from their parents or grandparents, and that they wanted to pass them on so as to ensure that these traditions were not lost. Finally, several participants said that being in the forest enabled them to rest and to refresh themselves.

Participants manage their family territories while practicing other activities

As previously described, *tipahiskan* is practiced in conjunction with other activities. Participants want to be on their family territories to know what is happening, to see where the animals may be, and to learn which areas are being logged. *Kapeciwin*, *nametawin*, *atoskewin* and *natohowin* all provide opportunities to do this. *Tipahiskan* is examined in greater detail in section 5.4.7.

Participants meet their own needs from *notcimik*

All participants in the sub-study meet a part of their family's food needs from the study zone, although nobody lives solely in this manner. For some participants, this food source is essential; they explain that it is too expensive to buy all their food. Others state that they prefer the taste and freshness of meat that they have caught themselves. Sharing of food with other members of the family or of the community was also mentioned in ten interviews, particularly the importance of giving a portion of meat to elders and to the *ka*

nikantic, the person responsible for the area where an animal was hunted. *Notcimik* also provides a source of supplementary income for some participants, through fur trapping and blueberry-picking (but not by the sale of foodstuffs within the community).

5.3.6 Practices of women and of youth

Practices undertaken by women and youth warrant particular description in order to avoid a perception that occupation of *Nitaskinan* is principally a matter for men.

Eight women participated in the sub-study (compared to 23 men), three of the interviews being solely or predominantly with women. The practices most commonly identified by the women included *kapeciwini*, rabbit hunting or trapping, fishing and the collection and preparation of medicines. They also spoke of the importance of teaching children, of telling stories about *notcimik* and about Atikamekw history, and of the importance of this in passing on knowledge and values. The women rarely spoke of cooking or making clothes – activities that are sometimes perceived as being feminine responsibilities. Whilst their activities include *kapeciwini*, they also include *atoskewini*, *natohowini* and *tipahsikan*. It also appears that women have a particularly important role in teaching and in passing on knowledge and values. This information is essential for the practice of all activities and for maintaining the Atikamekw culture (sections 5.4.5 and 5.4.6).

Young people are sometimes perceived as having less interest in following traditional ways or in occupying forestlands. However, seven young people¹⁷, regular users of the study zone, participated in the sub-study. All spoke of a *ka nikanitic*, or another elder, who was teaching them about *notcimik* and how to practice different activities. These youth are interested in maintaining a lifestyle which includes occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Several participants, both young and old, mentioned both a lack of interest by many youth for living on *notcimik*, and the lack of support for them in such practices. Nevertheless, participants also spoke of the importance of maintaining this lifestyle and of teaching children and youth. It appears clear that, although some young Atikamekw may not be interested in living in the forest, there are certainly others who wish to maintain an occupation of *Nitaskinan* and the Atikamekw culture.

¹⁷ Between 19 and 30 years old.

5.3.7 Effects of forestry operations and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

All participants in the sub-study made comments about the effects of forestry operations on their use of the study zone and their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. While some participants are opposed to forestry operations and others are supportive, most took a moderate position. They accept the presence of the forest industry in *Nitaskinan*, but see problems with the techniques used. They wish to see the industry change its methods, rather than to eject it from the *Haute-Mauricie*.

Participants in thirteen interviews described negative changes attributable to forestry operations, such as the destruction of the forest, disturbance of animals, lack of consultation and damage to campsites. However, participants also identified positive changes including improved access and better conditions for blueberries and for some small game. Importantly, participants proposed ways of improving forestry operations through more careful planning, the use of different harvesting techniques and better protection of the environment and of particular sites. These comments indicate that the participation of the Atikamekw in forest industry planning processes could be useful to both parties.

The negative effects described by participants are particularly important for the practice of *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. If logging operations cause animals to move to other undisturbed areas, or reduce numbers of particular animals, then hunting becomes more difficult. Knowledge about *notcmik* becomes incorrect or outdated as people are less likely to spend time in their family territories. Many other practices are affected, including *kapeciwini*, *nametawin* and *tipahiskan*, along with activities that are related to hunting (as illustrated in Figure 3). Some participants noted that trees will grow and that animals will return after logging, but informant A56 noted ironically “yes, *they* (the animals) *will return, but we will die of hunger before then*”¹⁸.

A second important criticism of forestry operations was the lack of consultation by forestry companies concerning their operations, identified in six interviews. Forestry planning rarely involves Atikamekw users of an area or the *ka nikantic* (see Chapter 6).

¹⁸ *Oui, ils vont revenir, mais on va creuser de faim avant ça !* Informant A56, July 2002. Verbatim notes made during the interview.

Unsurprisingly, participants said that companies should not only consult with the Atikamekw, but should take account of their information and concerns. Several participants added that the Atikamekw should be directly involved in the evaluation of areas before logging.

Concerns about forestry practices are particularly important considering the establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, with participants in ten interviews making comments. Again, most participants have a qualified opinion, noting some concerns but recognising that the sawmill will provide employment. Several are concerned that there will not be sufficient wood to supply the sawmill, and that the employment created will therefore be temporary¹⁹. Others stress the need for careful planning of forestry operations and that the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* should not operate in the same way as other sawmills.

Finally, there appears to be a lack of information in the community concerning plans for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. In particular, two of the *ka nikanitc* participating in this study knew little about the sawmill or about proposed forestry operations, despite the fact that they are traditionally responsible for the areas where the sawmill will operate. As described in sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.7, *tipahiskan* is based on information about *notcimik* and on the role of the *ka nikantic*. Hence it appears that the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* is adopting management approaches common in the industry, rather than following traditional Atikamekw practices.

¹⁹ In principal, MRNQ calculations of forest production ensure that harvest volumes will be sustainable. However, the validity of these calculations is often challenged outside the forest industry.

5.4 *Nitaskinan* and *nehirowisi pimatisiwin*; *Nitaskinan* and the Atikamekw way of life

The preceding section presents Atikamekw practices in the study area as described by participants, with particular attention to the ways that these practices relate to the occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Almost all interviews include reference to the importance of maintaining Atikamekw traditions and lifestyle and to the continued occupation of *Nitaskinan*. The Atikamekw term “*nehirowisi pimatisiwin*” is used to mean the Atikamekw way of life. This is an inclusive term, encompassing the practices, knowledge, values and customs that enable a person to be *nehirowisi*, or autonomous, on *Nitaskinan*. This differs to the term *notcimi pimatisiwin*, which emphasises practices on forestlands.

The information provided by participants concerning their practices on *Nitaskinan*, together with the insight and explanations of the co-researcher and the reference group, lead to the identification of a series of characteristics of the Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* and of the Atikamekw lifestyle. In particular, these characteristics help to understand the relationship between the Atikamekw and the forestlands; a relationship that the exploratory study suggested was important, but which left undefined. The following characteristics will be examined in this section:

1. Organisation of forestlands;
2. *Notcimik* as a place to re-gather strength;
3. Circulation and access;
4. Social structures;
5. Language and knowledge;
6. Traditional and contemporary lifestyles;
7. *Tipahiskan*;
8. The forest industry and Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

5.4.1 Organisation of forestlands

During interviews, participants referred to forestlands in a variety of ways, with terms having different meanings. Table 3 provides explanations of these terms, as explained by Yvon Chilton (co-researcher) and Marthe Coocoo (linguist)²⁰.

Table 3
Atikamekw terms for forestlands

<i>Aski</i>	The earth, including water, plants, animals and humans
<i>Nitaskinan</i>	The traditional lands of the Atikamekw, in the largest sense. Atikamekw use <i>Kitaskino</i> when they are speaking among themselves.
<i>Notcimik</i>	The forest, including animals, plants and water. The term means “the place that I come from”, and also implies the place where one can find what one needs.
<i>Nehirowisi aski</i>	Atikamekw territory; the earth (<i>aski</i>) where one can be autonomous (<i>nehirowisiw</i>)
<i>Natoho aski</i>	A family territory or an area where it is possible to have several trapping circuits
<i>Ka nikanitc</i>	The person responsible for a particular territory and for ensuring that the territory is used in respect of customs.
<i>Atoske meskano</i> <i>Nataho meskano</i>	Hunting and trapping circuits. <i>Meskano</i> is a track or a route

For the Atikamekw, *nehirowisiw* means a person who is able to be autonomous in *notcimik*; a person who has the knowledge and the values necessary to “live from the land”. It also implies that *notcimik* is capable of providing the resources that the person needs and that the person is able to move around the territory.

Responsibility for a particular area lies with *ka nikanitc*. People who wish to use that area are obliged to discuss their plans with *ka nikanitc*, who will advise them or offer

²⁰ Similar explanations of *Nitaskinan*, *Kitaskino*, *notcimik* and *ka nikanitc* are provided by Poirier (2001).

suggestions. *Ka nikanitc* does not approve or disapprove an activity, but his counsel is usually followed through respect for his experience and knowledge²¹.

As described in Chapter 3, the Atikamekw traditionally developed a series of trapping circuits within *natoho aski*, a route which typically took several days to complete. Participants in this sub-study who continue to trap still use such circuits, two adding that a circuit should only be used once every four years in order to avoid over-trapping.

The Atikamekw system of territorial organisation should not be confused with the trapping lots as defined in the Beaver Reserve, which was established by the provincial government in 1951. Although lots were generally based on family territories (as interpreted by government officers at the time), they are not equivalent. Participants in this study usually referred to *natoho aski* and *natoho meskano*, rather than to the numbered trapping lots. Each of the four people nominally responsible for the lots used in this sub-study considers that the mapping of these lots does not correspond to the area for which they consider themselves responsible.

This information shows that the Atikamekw continue to use their own system of territorial organisation and that this system coexists with the forestry licences and tenure systems established by the government.

5.4.2 *Notcimik* as a place to re-gather strength

As noted above, *notcimik* means “the place that I come from”. It is also a place to which the Atikamekw return. All participants in this sub-study have camps that they use regularly, and many also use camps in other areas. These camps, and *kapeciwini* itself, enable the Atikamekw to maintain a relationship with the place that they come from. Five participants specifically described their need or wish to go to *notcimik* to refresh themselves, to re-gather strength, or to remind themselves of *notcimik*. Others spoke of tranquility, rest and the absence of stress associated with *kapeciwini* or being in *notcimik*. According to participant A108; “*Occupation of the territory means a place to go to*

²¹ The role of *Ka nikanitc* is usually passed through the male line, but there are exceptions and women can also fulfill this role.

*reinvigorate yourself. To occupy the territory, it is not necessary to hunt or to fish. Rather it is to be in the forest, to go there to see what is happening.*²²

Notcimik, and *Nitaskinan*, are related to the Atikamekw sense of personal identity. It appears that many of the participants in this study consider *notcimik* as their home, equal to or more important than the village of Wemotaci. Although they spend much of their time in the village, they also believe it is important to return to *notcimik*. Their occupation of *Nitaskinan* contributes to maintaining their identity as Atikamekw. Hence the impact of forestry operations does not just affect the animals or the plants, it also affects the way that the Atikamekw can maintain and recover themselves.

5.4.3 Access to *Nitaskinan*

Access to *Nitaskinan* is essential for maintaining Atikamekw practices and occupation. *Atoskewin*, *natohowin*, *tipahiskan*, *nametawin* and *pamatisinaniwon notcimik* all require being able to travel and move around *notcimik*. Circuits, *natoho meskano*, are clearly dependant on being able to move around, either on foot, in canoe, or by vehicles. The importance of access and of journeying is probably based in Atikamekw experience as nomads.

Access is particularly affected by forestry operations, both positively and negatively. For some participants, logging roads are beneficial, enabling them to spend time in *notcimik* more often and more easily, and to investigate new areas. However, others are concerned that logging often destroys old trails and canoe portages, changing access routes and circuits. Places that were previously known only to members of a family are now accessible to anyone with a vehicle, including non-Atikamekw. This increasing presence of non-Atikamekw, facilitated by the “opening” of the *Haute-Mauricie* with new logging roads, is an important major concern for many participants. For some participants, this presence prevents them from going to their own family territories or to preferred camping sites (also in Poirier, 2001).

²² *L'occupation du territoire signifie un endroit pour aller se ressourcer. Pour occuper le territoire ce n'est pas nécessaire de faire la chasse ou la pêche. C'est plutôt de rester dans le bois, d'aller sur le territoire pour voir ce qui se passe.* Informant A108, June 2002. Verbatim notes made during the interview.

The sub-study demonstrates the importance that the Atikamekw attach to being able to move about *Nitaskinan*, to maintain their practices and their occupation. It also shows that forestry has both a beneficial and a disruptive effect on this access.

5.4.4 Social structures

Information from participants shows the role of practices and occupation of *Nitaskinan* in maintaining social structures and relations between various Atikamekw families. Not surprisingly, most participants in the sub-study came from one of the three families whose *natoho aski* form part of the study area, or they were related to these families by marriage. However, these participants also use other *natoho aski* from time to time; the territories of their friends and family. The participants who are not members of the three families also practice activities on their own *natoho aski*, and allow others to use these territories. Typically non-family members would be invited to use an area, or would ask the *ka nikanitc* in advance, and would share the results of their hunting with the family afterwards.

Inviting, or enabling, other people to use *natoho aski* establishes and reinforces links between families and between friends. It also establishes reciprocal exchanges. If a member of the Petiquay family is invited to use the Awashish *natoho aski*, then a return visit may be arranged for later the same season, or for the following year. The existence of these links and the access to other areas may provide certain security if one's own *natoho aski* is no longer capable of meeting needs, such as after logging or a fire. However, if a number of *natoho aski* are affected in the same way (as through widespread logging of the *Haute-Mauricie*) then both practices by the family and exchanges between families will probably be affected. It is also possible that a family whose *natoho aski* has been severely affected may not be prepared to use another's territory, as they know that they would not be able to reciprocate.

5.4.5 Language and knowledge

The Atikamekw language is in everyday use at Wemotaci²³, seven of our nineteen interviews were held in Atikamekw and all other interviews included Atikamekw terms. In

this chapter, Atikamekw terms for practices are used in preference to French or English words in order to avoid losing meanings or significance of these practices for the Atikamekw. The comparative glossary in Annexe A examines the differences between a number of Atikamekw and English/French terms related to practices and activities on forestlands.

The use of the Atikamekw language in interviews, and throughout the community of Wemotaci, illustrates its importance for the Atikamekw. Numerous practices of *atoskewin*, *natohowin*, *tipahiskan* and *kapeciwini* cannot be accurately described without use of the language. Atikamekw terms for these practices also imply possession of the necessary knowledge and adherence to appropriate conduct. Place-names refer to events or to descriptions that cannot be understood without knowledge of the language. Teaching about practices, about history and about *nehirowisi pimatisiwin* requires the use of the language.

Hence it appears that there is a reciprocal relationship between Atikamekw language and knowledge on one hand and practices and occupation of *Nitaskinan* on the other. Use and occupation of *Nitaskinan* supports the use of the language and the application of Atikamekw knowledge. Teaching and story telling maintain the language, the values and the knowledge which are necessary to live on *notcimik*. According to informant A53, “*Atikamekw is a territorial language.*” The language is based in the Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*. The corollary of this statement is clear: if the Atikamekw are not able to continue to occupy *Nitaskinan*, then there is a risk of losing the language and the knowledge and values expressed through this language.

5.4.6 Traditional and contemporary lifestyles

The importance of maintaining Atikamekw traditions and practices was frequently identified in interviews. However, none of the participants follow a “traditional” lifestyle, living on *notcimik* and supporting themselves solely through *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. All participants practice these activities, but most also have paid jobs obliging them to work particular hours and days. All have camps in the study zone, or elsewhere, but also use

²³ 96 % of the Wemotaci population uses the Atikamekw language at home. 1996 Census, Statistics

houses in the village. Instead of following a “traditional” lifestyle, they organize themselves and their time to balance both traditional and contemporary activities.

The change in lifestyle is well expressed by the informant A08. This elder, who continues to hunt, to trap and to teach others how to do so, has seen an erosion of traditional values, knowledge and practices. However, he does not condemn this change, but observes it as an appropriate adaptation to contemporary life:

The lifestyle changes. Thirty or forty years ago, people lived differently. Then, we could live from hunting and trapping; we could live in the forest. Now, it no longer pays off. People need another way to live. The lifestyle has changed.

Informant A08²⁴

The emphasis placed by participants on maintaining Atikamekw traditions and lifestyle does not indicate a desire to continue to live solely through *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. Instead, it shows that they wish to maintain elements of *nehirowisi pimatisiwin* and a contemporary life; combining their knowledge, values and practices with new developments and techniques that will enable them to continue their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Poirier (2000) has described this as the development of a “contemporaneity”, the way in which the Atikamekw are synthesising their contemporary society based both on their traditional social order and that of the dominant euro-Canadian society.

5.4.7 Tipahiskan

The range of characteristics described in this section are integrated through *tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to management. This approach is still practised, even though it is not recognized in the official systems of forest management in the *Haute-Mauricie*.

Tipahiskan is based on the surveillance and evaluation of *notcimik*, and on maintaining and sharing knowledge. It emphasizes the presence of the Atikamekw on *notcimik*, combining current practices, previous experience, observation, teaching, learning, and

Canada.

²⁴ *Le mode de vie change. Ça fait 30 à 40, les gens vivaient différemment. Avant, on pouvait vivre de la chasse et de la trappe, on pouvait vivre en forêt. Maintenant, ce n'est pas payant. Les gens ont besoin d'une autre façon de vivre. Le mode de vie a changé.* Informant A08, June 2002. Verbatim notes made during the interview.

respect for *notcimik* and for the customs governing its use. Without the capacity to travel freely around *Nitaskinan*, and without information about changes, the Atikamekw are unable to maintain their knowledge of *notcimik*. Their ability to practice *tipahiskan* is thus reduced.

Tipahiskan is a particular responsibility of *ka nikanitc*, who is chosen for his knowledge and experience concerning *notcimik*, and for his ability to guide others in its use. He fulfills this role through advice and suggestions based on his knowledge of *notcimik* and of the actions of other users, rather than through the enforcement of rules and regulations. Observations and information provided by these users enables *ka nikanitc* to update his knowledge of changes and of new developments (Chapter 6 describes the Atikamekw approach to consultation about forestland management). Users of *notcimik* will usually consult with *ka nikanitc* out of respect for him and his knowledge.

Tipahiskan has a different significance to English and French terms for forest management, which imply formal plans and rules. The formal systems that apply in the *Haute-Mauricie* rarely include contact with *ka nikanitc* and offer only limited opportunities for the application of Atikamekw knowledge and values (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 6). These systems also constrain the circulation of the Atikamekw around *Nitaskinan*, a circulation that is essential for maintaining knowledge and for *tipahiskan*. However, the comments of participants in this sub-study and their general willingness to accept forestry as a way of using *Nitaskinan*, suggest that it may be possible to enlarge *tipahiskan* to include forestry or to amend forestry practices to acknowledge *tipahiskan* (see Chapter 8).

5.4.8 The forest industry and Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*

This chapter documents the extent of Atikamekw utilisation of the study zone, and more generally their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. However, this utilisation and occupation is greatly affected by the actions of the forest industry. The industry and the Atikamekw are currently obliged to coexist in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The information provided by participants in the study, and the characteristics of Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*

developed in this section, raise a series of issues concerning the coexistence of Atikamekw and forest industry practices:

Disturbance of *notcimik*

Forestry operations cause changes to the environment and often reduce the ability of the Atikamekw to practice *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. However, many Atikamekw also recognize benefits from these operations, notably employment and improved access.

Access

The construction of forestry roads improves access to *natoho aski* for the Atikamekw, but also for non-Atikamekw. This increasing presence of non-Atikamekw can dissuade Atikamekw from using their traditional territories.

Changing landscapes

Forestry operations often change landscapes so much that Atikamekw (particularly the elders) can no longer recognize sites or routes. This reduces the value of knowledge, affects the meaning of place names, and changes *notcimik* – “the place that I come from”.

Information, consultation and forestry planning

Tipahiskan implies an Atikamekw approach to consulting and planning actions on forestlands; different to that used by the forest industry. Atikamekw want to be informed and consulted about forestry planning, and some wish to actively participate in this planning. Characteristics of *tipahiskan* may help contribute new techniques for consultations between the Atikamekw and the industry.

Forest harvesting techniques

The Atikamekw are very concerned about clear-cutting and extensive logging of the forests. However, forestry companies are modifying their techniques to mitigate impacts, with assistance from the Atikamekw through the *Projet d'harmonisation*.

Expectations concerning the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* would oblige the Atikamekw to be responsible themselves for forestry operations, and to be competitive with other forestry companies. They will need to find ways to reconcile this role with the maintenance of *tipahiskan*, *atoskewin*, *natohowin*, and *kapeciwin*, and with the contemporary life that they wish to lead.

5.5 Synthesis

This sub-study demonstrates extent of Atikamekw utilisation and occupation of the study zone, and indicates the complexity of contemporary Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*. The goal of the sub-study was to determine characteristics of the relationship between the Atikamekw and forestlands. These characteristics have been revealed through the practices described by members of the Wemotaci community and by the explanation and contributions of a group of Atikamekw with particular experience in management of *Nitaskinan*. The practices described by participants are related to three principal groups of activities; *kapeciwin*, *tipahiskan*, and *atoskewin* and *natohowin*. The ways in which these activities are practised, together with other comments and information from participants, enables me to propose a series of characteristics relating *nehirowisi pimatisiwin*, the Atikamekw lifestyle, to their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. These three groups of practices and the characteristics of Atikamekw occupation are presented graphically in Figure 4. The principal contributions of this analysis to understanding the Atikamekw forestry paradigm are summarized in Chart 5.

Atikamekw use of the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie* is not simply a matter of occasional hunting, fishing and trapping. *Nehirowisi pimatisiwin* is a way of living in which the occupation of forestlands is critical to identity, to the maintenance of language and knowledge, to social structures and to meeting the needs of the Atikamekw. *Tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to managing these forestlands, integrates their knowledge, their territorial organisation and the role of *ka nikanitc*, who is responsible for a territory. However, the Atikamekw are also faced by external pressures. They are modifying their lifestyle and adopting new practices that assist them in their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Further research work would help to validate the model presented in figure 4, to further understand the multiple facets of the Atikamekw relation to *Nitaskinan*, and to determine the extent to which the Atikamekw are adapting their practices to external pressures.

Finally, the sub-study also documents the effects, both positive and negative, of forestry operations on contemporary Atikamekw occupation. Although I did not seek to investigate the practices of the forest industry in this sub-study, participants did describe the impacts of forestry on their own practices. Hence Chart 5 does include some elements of the industrial forestry paradigm, although fewer than those for the Atikamekw.

Figure 4
Occupation of *Nitaskinan* and *nehirowisi pimatisiwin*

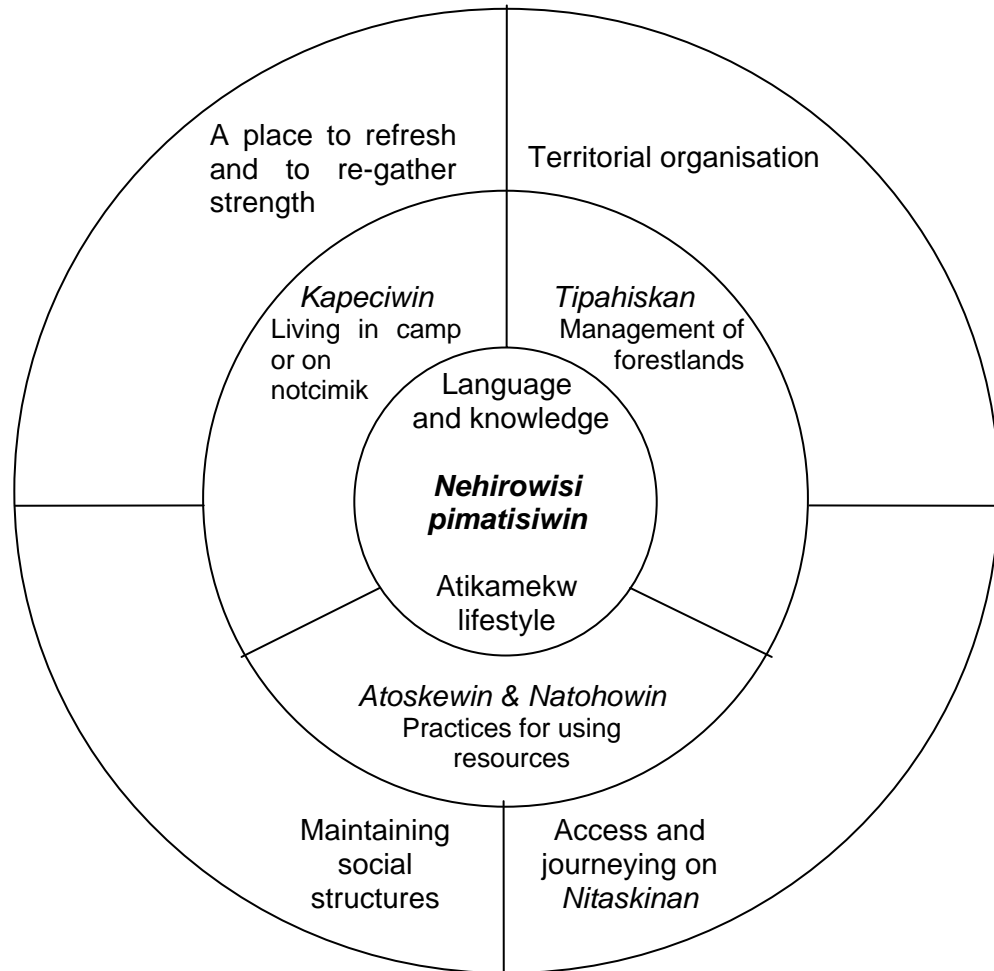


Chart 5

Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* and forestry paradigms

This chart presents and compares characteristics of the Atikamekw forestry paradigm, as revealed through the analysis of their occupation, utilisation and management of a particular part of *Nitaskinan*. The chart also identifies, to a lesser extent, characteristics of the forest industry paradigm, particularly in relation to several issues described in the chapter. This presentation is complementary to the characteristics of the paradigms as described in other chapters.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Basis for understanding the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie*
- Forestlands and personal identity
- Forestlands and social structures
- Forestlands and knowledge
- Forestlands and language

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Fundamental practices for occupation and utilisation of forestlands
- Atikamekw practices of occupation of forestlands
- Forestlands, territorial organisation and management approach

Specific issues arising from joint occupation of forestlands

- The perturbation of *notcimik*
- Access
- Modification of the landscape
- Information, consultation and forest planning
- Forest harvesting techniques
- Expectations concerning the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Basis for understanding the forestlands of the Haute-Mauricie</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of forestlands based on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aski, the earth, including humans ○ Notcimik, “where I come from”. ○ Tipahiskan, approach to management ○ Nehirowisiw, autonomous individual.
<i>Forestlands and personal identity</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Notcimik</i> is related to personal and collective identity. • <i>Notcimik</i> is a place to refresh or to re-gather strength.
<i>Forestlands and social structures</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links between families reinforced by invitations to use <i>natoho aski</i>. • Logging may weaken social links.
<i>Forestlands and knowledge</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed knowledge of a <i>natoho aski</i> – resources, history, current use. • Transmission of knowledge and values through experience and stories: • Women often responsible for teaching values and knowledge.

Forestlands and language	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French language placenames are used on maps and in forestry planning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occupation reinforces the language. • Language is essential for occupation. • Placenames contain information.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

Fundamental practices for occupation and utilisation of forestlands	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal forest management activities are roading, harvesting and silviculture to improve productivity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three groups of interlinked practices: • Kapeciwin, living on <i>notcimik</i>. • Tipahiskan, managing human activities. • Atoskewin and Natohowin, taking food and materials needed for living.

Atikamekw practices of occupation of forestlands	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry operations improve access for Atikamekw, but affect some uses. • Planning can mitigate impacts on Atikamekw traditional activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nitaskinan</i> is used for many practices. • Practices are part of Nehirowisi pimatisiwin, the Atikamekw lifestyle, and link with <i>notcimik</i>. • Practices imply knowledge and customs. • Practices are related in many ways. • Access is essential for occupation. • Forestry operations both assist and hinder access.

Forestlands, territorial organisation and management	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Industrial forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Ka nikanitc</i> rarely participates in management planning. • Forestry planning units do not relate to <i>natoho aski</i>. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nitaskinan</i> comprises <i>natoho aski</i> (family territories) and many circuits. • <i>Ka nikanitc</i>, responsible for <i>natoho aski</i>. • <i>Tipahiskan</i> is based on role of <i>ka nikanitc</i>, knowledge and respect. • Decisions based on discussion and advice, not on approval/disapproval. • Management means control of human actions, not modification of <i>notcimik</i>.

Specific issues arising from forestry operations on forestlands	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Industrial forestry paradigm</u></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</u></p>
Perturbation of <i>notcimik</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry operations affect forest use, but planning can mitigate effects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operations change <i>notcimik</i> and hinder practice of <i>atoskewin</i> and <i>natohowin</i>.
Access	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry operations improve access. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roads improve access to <i>notcimik</i>, but lead to greater non-Atikamekw presence.
Modification of the landscape	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landscapes are changed through harvesting, but trees will regrow in time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Notcimik</i> is no longer recognisable, and knowledge about places is lost.
Information, consultation and forest planning	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry companies seek information, but decisions remain with companies & MRN. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tipahiskan</i> involves sharing information and participation in decisions.
Forest harvesting techniques	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current techniques have less impact and new techniques are being developed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New techniques should reduce impact on <i>notcimik</i> and on Atikamekw occupation.
Expectations concerning the <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment and income generation. • Atikamekw participation in the industry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment and income generation. • Atikamekw ability to modify practices.

Chapter 6
Consultation between the forest industry and the
Atikamekw

6.1 Introduction

The forest industry and the Atikamekw have concurrently occupied the *Haute-Mauricie* for over one hundred years, and have had many contacts (Chapter 3) . In recent years, increasing demands by the Atikamekw and changing legal requirements have lead to formalized consultation processes between the parties. These processes represent an interface between the parties, where issues and questions relating to forestry can be discussed, possibly leading to changes in forestlands management. In this chapter I examine consultation processes being used for forestlands surrounding Wemotaci, in particular the ways that consultations are being conducted, the participants in the processes, the information that is being exchanged, and the results that are being obtained. These consultations show the way that the forest industry approaches the Atikamekw, and indicate what the Atikamekw are hoping to gain from these exchanges. They also help to identify the ways that the Atikamekw themselves wish to be consulted. This analysis contributes to developing four general approaches to consultation and to identifying characteristics of the two forestry paradigms.

In this chapter:

Section 6.2 provides details on the research method used to collect and analyse data on the consultations.

Section 6.3 describes briefly twenty-two consultation events and processes in which the Atikamekw participated between 2000 and 2002.

Section 6.4 presents the principal characteristics of these consultation processes.

Section 6.5 proposes four general approaches to consultation between the Atikamekw and the forest industry

Section 6.6 and Chart 6 conclude the chapter and summarize the contributions of this analysis to understanding different forestry paradigms

Annexe D contains a conceptual framework developed to describe consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

6.2 Sub-study method

In Chapter 1, I provided a brief overview of participation and consultation in relation to First Nations and forestry issues, noting different levels of participation (Arnstein 1969). During my exploratory research (Chapter 2), I noted that industry consultation of the Atikamekw appeared to be directed at providing and obtaining information about proposed forestry operations. While these consultations often led to changes in company plans, they rarely involved the Atikamekw in decision-making. This supports Buchy and Hoverman's distinction between participation and consultation. They described consultation as "*a process of involvement where people's opinion is sought, and may influence the perspective but in no way guarantees an input in decision-making*" (Buchy and Hoverman 2000, p 17). They also distinguish between participation as means to an end, or as an end in itself.

I have based my examination of consultation processes at Wemotaci on the approach taken by Buchy and Hoverman. In particular, they identify four principles of good practice in public consultation: commitment and clarity about goals; time and group dynamics for the process; representativity of the participants; and the transfer of skills and of knowledge¹. Accordingly, my analysis was initially based on the following four elements:

- The objectives of the consultations;
- The ways in which the consultations are carried out;
- The groups and individuals who are participating in consultations; and
- The information that is being exchanged during the consultations.

These elements can be related to **how** consultations are conducted (the first three elements) and to **what information** is being exchanged (the fourth element).

¹ There is extensive literature available on principles, issues and methods in consultation and public participation (see Côté 2002 for a review) and a case study on forestry consultation processes could be situated within this literature. However, my interest in this chapter is centred on how different forestry paradigms are revealed through these consultations.

6.2.1 Selection of consultation processes

Twenty-two different consultation processes, involving 179 Atikamekw and 16 forest industry representatives, are examined in this sub-study². My goal was to examine all forestry-related consultations held between January 1999 and June 2002, whether organized by the Atikamekw or by the forest industry. Accordingly, I contacted all organisations having responsibilities for the forests around Wemotaci³, discussed my research with leaders, and gained permission to participate in consultations, to review records of consultations, and to conduct consultations as part of my own research. The processes described here obviously do not include informal consultations and discussions that inevitably occur within a community. Nevertheless, I am confident that this sub-study represents a complete census of all formal consultations between the forest industry and the Atikamekw during the period.

The consultations examined in this sub-study take many different forms. Hence I treat a consultation event as any meeting, event or occasion, involving the Atikamekw and organized by one of the groups listed in the footnote, that is aiming to provide or to seek information about forestry issues. Some of these are actually a series of meetings, either regular or irregular, while others are single occasions that are not repeated. There is a clear distinction between consultations that are established for communications between the representatives of the community and the forestry companies, and the events that were organized principally by and for the Wemotaci population. Only one consultation is considered in both categories (see section 6.3). This distinction between the two categories will be used to facilitate this analysis.

² Names of people participating in each event were recorded by myself or others. Hence, the total of 179 Atikamekw refers to 179 individuals, many of whom participated in more than one event. Equally, a total of 16 individuals from forestry companies participated, often in many events.

³ At Wemotaci: the Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci (CAW), Services forestiers Atikamekw aski (SFAA), the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, the CAW political negotiation office (until 2000), and the *Projet d'harmonisation* (since 2000). Outside Wemotaci: the forestry companies and the *Conseil de la nation Atikamekw* (CNA) at La Tuque.

In this chapter, it is important to distinguish between Atikamekw members of the Wemotaci community, and their official representatives⁴. Accordingly, the term *Wemotaci iriniw*, the people of Wemotaci, will be used to indicate ordinary community members⁵.

6.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Data for this study were collected principally through participant observation, supplemented by other techniques:

I was a **participant** and an **observer** at the majority of meetings and other events that are described here. During such meetings I noted the individuals and groups participating, issues being discussed, the information being provided or sought by the parties, the organisation or conduct of the event, the degree of participation of various participants and any other points of interest. In some events, I was also organizer or animator of discussions.

I carried out semi-directed and informal interviews with **key informants** for many consultations. Key informants were those responsible for organising consultations, the representatives of either the Atikamekw or the forest industry, and individuals who participated frequently in consultations or who expressed particular views⁶.

Documents, most importantly **minutes** and **reports of meetings or events**, complemented my observations and interviews, particularly for those events where I was not present. Documentary data also included reports, maps and other planning documents.

Initially, I separated the different consultations into two groups; those between the Atikamekw and the industry, and those within the community of Wemotaci. I then analysed the data, seeking to understand **how** consultations were being conducted and **what information** was being passed. I followed the Grounded Theory approach in

⁴ Band council members, leaders of SFAA, *Projet d'harmonisation* and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*.

⁵ This use of the term is my own, to facilitate discussion in this thesis. For the Atikamekw, the term *Wemotaci iriniw* includes all members of the Wemotaci community, whatever their position.

analysis, identifying the concepts arising from the data, and linking these through the following steps:

1. **Data about each consultation** included the way that it was organized, the information or comments made by participants, and the names of individual participants.
2. **Coding** of this information aimed to identify the elements and concepts that were important to participants. The elements proposed by Buchy and Hoverman guided my initial coding, but I also identified other characteristics.
3. I then identified **conceptual links** between information, characteristics and codes, both within a single consultation and then between consultations within the same group.
4. Initially, the two groups of consultations were maintained distinct. This both facilitated the analysis and enabled me to use the codes resulting from one group to triangulate with the other group.
5. Subsequently, the categories determined in the two groups were unified to present the characteristics presented in section 6.4.

During this process I prepared two reports in French; one analysing consultations within the Wemotaci community, and the other concentrating on consultations between the Atikamekw and the industry (Wyatt 2002, 2003). Both the industry and the Atikamekw were given copies of these reports to aid them in their relations and to provide validation for my research. I also developed a **conceptual framework** for consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry based on the characteristics identified in this analysis (Annexe D).

6.2.3 Validation

Data collection and analysis were validated in several ways:

Triangulation by individuals. A total of 179 Atikamekw participated in the consultations described here and most information was expressed by a number of informants, often in independent consultations. Sixteen forest industry representatives also took part and information in this chapter comes from two or more individuals, unless otherwise stated.

⁶ Even when an event was conducted in the Atikamekw language, such people could often be identified by the way in which they presented their comments or by the reaction of other participants

Triangulation by consultations. The principal characteristics of consultation processes have all been identified in different consultations, and in both groups. The distinction between the groups was maintained during analysis to identify different aspects of similar elements and to enable triangulation. The two groups were then combined for the characteristics presented in section 6.4.

Key informants verified my analysis and my conclusions for each group of consultations through reports prepared for participants.

Finally, the elements of Atikamekw and forest industry paradigms that are identified in this sub-study are to be considered in relation to the other sub-studies presented in this thesis.

6.2.4 Effects of previous consultations

The consultations described in this chapter are not the first or the only consultations that have been organized in Wemotaci. Other research and consultations, such as those described in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, have addressed issues and concerns relating to forestry and the use of forestlands, but have had little direct impact on forest management practices. Such a lack of results could reduce the interest of the Atikamekw in participating in the more recent consultations. It could also lead to people participating, but providing incomplete or misleading information in order to increase the chance of obtaining results. These factors emphasize the need to consider a wide range of consultations and to compare the conclusions of this sub-study with those of the other sub-studies.

to their comments.

6.3 Consulting the Atikamekw about forestry

The twenty-two consultations described in this chapter were organized by a variety of different organisations. The *Projet d'harmonisation* is the most important, with eleven consultations. The SFAA and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* were responsible for three, the forestry companies led five consultations, the CNA one and my own research contributed two. Table 4 and Table 5 provide brief details on the type of consultation, the participants and the information exchanged, differentiating between consultations between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies and those within the community.

Only one consultation is included in both tables – the workshop held in March 2002 when the forestry companies presented their plans to the population, followed by discussions among *Wemotaci iriniw* themselves.

6.3.1 Consultations between the forest industry and Wemotaci

Table 4 lists the eleven consultations between the community of Wemotaci and the forest industry. Here it is useful to distinguish between **strategic** and **operational** planning (Higman, Bass et al. 1999).

Strategic consultations

Strategic planning addresses long-term management issues, setting objectives and determining guidelines. Several consultation processes are directed at these questions, often in relation to General forest management plans that are prepared every five years by forestry companies. These processes include committees involving Atikamekw and forest industry representatives, along with other parties involved in management of the *Haute-Mauricie* forests. The steering committee of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* Board and the *Table de concertation* organized by Kruger for the CA 43-20 are examples. Crête represents a case where the company cuts timber on all CAs around Wemotaci, but does not have overall management responsibility for any of these areas. Nevertheless, company representatives participate actively in many consultations with the Atikamekw, and are partners in both the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation*.

Table 4
Consultations between the forestry companies and the Atikamekw

Consultation process	Application Area	Participants	Principal characteristics
Consultations about forestry operations			
<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i>	Wemotaci	PdH team ⁷ Company reps.	Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of sites to protect. • Negotiation of protection measures.
<i>Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski</i>	Wemotaci reserve FR 42-99	<i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> SFAA representatives	Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meetings in Atikamekw with users • Monitoring of operations with users.
Kruger inc. <i>Scierie Parent</i>	CA 43-20	<i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> PdH team Company reps.	Strategic level : Planning committee Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of sites to protect. • Company – Atikamekw meetings.
Abitibi Consolidated inc.	CA 42-01, 42-02, 43-02, 43-03	PdH team Company reps.	Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of sites to protect. • Liaison with PdH team
Tembec	CA 43-04	PdH team Company reps.	Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liaison with PdH team
Smurfitt-Stone inc.	Private forestlands	PdH team Company reps. CAW leadership	• Participates in Project and <i>Scierie</i> Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liaison with PdH team
<i>Gérard Crête et fils inc.</i>	All CAs	PdH team Company reps. CAW leadership	• Contact with Wemotaci leadership • Participates in Project and <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>
Other consultations			
<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> Committee		PdH team Company representatives	Strategic level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting guidelines for PdH team and for research projects
<i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> Board	FR 42-99 CA 42-01	CAW leadership Company reps.	Strategic level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business management for sawmill • Little role in forest management.
<i>Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw</i>	<i>Nitaskinan</i> (for 3 communities)	PdH team CAW leadership Government representatives	Strategic level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordination of 3 communities • Political negotiations • Business management of sawmill
Workshop <i>Projet d'harmonisation</i>	March 2002	78 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> 6 Company reps.	Operational level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inform the population on forestry. • Identify sites to be protected.

⁷ PdH Team : technical team of the *Projet d'harmonisation*.
Company reps. : Representatives of forestry company(ies).

Operational consultations

Operational planning concerns specific plans for application in the short-term, typically in the form of Annual forest management plans prepared by companies. Most consultations in Table 4 describe the processes used by forestry companies to seek Atikamekw comment on detailed plans for operations to be completed in the coming year. Commonly, companies prepare their plans, ask the Atikamekw to identify specific sites that may need to be protected during operations, and then modify their plans to take account of Atikamekw comments. The *Projet d'harmonisation* is becoming the main contact point for companies in this process. However, most companies also have minor variations on this procedure; for example Kruger seeks to meet *Wemotaci iriniw*, the members of the families who traditionally use an area. The process used by SFAA from 1997 to 2000 (see Chapter 4) was the only consultation to involve regular informal meetings with *Wemotaci iriniw* using the Atikamekw language.

In addition to these consultation processes, the Forestry Act requires companies to prepare strategic and operational plans and to make them available for public comment⁸. All the consultation processes described here are additional to the obligatory process. As such, they indicate the interest of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies in developing new methods and avenues for consultation.

6.3.2 Consultations within the community

Table 5 lists the twelve consultations within the community of Wemotaci. Recognition of several different general types of consultation helps to identify important elements in the ways that consultations are organized.

Public meetings have been used occasionally to provide general information to the population, to identify concerns and also to identify sites in need of protection. These were held in either the sports arena or at the secondary school.

⁸ This process was modified in May 2001. However, many of the new provisions are still being introduced.

Table 5
Forestry consultations within the community of Wemotaci

Consultation process	Organized by : Date	Participants⁹	Principal characteristics
Workshop on measures of protection	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> March 2000	26 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Determine the concerns of the population about forestry practices. Promote the <i>Projet d'harmonisation</i>.
Information evening on the new sawmill	<i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> April 2000	11 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inform the population about the development of the sawmill.
Updating of AMAA maps	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> Summer 2000	9 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> in 8 meetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inform the population about the Project. Identify sites to be protected.
Meetings of the <i>Table d'harmonisation</i>	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> 16 meetings	6 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advise the Project technical team. Inform the population about forestry.
Newsletter and radio programs (once each)	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> August 2000	Distribution in the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide information about the Project and the March 2000 workshop.
Informal meetings	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i>	Fewer than six.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide information and identify sites for particular family territories.
"Kitchen" meetings	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> February 2001	5 meetings 26 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Determine the general concerns of the populations. Organized in small groups.
Site visits	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> 2000 and 2001	3 visits 15 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visits to see alternative forestry practices away from Wemotaci.
Study of contemporary occupation	<i>Stephen Wyatt</i> Summer 2001	30 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Examine utilisation of a zone. Determine characteristics of Atikamekw occupation
Women's meetings)	<i>Stephen Wyatt</i> November 2001 February 2002	2 meetings 14 women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Determine the opinions of women about forestlands, and their particular roles.
Survey	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> March 2002	64 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Publicize the forthcoming workshop. Determine the level of interest for forestry in the community.
Workshop	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> March 2002	78 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> 6 forestry companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inform the population about forestry operations. Identify specific sites that should be protected during operations.

⁹ Excluding organisers, animators and invited speakers.

Small group meetings were organized to target specific groups within the community – women, members of a single family, or youth. They have sought to identify general concerns.

Interviews and studies have sought to identify both general concerns and specific information; such as the identification of sites to be protected or my semi-directed interviews.

The *table d'harmonisation* comprises six representatives from several groups within the population. The Table meets approximately ten times per year to discuss general forestry issues, matters relating to the operation of the Project, and particular situations where actions of a forestry company cause concerns.

Other consultation events have included visits to forestry operations, a survey and short-lived publicity efforts using the community radio and a newsletter.

I have included my study of contemporary Atikamekw occupation of the territory (Chapter 5) as a consultation within this chapter. This assists in identifying characteristics of Atikamekw involvement in forestry consultations.

6.4 Principal characteristics of consultations

As described in section 6.2, my coding of the consultations was aimed at identifying elements of the forestry paradigms of each party, as demonstrated by the ways in which consultations were being organized and the information being provided. Initially, I considered four categories based on those of Buchy and Hoverman (2000), as described in section 6.2. Subsequently, I developed other categories arising from the codification and analysis of the data: assessing the results of consultations; recognising different levels of consultation and degrees of participation, and understanding the balance of power between the Atikamekw and the industry.

In this section these various characteristics will be discussed, drawing on information from consultations between the forestry companies and the community of Wemotaci, and from consultations within the community itself. These characteristics will be used to propose four general approaches to consultation in section 6.5, and to contribute to identifying the characteristics of the Atikamekw and industrial forestry paradigms in section 6.6.

6.4.1 The organisation of consultations

Techniques of organising consultations vary tremendously, as demonstrated by the variety of processes identified in section 6.3. In fact no two consultations were organized in the same way, even among those lead by the *Projet d'harmonisation* (responsible for eleven of the twenty-two consultations). In this section I will examine the ways in which consultations were organized, and the implications of this for understanding relations between the Atikamekw and the industry.

6.4.1.1 Goals and objectives for consultations

Objectives for consultations are rarely specified in documents or in plans. However, the processes used in a consultation and the information sought or provided by organizers provides an indication of the objectives for each event. These objectives are hence based on the actual processes included in this study, and may not necessarily reflect the stated goals of the parties. Table 6 provides a summary of various objectives of the Atikamekw and the forestry companies for their participation in different consultation events.

Although objectives vary among the parties, there are several common points. Both are seeking to ensure that the Atikamekw have more information about forestry and that they have the opportunity to comment on plans prepared by the forestry companies. Forestry companies are also seeking to incorporate Atikamekw concerns into forest management. However, Atikamekw interests and concerns may exceed the bounds of technical discussions of forestry practices and planning, at either operational or strategic levels. Furthermore, the Atikamekw seek a participation in decision-making for forestlands, which is not currently possible within any of the consultation processes.

Table 6
Goals and objectives in consultations

<u><i>For forestry companies</i></u>	<u><i>For the Atikamekw</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informing the Atikamekw about forestry operations. • Obtaining specific information about Atikamekw sites and practices. • Complying with legal requirements. • Obtaining environmental certification. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reducing impacts of forestry operations. • Obtaining a role in forestland decision-making, or influencing these decisions. • Informing the forestry companies about Atikamekw occupation. • Informing Wemotaci iriniw about forestry operations. • Documenting Atikamekw practices and specific sites. • Determining the general concerns of <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>
<p><u><i>For both the companies and the Atikamekw</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing guidelines for forestland management. • Obtaining results on the ground. • Establishing good relations. 	

6.4.1.2 Places, methods and language used for consultation

Despite the wide variety of consultations, as illustrated in Table 4 and Table 5, there are a number of common characteristics in the ways that processes are organized, the places where meetings are held and the language used.

Consultations with forestry companies, at both strategic and operational levels, are based on maps and planning documents. They are dominated by technical language and the terminologies used by professional foresters, and are held exclusively in French. Meetings are almost always organized in offices and meeting rooms; either at the offices of forestry companies, at La Tuque or in Wemotaci. Such consultations are only rarely held in the forest; operational discussions with *Wemotaci iriniw* by Kruger and by SFAA are exceptions to this. While many Atikamekw are able to use maps, they are less familiar with the forestry maps, the planning documents and the professional language often used in these meetings. These consultations represent a method, a place and a language that are determined principally by the forest industry.

Nevertheless, a number of consultations organized within Wemotaci also take this form. Meetings of the *Projet d'harmonisation* and of the *Table d'harmonisation* and workshops to present and collect specific information, all resemble consultations organized with the forest industry. These meetings often present the maps prepared by the companies as a way of informing *Wemotaci iriniw* about forestry and of seeking their reactions. Such meetings are held in both French and in Atikamekw, and try to simplify the technical information provided by companies. The Workshop of March 2002 was a notable example, putting company representatives in direct contact with *Wemotaci iriniw*.

However there is also another style of consultation used within Wemotaci, taking place in private homes and in camps on forestlands. In these consultations, maps and documents are left aside. Instead, anecdotes and stories are often used as a way of sharing knowledge or of demonstrating the importance of a place or a practice (Lavoie 1999); non-Atikamekw listeners should not dismiss these as simple stories. The Atikamekw language is often used as elders are often more at ease speaking in Atikamekw, and activities and knowledge related to *Nitaskinan* are more easily expressed in this language (see Chapter 5). Consultations of this nature typically resulted in richer discussions and greater participation by *Wemotaci iriniw*¹⁰.

¹⁰ For example, among five “kitchen meetings”, that which was held in a camp was the most dynamic; the women’s meeting was organised by a women’s leader and held in a tent in the village; interviews for the occupation study were held in camps where possible.

The place, method and language used in consultations are an indication of who is organising the event, and for what reason. Consultations between the industry and the Atikamekw typically follow an industry approach to consultation; dominated by technical issues of forest management planning, held in offices and meeting rooms, and using the French language. Similar approaches have also been adopted by the *Projet d'harmonisation*, consultants and others to inform *Wemotaci iriniw* about forestry operations, and to solicit their reactions to this. However, another way of consulting also exists, based on Atikamekw traditions of oral communication. This can be more effective in soliciting the viewpoints of *Wemotaci iriniw*, and in encouraging their participation in forestland management.

6.4.1.3 Participants in consultations

Identifying **who** is participating in consultation processes is critical to understanding the way that these processes are organized, and the information that is exchanged through them. Buchy and Hoverman (2000) note the importance of ensuring “representativity” in consultations; enabling potential stakeholders to participate. As consultations were generally aimed at informing the Atikamekw about forestry operations and informing the companies about Atikamekw concerns, it is important to consider who was providing and receiving this information.

Consultations between *Wemotaci* and the industry are dominated by professionals – foresters, staff of the *Projet d'harmonisation* and *Wemotaci* leaders. As described in section 6.4.1.2, technical issues and language dominate these consultations, and so participants are those who understand these. In this situation, the *Projet d'harmonisation* assumes an important role as intermediary between *Wemotaci iriniw* and the forestry industry. The project has engaged a non-Atikamekw forester with the technical knowledge to support Atikamekw staff in undertaking this role (see Chapter 4).

Wemotaci iriniw rarely participate in strategic consultations with the industry, although some may be invited to share a particular expertise or knowledge concerning an area under discussion. They are also involved in some operational planning with forestry companies, again in relation to industry plans for specific areas, notably in the processes used by Kruger and by SFAA. The *ka nikanitc*, the person traditionally responsible for an Atikamekw family territory, may be invited to participate in consultations lead by the

forestry companies or by the *Projet d'harmonisation*, but this is not always the case. Furthermore, no *ka nikantic* are included among regular members of the *Table d'harmonisation*. Although the Table represents the community in forestry issues, members do not generally participate in negotiations between the *Projet d'harmonisation* and the forestry companies, or in the meetings of the project committee. An exception to this trend was the Workshop of March 2002, which provided an opportunity for *Wemotaci iriniw* to hear and question company representatives concerning their plans for forestry operations.

There is, however, a very high level of participation by *Wemotaci iriniw* in events within the community. Examining the attendance lists for different events shows that a total of 179 *Wemotaci iriniw* participated in consultations within the community, representing 24 % of the adult population. Of this total, 38 people participated in two events, and a further 21 were present at three or more consultations¹¹. This high level of participation indicates the interest of *Wemotaci iriniw* in matters relating to forestland management, despite the experiences of previous consultations (see section 6.2.4) and the limited opportunities for meetings with representatives of the forestry companies.

Nevertheless, women and youth were less involved in consultations than were men. Only eleven women took part in the first eight consultations listed in Table 5. Subsequently, I ensured that women were included in the study of contemporary occupation and arranged separate meetings with women¹². Following the advice of women's leaders, these meetings were organized around the theme of "*notcimik*", rather than "forestry". These meetings showed an important role for women in knowledge and in teaching about forestlands; elements that are difficult to address in the technical questions discussed at other forestry consultations. Young people (less than 25 years of age) were poorly represented in most consultations¹³. No consultation events were specifically targeted to the youth, although my study on contemporary occupation did include seven young people who are active on forestlands.

¹¹ It is important to note that there is no "double-counting" in these attendance numbers. A particular person who attended four different events is counted only once.

¹² A further 29 women participated in these events and the workshop of March 2002.

¹³ Young people represented approximately 10 % of participants, but comprise 25 % of the adult population.

With few exceptions, consultations about forestry do not actually provide opportunities for forestry company representatives and *Wemotaci iriniw* to meet each other. Instead, there are two sets of consultations: those within the community of *Wemotaci*, and those where Atikamekw representatives (and a non-Atikamekw forester) act as intermediaries between *Wemotaci iriniw* and the industry. This is consistent with the forest industry and government approaches to consultation that emphasise the role for representatives and experts.

In most consultation processes, the *Projet d'harmonisation* forester can explain forestry to the Atikamekw. Similarly, the *Projet d'harmonisation* team represents the Atikamekw to the forestry companies; assessing the information and concerns of *Wemotaci iriniw* as expressed through a variety of consultations, and presenting this in meetings with the industry. As already noted, the technical language and issues discussed at these meetings are not appropriate for conveying the full range of Atikamekw concerns, particularly the concerns raised by women. This examination of the participants in consultations suggests that limited opportunities for participation may affect the information that is being passed from the Atikamekw to the industry. This theme will be further examined in section 6.4.2.

6.4.1.4 The role of the organizer

Each consultation process or event has been organized by one (sometimes two) organisation, group or individual. For consultations between the forestry companies and *Wemotaci*, the principal organizers were the companies themselves and the *Projet d'harmonisation*. Within each company, a particular person is usually responsible for organising and for participating in consultations. In the Project, the technical team forester usually leads consultations with the industry, supported by Atikamekw staff. Within the community, most consultations were organized by the *Projet d'harmonisation*, while *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and myself were responsible for others.

The role of the organizer of a consultation is critical. In all cases presented here, the organizer acts as the convenor of the consultation, deciding to establish a consultation process or event and often setting the objectives. The organizer also determines the information to be provided and the topics to be discussed, and invites groups or individuals to participate (although any of these elements may subsequently change). In many of

these consultations, the organizer also acts as chairman, moderator or animator of meetings, directing discussions to seek information or comments responding to the objectives. Finally, the organizer is often responsible for implementing the results or outputs of the consultations, undertaking to incorporate the information into their plans or activities. In all these consultations, the organizer has also been a participant throughout the process, providing and seeking information, and with their own objectives (section 6.4.1.1).

Techniques for organising consultations have been widely studied and authors such as Messerschmidt (1995), Duinker (1998), and Buchy and Hoverman (2000) have proposed principles to assist in organising and conducting consultation and public participation processes. Duinker (1998) noted that forest managers should ensure that they have the necessary skills if they are planning public participation processes. Unfortunately, weaknesses in consultation processes can lead to problems with participants. A perception that the organizer is controlling the process in order to achieve a desired result can lead to participant dissatisfaction and a refusal to accept these results (Germain et al. 2001). Feit and Beaulieu (2001) examined consultations between the Cree, the forest industry and the government in northern Québec; processes that are similar to those being used at Wemotaci. However, they believe that these processes are actually being used as a way of minimising change in forestry operations, rather than facilitating it; that the organizers are directing the consultation process to meet their own objectives rather than those of the Cree.

In most of the consultations described in this chapter, the organizer is an active participant with their own interests and objectives, and often with an existing forest management role. Furthermore, almost all processes, whether Atikamekw or industrial, are being lead by individuals who are professional foresters. Training and work experience for most foresters emphasises timber production, rational planning and the role of the forest industry (Duerr, Teegarden et al. 1982; Dubois 1986; Chapter 3), rather than consultation, public participation and aboriginal cultures. Hence, the organisation of many of these consultation processes reflects the forest industry paradigm, rather than that of the Atikamekw.

6.4.2 Information and results from consultations

6.4.2.1 Information provided and obtained through consultations

Seeking and providing information is central to many of the consultation objectives described in section 6.4.1.1 and is the fourth principle listed by Buchy and Hoverman (2000). In analysing the consultations, I noted what information participants were providing, what they were seeking, and whether the information provided appeared to be understood. In particular, the information provided by *Wemotaci iriniw* during consultations within the community is essential to understanding Atikamekw views of forestlands and forestry.

The Atikamekw seek information about forestry operations, about forestry practices and about the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. Forestry companies and others are providing this information, describing proposed operations in the *Haute-Mauricie* during the next year, or for a five-year planning period. However, forestry plans in the forms of maps and written documents (particularly for strategic plans) are not necessarily intelligible to non-foresters, whether Atikamekw or not¹⁴. Furthermore, in many consultations *Wemotaci iriniw* explained that they wanted to know more about industry operations. The information provided by companies helps the Atikamekw to know what is happening in *Nitaskinan*, but it is also clear that this information alone does not meet their expectations.

In return for the information that they provide, the forestry companies are also seeking information. The Atikamekw are asked to identify sites to be protected during forestry operations, such as campsites, important habitat areas, beaver streams, or canoe portages. This information is based on maps previously prepared by AMAA (see Chapter 4), on particular consultations within the community, and on the knowledge of the *Projet d'harmonisation* technical team. The team uses this information to negotiate changes to operational plans prepared by the industry, and companies will typically incorporate this information into their computer databases for future planning. However, the *Projet*

¹⁴ The MRNQ itself noted problems with forestry plans: MRNQ 1998, p 26.

d'harmonisation has had difficulties in identifying sites that need to be protected¹⁵. *Wemotaci iriniw* may be reluctant to provide such information, or the consultation methods used may be inappropriate. Furthermore, the site specific information sought by the forestry companies may be insufficient for *Wemotaci iriniw* to express their concerns about management of forestlands.

Information concerning the Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* is often at the centre of Atikamekw positions in strategic committees and political negotiations. The Atikamekw describe the importance of forestlands for the maintenance of their identity, culture, lifestyle and language, and express concerns about the effects of forestry operations on these. Similar concerns were raised in almost all consultations within the community of *Wemotaci*, and are summarized briefly in Table 7. However, it is difficult for forestry companies to address these issues within the context of their forest planning responsibilities. Many cannot be related to technical questions of forest management, to particular changes that can be made to forestry plans, or to specific sites that can be protected. While this information may be of great significance for Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*, it often lies outside the industry's responsibility for management of the *Haute-Mauricie* forests.

Forestry companies are now providing much information to the Atikamekw about forestry operations, although many *Wemotaci iriniw* would like to know more. The companies are also seeking information about specific sites so that these can be protected during operations, but this information can be more difficult to provide. Within the community, consultations provide a wealth of information on Atikamekw concerns about forestry, and these concerns are repeated in strategic consultations and political negotiations. However, it is difficult for forestry companies to act on this information and to incorporate it into forestry planning and management. Collecting information about the Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* does not mean that this information will be used in forest management (see Chapter 4), or that decisions will include the Atikamekw (see section 6.4.3). The provision of information does not necessarily lead to participation in decision-making (Buchy and Hoverman 2000; Côté and Bouthillier 2002).

¹⁵ Three consultations sought to identify sites; the updating of AMAA maps produced some new information, but my study of contemporary occupation and the March 2002 workshop identified no new sites.

Table 7
Wemotaci iriniw* views of forest management in *Nitaskinan

<p>Atikamekw terms are often used when speaking of forestlands:</p> <table> <tr> <td><i>Aski</i></td> <td>The earth, including the water, the animals, the plants and humans</td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Notcimik</i></td> <td>The forest, the territory, “the place that I come from”</td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Ka nikantitc</i></td> <td>Person responsible for managing activities on a family territory</td> </tr> </table> <p>Concerns about forestry operations include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • damage caused by heavy machinery; • wastage of trees cut but not transported to sawmills; • disturbance of animal habitats and habits; and • pollution of water sources, lakes and rivers . <p>Advantages of forestry operations include employment and road construction.</p> <p>Absence of information about forestry operations. <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> would like to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know more about the operations proposed by forestry companies; • visit sites with company representatives; • discuss operations with representatives; and • know more about the activities of the <i>Projet d’harmonisation</i>. <p>Maintenance of the Atikamekw occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i> is a recurrent theme. Occupation is not limited to hunting and fishing, but includes living on <i>notcimik</i>, maintaining knowledge and values, free access to <i>Nitaskinan</i> and avoiding problems with non-Atikamekw.</p> <p>Maintenance of Atikamekw culture and way of life were most commonly mentioned in kitchen meetings, the occupation study and women’s meetings. This depends on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • transmission of knowledge, values, stories and history; • teaching children and young people to live on <i>notcimik</i>; and • maintaining the Atikamekw language. <p>An organisation for controlling the use of <i>Nitaskinan</i> was proposed at the March 2002 workshop. Such a structure should be based on traditional Atikamekw governance systems, such as a council of <i>ka nikantitc</i>, those responsible for family territories.</p>	<i>Aski</i>	The earth, including the water, the animals, the plants and humans	<i>Notcimik</i>	The forest, the territory, “the place that I come from”	<i>Ka nikantitc</i>	Person responsible for managing activities on a family territory
<i>Aski</i>	The earth, including the water, the animals, the plants and humans					
<i>Notcimik</i>	The forest, the territory, “the place that I come from”					
<i>Ka nikantitc</i>	Person responsible for managing activities on a family territory					

6.4.2.2 Results, evaluation and continuation of consultations

Both the forestry companies and the Atikamekw have an interest in knowing what happens after consultations have been completed. Evaluation and continuation of consultations helps participants to know how information has been used, what changes have occurred, and if the other party has a new understanding of issues. It also helps to ensure that the process and the results are accepted by participants (Moote and McClaran 1997).

Although few of the consultations described here specifically address evaluation or continuation¹⁶, it is possible to identify results and changes that have followed.

Consultations between the Atikamekw and the industry, particularly in identifying specific sites, have led to changes in forestry operations. Companies have modified the boundaries of areas to be logged, enlarged or reshaped protection zones, constructed roads at the request of the Atikamekw, and abandoned plans for thinning of areas¹⁷. However, the consultations have not led to changes in issues such as; the intention to log forests of the *Haute-Mauricie*, volumes to be logged, management objectives for the forests, or the use of heavy machinery during forestry operations. All these matters are more difficult for the industry to incorporate into forest management, given the requirements of Québec's forestry regime and their need to control operational costs.

A less tangible result of consultations is the establishment and maintenance of good relations between Atikamekw and the forest industry. These relations give the Atikamekw the opportunity to influence plans, operations and forestry practices. This influence is particularly important as the Atikamekw are not directly involved in decision-making. Good relations enable the companies to improve operations and to avoid conflict with the Atikamekw. The experiences described in Chapter 4 also show the development of closer relations between the Atikamekw and the industry. For both parties, closer relations enable a greater understanding of the others' interests and improved knowledge about forestlands and their management (Buchy and Hoverman 2000).

While consultations have lead to changes in forestry operations, there has been little monitoring or evaluation of these results. Formal monitoring of forestry operations is the responsibility of the forestry companies and the MRNQ, but the latter has limited resources for this task¹⁸. The *Projet d'harmonisation* attempts to monitor operations to ensure that measures negotiated with the industry are implemented, but Project staff are not able to visit all sites. *Wemotaci iriniw*, and particularly the members of the family responsible for a territory, occasionally visit forestry operations to see what is happening. However, there

¹⁶ Buchy and Hoverman (2000) identify the importance of monitoring and evaluation, but also note that it is often absent in participation projects.

¹⁷ Based on a comparison of concerns raised at consultations and resulting changes that I observed in forestry plans and operations.

are no regular processes to inform *Wemotaci iriniw* of measures negotiated by the companies and the *Projet d'harmonisation* or to involve them in monitoring of forestry operations. Similarly, there are few opportunities for *Wemotaci iriniw* to learn about the results of consultations within the community, although these may lead to a report or to negotiations outside the community. Consultations are typically a single event (or a number of similar events), rather than an ongoing process.

Consultations have led to changes in forestry operations and practices to take account of Atikamekw concerns, but they have not led to new management objectives or to the reduction of harvest volumes. The consultation processes contribute to an exchange of information between the industry and the Atikamekw, and to the development of closer relations, with benefits for both parties. However, there is a lack of monitoring and evaluation of consultations, of knowledge about how information is being used and the changes that this brings to management of forestlands. This lack, and the absence of ongoing processes, reduces the effectiveness of consultations as a way of learning (Buchy and Hoverman 2000; Moote and McClaran 1997). Furthermore, decisions following consultations are usually made and implemented by the industry, and *Wemotaci iriniw* are rarely involved in or informed about these.

6.4.3 Consultation, participation and power in forestland management

6.4.3.1 Levels of consultation

The variety of consultation processes, and the different roles of *Wemotaci iriniw*, the Atikamekw representatives and the forestry companies, illustrate the existence of different levels of consultation. A meeting between company representatives and the *Projet d'harmonisation* technical team to modify an operational plan will consider environmental protection in a different manner to a public meeting at Wemotaci. Not only will the participants be different, but the objectives, the type of meeting, the information and the expected results will also be different.

¹⁸ MRNQ, 1998, p 32

In section 6.3.1, I differentiated between operational and strategic consultations between the Atikamekw and the forestry companies, representing commonly recognized types of planning (eg Higman, Bass et al. 1999)¹⁹. **Strategic consultations** concern long-term plans, management objectives and general guidelines, such as the *Table de concertation* for the CA 43-20 and general public meetings at Wemotaci. **Operational consultations** consider the specifics of detailed plans that are to be implemented in the short-term, notably the negotiations between the *Projet d'harmonisation* technical team and the forestry company representatives. However, it is also possible to distinguish other levels of consultation.

The existence of **political consultations** is demonstrated by the CNA process included in Table 4 and by the constraints imposed upon Atikamekw participation in forestry decision-making. The political level represents the level at which the responsibilities for forestland management and the scope of consultation processes are determined²⁰. Hence, political consultations aim to determine the role of the Atikamekw in managing *Nitaskinan*, especially in relation to the government and the forest industry. The CNA is engaged in negotiations with the provincial and federal governments, but no general agreement has yet been reached (see Chapter 3).

Section 6.4.2.2 described the importance of results, monitoring and continuity of consultations, suggesting a fourth level of **evaluation consultations**. These include the monitoring and evaluation of results obtained from the implementation of previous consultations, as well as the organisation of additional consultations to respond to new demands or needs. Such activities are absent at Wemotaci, but could provide feedback to consultation processes, completing the cycle of information.

Hence, consultations involving the Atikamekw and the forest demonstrate the existence of different levels of consultation, as shown in Table 8. Recognition of the level associated with a particular event or process helps to understand the objectives of the consultation, to

¹⁹ Often, an interim step “tactical planning” is also used, representing a time scale of approximately five years. The 2001 modifications to Québec’s forestry law combined the 25 year strategic plans with the 5-yearly tactical plans.

²⁰ In late 2001 and early 2002, the MRNQ conducted public consultations as part of its preparation of a consultation policy that would guide future consultations in the forestry sector. The Atikamekw contributed to this process of establishing rules and procedures for consultations (MRNQ 2002).

determine who will participate, how it should be organized, what information is needed and the results that can be expected. It also suggests that different consultation processes can be complementary in the measure that they act at different levels, and that the forest industry and the Atikamekw should be consulting in a variety of ways at different levels.

Table 8
Levels of consultation for management of forestlands

Political	to determine roles and responsibilities for management of forestlands.
Strategic	to identify concerns and objectives and determine guidelines for management.
Operational	to plan the details of forestry operations to be undertaken in the near future.
Evaluation	to monitor and consider the effects of previous consultations and to prepare for others.

6.4.3.2 Participation and decision-making

The consultation processes described here offer few opportunities for Atikamekw participation in forestry decision-making. As noted by Buchy and Hoverman (2000), consultation does not necessarily imply that people will be involved in decision-making. However, a small number of consultations do enable the Atikamekw to participate in decision-making, and these should be examined specifically.

The ***Projet d'harmonisation Committee*** and the ***Scierie Tackipotcikan Board*** both enable representatives of the Atikamekw and of the forestry companies to make decisions for these organisations. In both cases, the Atikamekw representatives are in a minority, although their opinions are usually respected by non-Atikamekw participants²¹. However, neither organisation is directly involved in forestland management decisions. The Committee guides the general operation of the *Projet d'harmonisation*, monitors several research projects (including mine) and discusses other matters related to forestry in the *Haute-Mauricie*. Meetings of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan Board* are generally dominated by

²¹ In my observations of many of these meetings and my review of minutes, no Atikamekw recommendation or request was ever refused because of their minority position.

technical or financial matters relating to the establishment of the sawmill, rather than by forest management questions (see Chapter 4).

The **Table de concertation for the CA 43-20** established by Kruger does provide an opportunity for the Atikamekw to participate in establishing forest management guidelines for a specific area. Within this group, the Atikamekw must present their views in relation to those of other parties involved in forestry in the *Haute-Mauricie*, including recreation interests and local government. In this case, as in the two others, Atikamekw representatives (but not *Wemotaci iriniw*) do have the opportunity to make decisions on matters that are referred to the meeting. However, these meetings have relatively little decision-making power over forestlands management. In a review of the activities of this Table, Côté and Bouthillier (2002) concluded that, although the process brought benefits to the participants, it did not increase their role in decision-making.

Importantly, Atikamekw presence in these processes is by their representatives, not by *Wemotaci iriniw*, the members of the Wemotaci community. The technical nature of most forest management issues discussed constrains Atikamekw participation to those who are familiar with the terminology and who are experienced in negotiating with non-Atikamekw.

The **Table d'harmonisation** is the only consultation that provides for *Wemotaci iriniw* participation, but only in the activities of the *Projet d'harmonisation*. Again, the Project does not have forest management responsibilities, instead relying on the technical team to negotiate Atikamekw interests with forestry companies. Furthermore, although meetings of the Table do discuss forestry practices and Atikamekw concerns about forestry planning, it is the technical team that is responsible for determining protection measures and for negotiating these with the forestry companies²².

None of the twenty-two consultations presented in this chapter provide opportunities for the Atikamekw to participate directly in decision-making for forest management²³. In terms of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, most processes are in the middle range – “degrees of tokenism” according to Arnstein. Table 9 presents different degrees of Atikamekw

²² Personal observations and minutes of *Table d'harmonisation* meetings.

²³ However, the May 2001 amendments to the Québec Forestry Act oblige forestry companies to invite First Nation communities to participate in the preparation of the next series of forest management plans. This obligation may provide for greater participation in decision-making.

participation in the consultation processes described in the chapter. Different degrees do not necessarily indicate that one type of participation is better than another, but rather that participation varies according to the goals of organizers and participants. Within these processes, the Atikamekw are able to contribute information, to identify their concerns, and to request and recommend changes in forest management. Often, their concerns are addressed and their recommendations accepted. The variety of consultation processes at Wemotaci suggests that simpler consultations based on “informing” may led to more detailed processes for “advising”, and “negotiating.” Nevertheless, both Atikamekw representatives and *Wemotaci iriniw* seek more participation than is currently possible within the forest management regime.

Table 9

Degrees of Atikamekw participation in decision-making for forestlands

Acting	may be considered as a final degree of participation where it is the application of the results of the consultations, or of the decisions ²⁴ .
Deciding	would occur if the consultation enabled the Atikamekw to participate in the final decision for issues of forestland management. (<i>Does not occur</i>)
Negotiating	is a more powerful form of advising, where the industry makes the decision, but Atikamekw influence contributes to a compromise.
Advising	represents situations where the Atikamekw provide information, but also have the opportunity to propose objectives and actions for forestland management.
Informing	occurs when the Atikamekw receive information from others, or are asked to contribute information so that others may determine appropriate actions.
This typology is based on participation scales considering the relative role of local communities and “outsiders” in decision-making (Arnstein 1969; Pretty et al. 1995).	

²⁴ “Acting” has been placed on the bottom of some participation scales when “participants” are called upon to implement decisions made by other parties without any other form of consultation.

6.4.3.3 Consultation, power and forestlands management

As repeatedly mentioned, the consultation processes examined here do not involve decision-making for forestlands management. Under the Québec forestry regime, and the Forestry Act, responsibility and power for forest management and decision-making lie with the forestry companies and the MRNQ.

Buchy and Hoverman (2000) note that “*the role of power is central to participatory processes*” (p 16). They add that people often choose to participate in processes because they are seeking power to change forest management, but that forestry agencies do not want to give up this power. This issue is implicit in scales of participation as developed by Arnstein (1969) and as shown in Table 9. These scales are based on the power that participants have to influence or to make decisions.

A recurrent theme in Atikamekw contributions to the consultation processes has been their desire for more information and for greater consultation about forestry operations and forestland management. *Wemotaci iriniw* seek more information about operations and some want to meet forestry company representatives, in the forest, to discuss proposed operations. Atikamekw representatives are participating in forest industry committees, and establishing their own groups, to advise, to promote their interests, and to participate more directly in forestland management. These representatives and the CNA are also negotiating to establish greater roles for the Atikamekw in the management of *Nitaskinan*. All these actions suggest that the Atikamekw are seeking greater power to decide how they, and the forest industry, use *Nitaskinan*.

In contrast, forestry companies (and the MRNQ) already have power for making and implementing decisions for forestlands management. The consultation processes described here enable the forestry companies to seek Atikamekw information and to modify forestry practices to reduce adverse effects on the Atikamekw. Modifications to the Forestry Act in 2001 oblige forestry companies to include First Nations (among others) in planning, and the processes already developed suggests that companies are prepared to accept Atikamekw participation. However, the industry and the MRNQ remain the basic decision-makers for forestlands.

This power imbalance is an important element in relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Côté and Bouthillier (2002) noted that the *Table de concertation* for the CA

43-20 contributed to sharing information, but did not alter basic decision-making roles. Feit and Beaulieu (2001) believed that even through consultation processes developed for the Cree in northern Québec recognized Cree hunting stewards and traplines (similar to Atikamekw *ka nikantic* and family territories described in Chapter 5), they did not lead to real changes in forestry practices. They concluded that participation initiatives were “*more concerned with legitimating the existing decisions of governments and corporations than with creating effective participation for Cree.*” (Feit and Beaulieu 2001, p. 143)²⁵. Despite modifications, Québec’s forestry regime maintains the decision-making powers of the government and the forest industry. Consultation processes are organized in accordance with this regime, and are often led by the government and industry representatives who make decisions. Under these conditions, it is unsurprising that the Atikamekw are seeking more consultation, more participation and a right to decide what happens on *Nitaskinan*.

Difficulties in achieving “real” change in forestry practices, and distrust of governments and industry, have contributed to increasing calls for “meaningful consultation” of First Nations on forestland management (NAFA 2000). Canada’s National Aboriginal Forestry Association (NAFA) has advanced this concept as a way of ensuring that consultation processes properly take account of First Nations interests and that they lead to real changes in forestry practices. The various principles of “meaningful consultation” include Aboriginal participation in the development of processes, respect for different knowledge systems and values, and mechanisms to support consultation by ensuring that Aboriginals have the skills and resources necessary to participate. Critically, NAFA believes that meaningful consultation means that no decision proceeds without the consent of the community, implying that First Nations should have a final decision-making power.

It is clear that the consultation processes described in this chapter have brought benefits to both the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Although these processes may be limited, the Atikamekw and the representatives have been working within them and within the forestry regime in order to modify forest management in the *Haute-Mauricie*. However, the Atikamekw are also seeking power to determine the management of *Nitaskinan*. As Buchy and Hoverman (2000) say, “*power is central to participatory processes*”.

²⁵ The *Paix des braves*” between the Cree and the Québec government in November 2001 established a Cree-Québec Council on forestry. This may prove to be an effective arrangement for sharing decision-making power over forestlands.

6.5 Industrial and Atikamekw approaches to consultation and management

This chapter has examined twenty-two different events or processes of consultation. Although each is different from the others, the various characteristics discussed in section 6.4 contribute to establishing four general approaches to consultation:

1. **Giving and gathering of information.** Consultations aim to provide or to collect information concerning forest management.
2. **Consultation around the table.** Consultations at a strategic or political level involving experts determining directions for forest management.
3. **Consultation on the map.** Consultations at an operational level based on modifying forest management plans that are indicated on maps.
4. **Atikamekw methods of consultation.** Consultations carried out by the Atikamekw based on traditional forms of consultation and management.

Giving and gathering of information

Consultations aimed at giving or gathering information are particularly common among those within the community. Forestry companies and the *Projet d'harmonisation* seek to identify sites of particular importance to *Wemotaci iriniw*, who also provide information on broader concerns and issues affecting their occupation of *Nitaskinan*. The Atikamekw themselves seek information about forestry operations, but such material is often highly technical and difficult for non-foresters to understand. Accordingly, the Atikamekw have had to engage a professional forester to manage this information for them.

The parties have different goals within this approach. The forestry companies are aiming to identify constraints to their management and exploitation of the forest resource. In contrast, the Atikamekw are seeking to defend their occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and to obtain a greater role in its management, particularly in decision-making. Giving and gathering of information involves the greatest number of participants, especially among *Wemotaci iriniw*. It can contribute to a greater understanding of the questions of forest management, but rarely involves discussion about the answers.

Consultation around the table

Consultation around the table is most often used at the strategic level where a committee or a group meets around a table to determine objectives, recommendations or guidelines for forest management, which are then implemented by others. Participants in these consultations represent particular parties, and all are present as an “expert” in their domain. Non-experts are rarely present, although particular individuals may be invited to attend a meeting to contribute a specific expertise. Such meetings often follow formal procedural rules. Hence participants must be familiar (or at ease) with this format, and must have the confidence to debate other experts in order to promote a viewpoint or to obtain information.

Consultations around the table enable industry and Atikamekw representatives (along with other parties) to propose actions to those with the power to decide on forestland management.

Consultation on the map

Consultation on the map is most often used for operational planning where resource management professionals work with information on maps and in databanks. In this approach, the Atikamekw are usually asked to identify sites or areas that have particular importance, such as campsites, fauna habitats or access trails, and to mark these on maps. Professional planners then consider how to protect these sites by retaining un-logged areas or by modifying operational prescriptions.

An important benefit of this approach is that it is compatible with the planning systems currently used by the forest industry, and so Atikamekw information can be treated in the same way as other data. It also requires familiarity with forestry information represented on maps, and so the Atikamekw have engaged a professional forester to assist them. Consultation on the map enables the industry and the Atikamekw to improve the protection of specific sites, but it is not suitable for information that cannot be represented on maps or for concerns that cannot be addressed through measures such as the retention of small blocks of un-logged forest.

Atikamekw methods of consultation

There is also an Atikamekw approach to consultation, although this approach is used only rarely for consultations related to forestry. Many *Wemotaci iriniw* described how they would like to be consulted, and several individual events exhibited elements of such an approach²⁶. Atikamekw consultation is organized around traditional family territories, *natoho aski*, under the responsibility of *ka nikantic* (Chapter 5). Atikamekw tradition obliges users of the territory (family members, friends, guests etc.) to discuss their plans with the *ka nikantic*, especially if they are related to hunting, trapping, or the establishment of a camp²⁷. *Ka nikanitc* will provide comments or suggestions, based on his knowledge of the area, of the animal populations, the presence of other users and on plans for the future. Approval, in a western sense, is neither requested nor given, but the suggestions of *ka nikanitc* are usually followed through respect for his knowledge and his experience. Upon return, the user will again meet with *ka nikanitc*, sharing with him both the results of the hunt (or other activities) and updated information about *natoho aski*.

This is an approach of oral consultation, taking the form of discussions on *natoho aski*, in a camp or at the home of *ka nikantic*. Histories and anecdotes are an important part of these discussions, providing information about the area, the practice of activities, and appropriate values (Lavoie 1999). Although many *Wemotaci iriniw* can use maps in a consultation, they are less likely to refer to textual planning documents.

This approach is still used by many Atikamekw for their activities on *Nitaskinan*. However, the formal consultations described in this chapter do not recognize this approach, and few integrate the role of *ka nikantic*. Accordingly, the *ka nikantic* may be unaware of the extent of forestry operations on *natoho aski*, reducing his ability to counsel others who wish to use it. The Atikamekw approach to consultations offers a fourth way of organising consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry, but is untried in this context.

²⁶ The SFAA consultations, a kitchen meeting, women's meetings and several meetings for the occupation study.

²⁷ Informants A10, A23, A53, B21, B24, S03, S07.

6.6 Synthesis

The twenty-two consultations described in this sub-study demonstrate the importance of relations between the forest industry and the Atikamekw. The industry is prepared to listen to the Atikamekw and the Atikamekw are prepared to contribute information and ideas to the industry. The Atikamekw want to maintain their occupation of *Nitaskinan* and obtain a role in its contemporary management. The industry needs the timber resources of the *Haute-Mauricie* at affordable costs. Each party has shown a preparedness to adapt to the interests of the other.

However, these consultations rest upon a basic imbalance of power. The forest industry is responsible for making many forest management decisions, and consultations are a means of obtaining information to facilitate this and avoiding conflicts. The Atikamekw do not have decision-making power. Instead they use these consultations to protect their occupation of *Nitaskinan* and to seek a greater participation in its management, or, at least, to influence the decisions made by the forestry companies.

Almost all the consultations described here are lead by professional foresters, take place within the existing forest management system, and involve information for use in forest management. Consultation methods, information and language are not always appropriate. Information exchanged is not always understood or acted upon. Atikamekw concerns about lifestyle, customs, knowledge and participation are difficult to integrate into the forest management system. Consultations do not permit the Atikamekw to make decisions about *Nitaskinan*. These consultations are based on the industrial forestry paradigm, and not on that of the Atikamekw.

There exists another approach to consultation, based on Atikamekw traditions and on the role of *ka nikanitc*. Characteristics of this approach are presented in Chart 6, summarising the elements of industrial and Atikamekw paradigms revealed in this sub-study. Such an approach may improve the exchange of information about the full range of Atikamekw concerns, while still addressing operational matters for the supply of wood to the forest industry. It is an approach where decision-making is shared. This approach could help to bridge the divide between Atikamekw and industrial forestry paradigms.

Chart 6

Consultation processes and forestry paradigms

This chart presents and compares characteristics of industrial and Atikamekw forestry paradigms, as revealed through the analysis of consultations in this chapter. This presentation is complementary to the characteristics of the paradigms as described in other chapters.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Values concerning occupation, utilisation and management of forestlands
- Goals, objectives and expectations contributing to the forestlands management
- Information contributing to forestlands management.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- The extent of forestland areas that is being managed as a unit
- Power and decision-making for forestlands management
- Parties involved in decision-making for forestlands management.
- Consultation processes used in forestlands management.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Values concerning occupation, utilisation and management of forestlands</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trees as a timber resource. • Other values are not ignored, but are secondary. • Respect for scientific management and objective information. • All areas are considered equally. • Compliance with legal requirements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animals, birds, water and land are integrally part of forestland. • Respect for <i>ka nikanitc</i> and elders with knowledge of forestland. • Individuals identify with particular family territories. • Challenge the application of external laws to Atikamekw

Goals, objectives and expectations contributing to management of forestlands	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal goal - maintain regular wood supply. • Comply with government requirements. • Obtain information needed for planning. • Identification of constraints to operations. • Consultations should be efficient. • Good relations with the Atikamekw help to avoid conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal goal – maintain occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Maintain the Atikamekw lifestyle. • Government recognition of Atikamekw demands for autonomy in <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Participation in forest decision-making • Reduce the perturbation of forestlands resulting from harvesting. • Ensure recognition of Atikamekw information in forestry planning. • Employment, especially for the Tackipotcikan sawmill. • Good relations with the companies help to influence decisions.

Information contributing to decisions about forestlands management	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal information – determination of wood supply and of limiting factors. • Standardized information is used to enable comparison of different areas. • Information is: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ organized through expert knowledge; ○ objective – not subject to interpretation; ○ Stored in maps and computer GISs; ○ Maintained through regular inventories. • Understanding information requires specialist knowledge. • Information on interests of third parties is being collected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal information – resources, practices and history of <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Detailed information about <i>natoho aski</i> held by <i>ka nikantic</i> and others. • Information is: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ subjective, based on experience and shared observations; ○ stored in memory and transmitted through history and anecdotes; ○ maintained through observation and occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Information is updated and expanded through sharing with other users, including the forest industry.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>The extent of forestland areas that is being managed as a unit</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management units of 2,500 to 4, 000 km². • Planning includes regional issues. • Planners will talk about other areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family territories of 1,000 to 2 000 km². • <i>Ka nikanitic</i> is responsible for one territory and is unlikely to talk about other areas.

<i>Power and decision-making for forestlands management</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power and decision-making shared by companies and MRNQ: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Companies prepare and implement plans; ○ MRNQ approves company plans and activities; ○ Strong links between industry and MRNQ. • Consultation is distinct from decision-making. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision-making shared between <i>ka nikanitic</i> and users: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ User discusses plans with <i>ka nikanitic</i>; ○ <i>Ka nikanitic</i> provides advice, but does not usually approve / disapprove. • Consultation is integral to decision-making. • Traditional systems not acknowledged by forest management system. Atikamekw try to influence decisions within the forestry regime. • Atikamekw seeking to obtain greater power over management of <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

<i>Parties involved in decision- making for forestlands management</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Principal decisions made by staff of companies and reviewed by MRNQ. • Other parties may be invited to provide particular information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisions made jointly by <i>ka nikanitic</i> and users. Expertise lies predominantly, but not solely, with the <i>ka nikanitic</i>.

<i>Consultation processes used in forestlands management.</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meetings of company staff and representatives of Atikamekw. • Some meetings with <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> in presence of representatives. • Consultation is distinct from decision-making. • Seek to obtain specific information. • Provide information on harvesting plans. • Reliance upon maps, guidelines and technical documents. • Meetings usually organized in offices or meeting rooms. • Use of French language. • Company staff do not speak Atikamekw. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meetings of <i>ka nikanitc</i> and other users. • Individual Atikamekw seek meetings with company staff. • Consultation and information sharing is integral to decision-making. • Seek information about operations. • Provide information to facilitate continuation of Atikamekw lifestyle. • Reliance on discussion. • Community must now employ experts to represent them to forest industry. • Consultation often occurs in <i>Nitaskinan</i> or in camps or houses. • Use of Atikamekw language is preferred. • French is used for discussions with company staff.

Chapter 7
Atikamekw and industrial perceptions of
forestlands

7.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have examined forestlands use and management by the Atikamekw and the industry; firstly from a historical perspective, then as evidenced through Atikamekw participation in the industry, through Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and finally through an examination of the consultation processes between the parties. However, it is also important to consider how the Atikamekw and the industry themselves describe forestry, and what they identify as important in understanding forestlands. Over two hundred people, both Atikamekw and representatives of the forest industry, participated in the various research activities already described. This final sub-study presents interviews with nineteen of these informants, selected to represent the diversity within each group. I also present documentary texts prepared by the parties for submission to the 2000 Parliamentary Commission to modify the Forestry Act. In this chapter, the words of the Atikamekw and the foresters themselves will be used to explore the characteristics of the different paradigms, and to examine the similarities and differences between these.

In this chapter:

Section 7.2 describes the interview and documentary methods used to collect information in this sub-study

Section 7.3 presents five key themes arising from the interviews and documents, illustrating the different ways in which each party occupies and manages forestlands.

Section 7.4 and Chart 7 conclude the chapter and summarize the contributions of this analysis to understanding different forestry paradigms

7.2 Sub-study method

This sub-study provides a critical complementary source of information for understanding the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Through interviews, industry representatives and Atikamekw explained how they use and occupy the forestlands of *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*, and also the terms that they used to describe this area. They spoke to me of the advantages and the disadvantages (or problems) associated with the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and with Atikamekw participation in forestry more generally. They also shared some of their hopes and concerns regarding the future management of this territory and relations between the Atikamekw and the industry. Through documents, both parties have tried to convince the government, and others, to take account of their needs, their interests and their views concerning the management of forestlands. This information contributes to understanding the observations and conclusions made in the preceding chapters. Observations of the actions taken by different parties concerning forestlands, and of interactions between the Atikamekw and the industry, also contribute to confirming and recognizing the significance of information provided in the interviews.

Interviews and documentary information are an integral part of qualitative research. In particular, the Grounded Theory approach was elaborated largely in response to the need for analysis techniques that are both rigorous and flexible (Strauss and Corbin 1990, Chapter 2). Within this sub-study, the Grounded Theory approach provides a framework to analyse and understand the differing interpretations of both the Atikamekw and the forest industry.

7.2.1 Selection of informants

During this research I interviewed a total of 49 people, 32 Atikamekw and 17 non-Atikamekw (excluding participants in the occupation study –Chapter 5). Annexe B contains details on all informants and interviews. An initial group of 15 interviews was undertaken from May to July 1999 as part of the scoping study (Chapter 2). From January 2000 to January 2002, I interviewed a further 42 people (8 people were interviewed in both series). Research activities for the sub-studies described in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 enabled me to identify those people who were active,

informed or interested in the occupation and management of forestlands, and who demonstrated some interest and confidence in my work. I particularly sought a variety of Atikamekw informants, avoiding an over-reliance on community leaders or on those employed in forestry related activities, and including women, youth and elders. Hence, the interviews represent a variety of informants over a period of two and a half years, rather than an intensive series conducted during a limited time period.

Within this pool of 49 informants, I selected nineteen for presentation and analysis in this sub-study¹. This group includes thirteen Atikamekw and six non-Atikamekw informants, as indicated in Table 10 and Table 11. Informants were selected to maintain the variety already established in the pool, comprising foresters and non-foresters; men and women; youth, elders and the middle-aged; employed and unemployed; and leaders, whether elected, informally recognized or in the forestry companies. Among the Atikamekw, this selection includes both supporters of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and critics of it. Non-Atikamekw foresters include those working for the Atikamekw, and those working in the industry. The variety of characteristics of the informants, is also matched by a variety of opinions expressed by them, as demonstrated by the citations presented in section 7.3. Finally, it is important to note that there is no overlap between the nineteen informants in this sub-study and the thirty-one who participated in the sub-study on contemporary occupation of *Nitaskinan* presented in Chapter 5.

Five informants worked for the Atikamekw forestry services (SFAA and *Projet d'harmonisation*), occupying a critical position between Atikamekw and industry perceptions. Their statements in interviews often reflect both viewpoints. However, statements by the three Atikamekw in this group more closely reflected the views of other Atikamekw than those of industry informants. Similarly, the two non-Atikamekw are professional foresters, and their views often agreed with industry colleagues. Accordingly, the “industrial” perception presented in this chapter includes foresters working for the Atikamekw, while the “Atikamekw” view includes Atikamekw working in the forest industry. This division also helps to demonstrate the differences that can exist within each group².

¹ While a full analysis of all interviews would certainly be useful, it would also have significantly increased the time required and made this sub-study much longer than those in previous chapters.

² The definition of “paradigm” in Chapter 2 recognises different perspectives within a group

Table 10
Principal groups of informants

Group	Code³	Number of informants
Atikamekw, members of the community	A	8
Atikamekw leaders	B	2
Workers in Atikamekw forestry services	S	5
Forest industry representatives	F	4

7.2.2 Conducting the interviews

All interviews presented in this chapter were conducted as semi-structured interviews (Patton 1990, Chapter 2). This enabled me to pose questions about informants' views concerning forestlands, while giving me the flexibility to explore interesting or important themes that arose during the interview. My principal goal in these interviews was to determine the beliefs and values of each informant concerning forestlands, as well as the techniques and the systems that guide their occupation, use and management of these lands. An interview guide was prepared (Annexe B) and addressed the following points:

- Forest, forestry and territory
- Ways of managing forestlands
- Information, knowledge, consultation
- Decision-making
- Atikamekw identity
- Forestry, sawmill and Atikamekw lifestyle
- *Scierie Tackipotcikan* – benefits and problems
- *Scierie Tackipotcikan* – history
- Vision of forestlands

All interviews, except two, were conducted in the French language, although Atikamekw terms were often used in particular contexts (see Chapter 5). One interview with an elder

was held principally in Atikamekw, with the informant's son acting as an interpreter and adding his own comments as appropriate. In this case, the elder understood spoken French, and was able to follow my questions and his son's translations, but he preferred to express himself in Atikamekw. A single informant was fluent in English and interviews were held in this language.

In seven cases, the information here is drawn from more than one interview, conducted at different times in my research (between June 1999 and January 2002). This occurred as informants' roles or participation (in forestry and in my research) changed during the three years. As noted previously, I did not conduct an intensive series of interviews and informants were not selected randomly. As my knowledge of the situation developed, along with informants' confidence in me, I conducted further interviews, or participated in casual discussions that subsequently became a more probing interview. In all cases these second, third and fourth interviews provided more and richer information than was obtained in the initial interview. This experience indicates the great value of follow-up interviewing, and counsels against over-reliance on a single series of interviews.

Interviews with eleven informants were recorded on audiotape, and subsequently prepared as a written transcript. However, not all informants were prepared to have their words recorded – a characteristic of both Atikamekw and non-Atikamekw informants. For unrecorded interviews, I made extensive notes during the interview. In my notebooks, a phrase written in French indicates a record of the phrase used by the informant, while phrases in English indicate my paraphrase or summary of the statement. For convenience, I will use the term “transcript” to refer to transcribed audiotapes as well as my notes and paraphrases of interviews. Within this chapter, all citations are provided in English, representing my translation of a statement in French, either during the interview or during the analysis of the interview transcript. Original transcriptions of French audiotapes are included in Annexe B-6. My use of English paraphrases of interviews not recorded on audiotape could cause inaccuracy in my analysis. Nevertheless, I am confident that meaning and significance conform to the intention of the informant (see section 7.2.5).

³ The coding system is explained in greater detail in Annexe B.

Table 11
Principal characteristics of informants

Code	Atikamekw or non-Atikamekw	Sex	Age group	Employment position	or	Conduct of the interview
A02	Atikamekw	Male	60 +	Elder		Atikamekw / French, Notes
A09	Atikamekw	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment Potential sawmill worker		French, Taped
A15	Atikamekw	Male	60 +	Elder		French, Notes (3 interviews)
A53	Atikamekw	Female	30 - 60	Employed in community services		French, Notes (2 interviews)
A54	Atikamekw	Female	30 - 60	Employed in community services		English, Notes (2 interviews)
A81	Atikamekw	Female	20 - 30	Employed in community services		French, Taped
A86	Atikamekw	Male	20 - 30	No fulltime employment		French, Notes
A88	Atikamekw	Female	20 - 30	No fulltime employment		French, Taped
B01	Atikamekw	Male	30 - 60	Band Councillor & Administrator		French, Taped
B07	Atikamekw	Female	30 – 60	Band Councillor & Administrator		French, Taped
S02	Atikamekw	Male	20 - 30	Technician Atikamekw forestry		French, Written
S06	Atikamekw	Male	30 - 60	Technician Atikamekw forestry		French, Taped
S08	Atikamekw	Male	30 - 60	Administrator Atikamekw forestry		French, Taped
S21	Non-Atikamekw	Male	30 – 60	Forester, Atikamekw forestry		French, Taped
S23	Non-Atikamekw	Male	30 – 60	Forester, Atikamekw forestry		French, Taped
F03	Non-Atikamekw	Male	30 – 60	Forester, forest industry		French, Taped & notes (4 interviews)
F04	Non-Atikamekw	Male	30 – 60	Forester, forest industry		French, Notes
F06	Non-Atikamekw	Male	30 – 60	Forester, forest industry		French, notes, (3 interviews)
F14	Non-Atikamekw	Male	60 +	Sawmill owner, forest industry		French, notes

7.2.3 Selection of documents

There is substantial documentation available concerning Atikamekw and industrial utilisation, occupation and management of the forestlands of the St-Maurice river basin. For the industry, this documentation includes the forest management plans prepared by companies, industry-wide reports and statistics, annual and financial reports of individual companies, and publicity and educational materials. Similarly, the Atikamekw have prepared numerous documents and reports for the administration of their communities and for negotiations with the federal and provincial governments. Furthermore, there have also been a number of anthropological research reports, often commissioned by the *Conseil de la nation Atikamekw* (CNA).

For this sub-study, I wished to examine documents that could complement the information provided by informants in interviews; documents that were similar in scope and style, which described the parties' perceptions of forestlands, and which were available for both the Atikamekw and the forestry companies. Therefore I examined submissions to the 2000 Parliamentary Commission to modify Québec's Forestry Act (CET 2000). The Minister for Natural Resources proposed a number of modifications to the Forestry Act to the Québec provincial parliament in May 2000. The Government subsequently decided to hold a Parliamentary Commission concerning these modifications, and invited written public submissions during August 2000. These submissions were subsequently presented orally before the Commission in September and October 2000. The *Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw*, *Gérard Crête et fils* and Smurfit-Stone all made submissions to this Commission. I have used both the written submissions and the verbatim records of the Commission, including responses and additional explanations during the hearing, as indicated in Table 12.

Table 12
Submissions to the Parliamentary Commission

Organisation	Verbal presentation	Presented by
<i>Gérard Crête et fils</i>	6 September 2000	Luc Richard
<i>Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw</i>	17 October 2000	Ernest Ottawa
Smurfit-Stone inc.	19 October 2000	Denis Jutras

7.2.4 Data analysis

Data analysis for this sub-study followed the Grounded Theory approach for coding and identifications of links between categories (Chapter 2). To facilitate this analysis I used the qualitative analysis program N4 (or QSR NUD*IST Version 4, QSR 2000). N4 is a computer program specifically designed to enhance analyse of qualitative data, particularly in social sciences.

Each interview transcript and each documentary text was open-coded to identify the concepts and ideas expressed by the informant. N4 enables one or more codes to be attached to each paragraph, or section of text. Initially, these codes are referred to as “Free nodes”, meaning that they are not linked or structured in any way. The researcher subsequently organizes these codes as a series of linked nodes and sub-nodes, establishing a hierarchical tree-diagram. This step is analogous to axial coding in the Grounded Theory approach (Chapter 2). N4 permits nodes to be changed, links to be modified, and new nodes to be added as the researcher develops a greater understanding of the data. Initially I open coded all transcripts for the first six Atikamekw informants creating over one hundred Free nodes. I then linked these Free nodes into a tree diagram. Subsequent Atikamekw interviews and the CNA document were coded using the categories already established, or new Free nodes when necessary. Coding of industry transcripts followed the same procedure, establishing a separate tree diagram.

Using the principal categories established during coding, I selected five themes common to both the Atikamekw and the industry. Section 7.3 presents Atikamekw and industrial perceptions and understandings of forestlands, in relation to each theme. Citations from the transcripts were selected on the basis of the coding and are used to illustrate perceptions of each group.

7.2.5 Validation

Validation of data and analysis in this sub-study rests upon several elements.

The selection of informants, both in the initial pool and for the nineteen selected for analysis, must represent a variety of people and a range of viewpoints. Table 11 and section 7.3 (and Annexe B) demonstrate a diversity of informants and of information.

Within this diversity, all interpretations in section 7.3 are supported by citations from more than one informant (except where specifically noted). However, it is also important to note that all nineteen informants added new information and codes and that more informants would have been useful.

The choice of Atikamekw informants was based on interest in forestry and occupation of territory. This could present a bias, as people with less or no interest in forestlands were not included in the pool of interviews. However, this selection ensured that all informants provided useful information for understanding forestlands and the territory.

The use of both tape-recorded and unrecorded interviews represents a balance between respecting the wishes of informants, ensuring a variety of informants and viewpoints, and obtaining richer and more detailed information. Comparison between these different types of transcript is possible and does not indicate a particular bias. Although I have tried to ensure accuracy in my translations and interpretations, the possibility of bias or inaccuracy is unavoidable. Copies of all transcripts have been retained to enable verification of my translations if required.

The use of interviews and documents provided an element of triangulation between data sources and collection methods. Similar ideas were expressed in both sets of data.

Finally, the elements of the Atikamekw and forest industry paradigms that are identified in this chapter are to be considered in relation to the other sub-studies presented in this thesis.

7.3 Key themes in Atikamekw and industry understandings of forestlands

The coding and analysis process described in section 7.2 led to the identification of five key themes. Although the viewpoints presented by the industry and the Atikamekw are often different, these themes enable regrouping and comparison, facilitating the identification of common elements. The following five themes are examined:

1. The Scierie Tackipotcikan
2. The Atikamekw, the industry and forest practices
3. Understanding the territory – *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*
4. Managing forestlands
5. Each parties perception of the other

7.3.1 The *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

The establishment of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* was the initial focus of this research and provided a useful starting point for interviews (although this was not appropriate in all cases). Plans for the sawmill contributed to closer relations between the Atikamekw and the industry, particularly with Crête and Smurfit-Stone. For both groups, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partnership illustrates their hopes for Atikamekw involvement in forestry, and their concerns about how this can be achieved.

7.3.1.1 Atikamekw perceptions of *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* is recognized by almost all informants as being aimed at creating employment opportunities for Wemotaci. As noted in Chapter 4, there are limited employment opportunities in Wemotaci, and a growing proportion of youth in the population. In interviews, the need to provide employment for the youth, to occupy them and to keep them in Wemotaci, was a recurrent response to questions about the advantages of the sawmill project. This opinion is shared by both supporters of the sawmill project, and by those who are concerned about it. Employment was not to be

limited to the sawmill, but also included work in the forest, in administration and in small businesses, that would hopefully follow the sawmill.

When the Council started to discuss the sawmill, we saw that there were many demands for jobs, and it seemed that the sector that could create the most jobs was the forest. ... If there are fifty people working there, then the economic level (of the community) will be higher and maybe there will be other businesses that develop afterwards.

Informant B01 February 2000

The advantages (of the sawmill) are clearly a usage of the forest that will bring money and jobs because there is a problem in having good jobs.

Informant S08 November 2000

While the need to provide employment was widely accepted, there were also those who raised concerns about the way in which logging would be carried out, and the effects of forestry operations on the forest and the environment.

The women know that there is a need for employment in the village. We know that our men have to work. But they are also concerned about cutting the trees for the sawmill. They have seen the logging all around Wemotaci. Some hunters say that their land has been raped. Why are they going ahead with a sawmill that will mean that the land will continue to be destroyed?

Informant A54 October 2001

We have nothing against the sawmill. It will create a lot of work. But the way of logging, that is another thing.

Informant A02 March 2001

Informants have particular concerns about forestry practices (section 7.3.2 and Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) but, for some informants, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* also represents a threat to Atikamekw values and the way of life. Forestry operations not only destroy the trees and cause the animals to leave, but Atikamekw participation in these operations destroys the link between the Atikamekw and forestlands:

Forestry is destroying the environment and the link between the Atikamekw and nature. The new sawmill will continue to do this.

Informant A15 May 1999

In order to avoid these impacts on *Nitaskinan*, and on the Atikamekw themselves, informants said that the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* should not be like other sawmills. Instead, the logging for the sawmill should ensure that animals remain on forestlands, that pollution is avoided, and that the Atikamekw are consulted and involved in planning and conducting forestry operations. Furthermore, Atikamekw involvement in forestry, and their ownership

of a sawmill provides an opportunity to change forestry practices, and to demonstrate another way of logging forestlands.

We are not against logging, but it must be done in a very different way. The animals, the moose, must be there always. Animals will stay in the same place. If we keep areas uncut, then the animals and the birds will always come back, even when some parts have been cut.

Informant A02 March 2001

I don't think that we will log like other people. If we make the effort and work hard, then there can be a change in Québec.

Informant A09 November 2001

Faced with a need to create employment and a concern to protect forestlands from excessive logging, most Atikamekw informants accept that they should participate in the forest industry. They see that others will log the forest if they do not and that their involvement could improve forestry practices and management.

If we don't log the forest, then the whites will log it anyway in their own fashion. It is better for us to cut it than leaving it to them to come and destroy the forest.

Informant A53 November 2001

7.3.1.2 Industry perceptions of *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Industry informants are very clear in identifying the benefits of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, for the industry, for the Atikamekw, and particularly as a partnership between the two. Establishing and maintaining good relations between industry and Atikamekw is consistently identified as the principal benefit of the sawmill, and of wider Atikamekw participation in forestry (section 7.3.2). The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* would also assist industry partners to obtain more wood for their own mills; wood chips for Smurfit-Stone and sawn timber for further processing by Crête. Both companies are also seeking certification of their timber production methods, and the partnership with the Atikamekw may assist this. Finally, the presence of Smurfit-Stone's private forestland is an additional incentive for harmonious relations with Atikamekw.

For the Atikamekw, the industry sees the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* as providing both employment and economic development opportunities. In interviews, informants frequently linked advantages for both industry and Atikamekw— they recognize that the partnership needs to benefit both.

The Atikamekw are already in the forest and involved. They are there and can be used. They need the chance to develop. Crête is a part of the sawmill project because they have a need for the wood, and did not want to see it going to someone else. Equally, Wemotaci needs work and activities, the workforce.

Informant F03 July 1999

(Smurfit-Stone) was interested when the opportunity came to associate with them, to help them become more autonomous. They are there on the private property.

Informant F06 October 2000

Interestingly, industry informants see the sawmill as important for Atikamekw autonomy, an element of First Nations' aspirations identified in Chapters 1, 3, 4 and 6. However, these informants relate autonomy to promoting economic development, rather than to Atikamekw control of *Nitaskinan*; Atikamekw claims are an issue for government, not the industry.

There must be activities so that people can have their autonomy. With today's industrial world, it's certain that people can't live just from hunting and fishing; they are not just content to eat, to have a place to live and clothing. People want a little more than that ; that's why they need economic activities.

Informant S21 November 2000

For the industry, *Scierie Tackipotcikan* is a "social project", providing employment and promoting economic development. Informants stress that profitability is not a priority, and that their financial goals are limited to covering their costs and investments⁴.

The government should see that this is a social project. There are serious problems at Wemotaci - suicide, unemployment, alcohol and a lack of future for the youth. The sawmill project will help these.

Informant F03 January 2002

We don't think we will make money from the sawmill. As long as it covers its costs we will be happy. ... Given (the) advantages it is worthwhile trying.

Informant F14 August 2000

As a "social project", the industry realized that the sawmill would have to be adapted to the Atikamekw way of life. Workers in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* were to be able to continue traditional practices in the forest, and logging techniques were to be harmonized to Atikamekw interests (see also Chapter 4).

⁴ With the indefinite delay of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, even this limited goal seems optimistic.

Employees have their habitual activities, the things that they do now, and we have to respect these. ... shutdown periods will be arranged during the year to enable the employees to go off on other activities, hunting etc.

Informant F06 November 2001

(We) are prepared to adopt the Atikamekw vision (of forestry); for example, new techniques to respond to their interests, changes to the RNI, such as the problem with beavers and lakes⁵.

Informant F03 July 1999

Industrial partners made a deliberate decision not to “push” development of the project, believing that the long-term success of the sawmill depended upon the Atikamekw taking full “ownership” of the project. Nevertheless, industry informants are concerned about the delays in the project, lack of Atikamekw experience in forestry and in management, and the sawmill being put “on-ice” in November 2001 (Chapter 4).

For the Aboriginals, it is not as if we are working with someone who knows sawmills. ... I think that it is a project where you cannot go as rapidly as if you decide yourself ... to build a sawmill and you have the expertise. In this case, it is not you who builds it, it is for the Aboriginals and it is up to them to feel at ease with this.

Informant F03 August 2000

.. the project needed a good project leader, someone who would push it. The Aboriginals wanted to do it themselves. ... But they haven't kept working and pushing to make sure that the project keeps moving ahead.

Informant F04 November 2001

Perhaps we, CSL and Crête, could have taken more of a lead in the project. ... We decided not to do that. We have always thought that it is important that the Atikamekw themselves should take responsibility for the project.

Informant F06 April 2001

The industry relies on forest resources of the *Haute-Mauricie*, but also recognizes that the Atikamekw live in these forests. For the industry, establishment of a sawmill at Wemotaci is a natural way to involve the Atikamekw in the management and development of these resources, providing benefits to both parties.

It is a social project for Crête and Smurfit-Stone. They are not going to make any money out of this project. They know that the government sees this favourably. If Aboriginals decide to block the roads in the future, then they hope that having existing relations will make it easier to keep on going. For Crête, they also get to

⁵ The Atikamekw often note that government regulations (the RNI) prohibit logging within 20 m of a lake; they believe that cutting close to the lake in some places will improve conditions for beaver.

sell the wood. This helps their sales. And Smurfit-Stone will get the woodchips. Also there is a long history between Smurfit-Stone and the Atikamekw, going back to CIP.

Informant F04 November 2001

7.3.1.3 The place for *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Scierie Tackipotcikan is recognized as bringing benefits to both Atikamekw and the industry. For the Atikamekw, employment, economic development, changing forest practices and obtaining control over forestry activities; for the industry, good relations, access to increased wood supplies, and avoiding conflicts. These are similar to the interests of other First Nation – industry partnerships across Canada (Chapter 1, Anderson 1997; NAFA/IOG 2000). It appears that making high profits is not a priority for either party – industry partners hope to cover costs, while Atikamekw emphasize employment rather than profits..

Atikamekw are, however, concerned *about* the impacts of *Scierie Tackipotcikan* on the forest and on their traditional practices and on the link between the Atikamekw and *Nitaskinan*. Accordingly, industry planners and Atikamekw leaders are trying to ensure that the sawmill responds to Atikamekw interests and is adapted to their lifestyle. Nevertheless, concerns remain. Curran and M'Gonigle (1999) note that First Nations are often obliged to participate in existing forestry regimes, rather than being able to apply alternative approaches to forestland management. Atikamekw participation in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* may be an acceptance of the industrial forestry paradigm as a way of obtaining employment and development. However, this participation may also indicate that the Atikamekw are taking advantage of an opportunity to change the way this paradigm is applied on *Nitaskinan*.

7.3.2 The Atikamekw, the industry and forest practices

Many of the Atikamekw concerns about the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* are based on their experience of industrial forest practices and management in the *Haute-Mauricie*. For over one hundred years, these forests have been logged and managed by the industry, but it is only in the last twenty years that the Atikamekw have had opportunities for their concerns to be addressed in forest management (Chapter 4). Now, the Atikamekw are ensuring

that their views are heard and they want forest practices on *Nitaskinan* to take account of this (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

7.3.2.1 Industry and forest practices

Forestry operations are essential to the industry, and Atikamekw involvement in these operations, whether through the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* or otherwise, helps to build closer relations. As already noted, industry informants recognize that the Atikamekw live in the *Haute-Mauricie* forests. They are also aware of conflicts between the industry and First Nations elsewhere in Québec (Chapter 1). Hence, the establishment and maintenance of good relations is a means of avoiding conflicts, and of enabling continued management of the *Haute-Mauricie* forests. Smurfit-Stone has had relations with the Atikamekw for over fifty years (Chapter 3), and considered a partnership with Opitciwan before that with Wemotaci⁶. Crête has been involved for ten years, encouraging Atikamekw participation in forest harvesting through SFAA (Chapter 4), even if costs are higher than non-Atikamekw competitors.

They are on our territory and we want to be sure that we have a good relationship with them. I have been through blockades before and believe that it is better to spend money doing something with them, than having to spend it reacting to a crisis.

Informant F03 Dec 2001

CSL has always had relations with the Atikamekw, even in the days of CIP at Sanmaur. ... Hence, CSL was interested when the opportunity came to associate with them, to help them become more autonomous. It will enable them to see both sides (of forestry). This will make it easier for our relations with Atikamekw.

Informant FO6 October 2000

For my relations with (SFAA), even if it costs me a little more, I have always said that I want them to provide wood at competitive prices. I see it as a business relationship with the Aboriginals, but with mutual respect.

Informant F03 August 2000.

As noted by informant F06 (above), Atikamekw involvement will help them to better understand the interests and constraints of the forest industry. This is particularly important in the context of modifying forest practices; “harmonization” of industry and Atikamekw interests is the usual term. The industry recognizes the need to change

forestry practices to make these more acceptable to the Atikamekw (Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and section 7.3.2.2). However, they also note that government regulations often prevent them from modifying practices to respond to Atikamekw interests, such as by favouring beaver habitat⁷. Mosaic logging techniques have been used since 1998 by SFAA, and are being gradually introduced as obligatory within the industry⁸. Involving Atikamekw in forestry practices requires consultation processes (Chapter 6), but industry informants want these to be effective in their contribution to planning.

Harmonization ... Aboriginals, whites, the industry, hunters, fishers, and outfitters⁹. I think this is the most interesting thing that could happen here, that everyone participates in the preparation of plans ; properly and accepting that everyone must make compromises.

Informant S21 November 2000

Discussions that we have had with the companies show me that they are open (to harmonisation), as long as it is not too expensive.

Informant S23 March 2001

There are many things that could be done but are not because the government has set standards that are too strict, or that are not based on objectives.

Informant F03 August 2000

Perhaps it would be better to have more specific meetings with smaller, targeted groups. ... Work with them to inform and involve other people in specific issues.

Informant F06 November 2001

The industry attaches great importance to the establishment and maintenance of a harmonious cohabitation with the Atikamekw in the *Haute-Mauricie* forests. To achieve this, they are prepared to involve the Atikamekw, listen to their comments and modify forestry practices. Even slightly higher costs are acceptable in order to maintain access and manage forest resources.

It is necessary to look for situations that are win-win. I believe that it is better to be proactive - don't wait for problems. When problems arrive, each side takes its

⁶ The Opitciwan council decided to establish their sawmill in partnership with Donohue Inc. (now ACI). Smurfit-Stone subsequently began discussions with Wemotaci.

⁷ Modifications to the Forestry Act in May 2001 now enable standard logging regulations to be modified to reflect aboriginal interests, if approved by the Minister.

⁸ Modifications to the RNI in March 2003 require that mosaic logging account for 60 % of all logged areas by 2006.

⁹ In Québec, the term "outfitter" describes businesses that provide guide and support services to recreational hunters and fishers. There are approximately 70 outfitters within 80 km of Wemotaci.

position and it becomes harder to resolve. It is better to spend money avoiding the problem.

Informant F03 January 2002

7.3.2.2 Atikamekw and forest practices

All Atikamekw informants, including those who work in the various forestry organisations, specifically mentioned forest practices with which they did not agree. Individual comments reflected the information provided by the Atikamekw in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Atikamekw are particularly concerned about the impacts of logging on wildlife habitat and habits, on water quality, and on the soil. But forestry operations also affect Atikamekw knowledge of *Nitaskinan*, and the way that children are taught about forestlands, their way of life and Atikamekw values. The following comments illustrate the diversity of Atikamekw concerns:

I am mainly worried about the moose. Logging of the forest is having a bad effect on the moose; affecting the way that they live, what they eat, and their breeding.

Informant A02 March 2001

There are also physical differences in the moose – they are not as fat as before. Similar differences can be found in beavers and bears. These differences may not be perceptible to all people, but they are clear to the elders. Animals are also lazier and are easier to hunt. This is because of logging

Informant A15 May 1999

Manual tree felling is better for the forest. The machines destroy the soil and the trees. It is also better to take out the trees during the winter, as this does less damage to the soil.

Informant A02 March 2001

All the camps and portages have their own histories. The kids need to know this. When the portages or the camp sites are destroyed by logging, then these stories have no meaning and they are not told and the histories are lost.

Informant A54 October 2001

The forest is dying. Instead of a healthy forest there are clear-cuts, pollution, damage and roads. The clear-cut leaves oil on the ground and damages the soils – the forest is devastated. If you go into the forest now after a clear-cut, you will see all the damage. If you return in another 5 years, you will find that it is unchanged, that the forest has not regrown.

Informant A86 March 2001

Despite these concerns, and as noted in section 7.3.1, the Atikamekw are not opposed to forestry in the *Haute-Mauricie*. Atikamekw leaders and members of the Wemotaci community all appear to accept commercial forestry operations as a contemporary reality.

Within this, they are looking for ways to minimize the impacts of forestry on *Nitaskinan* and on their own lifestyle. The *Projet d'harmonisation* and modified logging techniques used by SFAA (Chapter 4) represent ways of achieving this. Informant A15, who spoke against Atikamekw involvement in forestry in March 2000, subsequently became involved in the *Projet d'harmonisation* as a way of protecting both *Nitaskinan* and the Atikamekw:

Now, my position in the Table (d'harmonisation) is that it is not too late to bring about changes. ... People in the community must be in the action, in practice.

Informant A15, February 2001.

Several informants spoke of Atikamekw involvement in forestry, whether through the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* or in other ways, as necessary to maintain their responsibility towards *Nitaskinan*. These informants are looking for ways to encourage, or to oblige, forestry companies to improve industry practices. They see that an Atikamekw approach to forestry is based on the fact they live on the forestlands, whereas non-Atikamekw come to the forest to take the trees, and then return "home".

(It is most important) that Atikamekw efforts serve to defend and protect the land and all living creatures. There must always be a habitat for each species, and the Atikamekw should work to this, so that they can continue to practice their activities in the forest while respecting the animals there. We have to take our place; otherwise we will be standing by while the companies destroy the land. It is our duty to stand up and defend our rights, and those of the land, to be treated with respect.

Informant S02 November 2000

Maybe the Atikamekw will cut differently, maybe he will do it in a better way... But the Québécois doesn't pay any attention, he is just doing his job, to be paid and then to return home. But for us, who live on the land, we have to respect how we do it; we have to log differently.

Informant A81 November 2001

Although most Atikamekw informants appeared hopeful that they could change the forestry practices, some expressed doubts. Informant B07 commented, "

I have some difficulties with harmonization measures. It seems that we are the ones who have to harmonize to forestry logging.

Informant B07, meeting, February 2001

For the Atikamekw, participation in forestry provides a way of protecting *Nitaskinan*, of sharing in the economic benefits of timber harvesting, and opportunities for a role in forestland management and decision-making.

We are not against commercial logging of the forest. We simply want you to take account of our existence on forestlands, and that the survival of our culture depends upon the quality of our environment. We want to be part of the decision process when decisions are made about our land. We also want to share in the economic benefits of our property, to which we have rights. CNA - Verbatim

7.3.2.3 Modifying forest practices

The Atikamekw are clearly concerned about the forest practices used in managing the *Haute-Mauricie* forests, and they believe that these practices have serious impacts on their occupation of *Nitaskinan*, including on their lifestyle and their knowledge. The industry appears to agree on the need to modify practices, both for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and elsewhere in *Haute-Mauricie*, and the two parties are working together to achieve this. Atikamekw are employed in the industry, SFAA has management responsibilities for forestlands, and the *Projet d'harmonisation* is establishing consultation processes between industry planners and Atikamekw.

However, difficulties may lie in the extent to which forest practices can be changed. The Atikamekw wish to protect *Nitaskinan* and maintain their traditional activities and occupation. The industry is prepared to adapt and modify practices, but is still constrained by government regulations and the economic implications of these modifications. The continuation of Atikamekw concerns about forestry, the variety of consultation processes being used by the industry and the Atikamekw (Chapter 6), and the efforts being made for “harmonization” indicate the importance of modifying practices. These practices are probably the most visible characteristic of the difference between Atikamekw and industrial paradigms.

7.3.3 Understanding the territory – *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*

The difference between *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*, between Atikamekw and forest industry ways of understanding forestlands, is a central theme in this thesis. This section shows how the Atikamekw and the forest industry describe forestlands, what this land means to them, and how they approach the utilisation of forestlands and resources.

7.3.3.1 Atikamekw understanding of *Nitaskinan*

In their political claims and negotiations, the Atikamekw have long linked the survival of their culture and identity to the land, and more particularly to maintaining their occupation of *Nitaskinan* (Chapter 3). In their submission to the Parliamentary Commission, the CNA identified fourteen principles relating to their occupation of *Nitaskinan* and the impact of forestry operations upon this. The first three of these are of particular interest:

Firstly, the cultural blooming of Atikamekw society is intimately linked to the integrity of its territory and the capacity to support our lifestyle. Secondly, the multiple traditional activities represent the sacred link between the Atikamekw and their territory, forging the culture and the fundamental Atikamekw values. The practice of traditional activities in keeping with Atikamekw values and the traditional lifestyle is the guaranty of the perpetuation of the Atikamekw culture and society. (Thirdly) the Atikamekw people are the permanent occupants of Nitaskinan and we are an integral part of the territory, from which derives an Aboriginal right to the territory, a right which no one can take away.

CNA Verbatim

For the Atikamekw, the forestlands of the *Haute-Mauricie* are not simply a matter of trees for harvesting, nor even a question of fauna or other “resources”. Instead, informants described the territory in terms which emphasize their personal link with this territory, indicating a sense of “engagement” (Chapter 3, Ingold 1996; Poirier 2001). The territory is not property, it is not resources to be utilized; it is the history, the heritage and the spirit of the Atikamekw.

(The territory) is a vital question for the Atikamekw because they know the history and have an intimate relationship with the territory, the spirit. When this is in good condition, there is a balance. Our ancestors aimed to understand this, and not to disturb the balance. Territory is not property, but there are the people in charge, the guardians of the territory.

Informant A15 May 1999

(The territory) means the history of the Atikamekw. I mean that without territory, we cannot collect blueberries, go fishing or hunting. We can't stay there, there is not light, no history. ... The territory, it is my history.

Informant A81 November 2001

(The territory) is a heritage, a heritage to give. Certainly, we try and keep the heritage that our parents taught us. ... It is occupying the territory. People from here, when they are in the forest, it is where we live, where we draw strength. To arrive and to see the sun rise in the forest, to see the places where my father took me, and my grandfather as well. They took me, but behind that, there are many places, it is the places. There is a certain, a transfer that occurs, it is like that.

Informant S06 February 2002

This understanding of *Nitaskinan* brings with it the question of Atikamekw values. According to informants, the principal such value is respect – for the territory and for all other living beings (both human and non-human).

Atikamekw values, is respect, respect towards everything, as a human being, it is like that. ... We arrived in the world, it's our, it's our, we are part of the earth. It is the earth who gives us food, who enables us to live, to breath. ... When we talk of forest harvesting, as we said at the beginning, it must be done properly, paying attention and checking.

Informant S06 February 2002

It is clear that you have to respect the forest; even if you work there you have to fully respect it. I cut trees, but if I come to a place where there are animals, I stop immediately.

Informant A09 November 2001

Values; I would say that respect for nature, that is the one which is the most important.

Informant A81 November 2001

While *Nitaskinan* indicates the Atikamekw territory in general, *notcimik* refers more particularly to the territory occupied by a family or a person. Here, *notcimik* relates to a sense of personal identity, indicating not just the place, but also the knowledge, the skills and the values necessary for living there. Informant A53 stressed that *notcimik* was not equivalent to “*territoire*” or “*forêt*” in French, or to “territory” or “forest” in English.

Notcimik is where we learn the ability to survive. It is a place to live, with the resources that we need. It is where we can find materials such as trees and food. ... Notcimik is part of the heritage that will be left to future generations.

Informant A53 July 2001

While occupation of *Nitaskinan* and of *notcimik* is important to the Atikamekw, this occupation has also been affected by the expansion of non-Atikamekw through the *Haute-Mauricie* (Chapter 3, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). It is now more difficult for the Atikamekw to maintain their practices on forestlands, and it is therefore unsurprising that necessary knowledge is not always being passed onto the younger generations. For informant A02, *Nitaskinan* “*is not really a place for us. The logging is going on everywhere and nobody wants to live somewhere where the forest is going to be cut all around them*”. Nevertheless, most informants choose to continue to occupy the territory. They emphasize the need to control the changes that are occurring, to continue to teach their children how to live on forestlands. They speak of maintaining activities such as hunting and trapping, and of telling the stories, their history, using their language and teaching

their values. Through their occupation of forestlands, they are protecting their identify and their way of life, ensuring that *Nitaskinan* remains a place for the Atikamekw.

The Atikamekw have a spiritual contact with territory, through rituals. The animals are equally in contact, and speak to the people. They (the Atikamekw) go into the forest to make a request for food; to hunt in order to remember the taste; to keep the spiritual contact; for the sacred sites; to watch the rivers.

Informant A15 May 1999

7.3.3.2 Industry understanding of *Haute-Mauricie*

In interviews and in the Parliamentary Commission, industry representatives speak principally of forestlands in relation to what should be done in the forests and how they should be managed. Foresters spoke rarely of the forest or the territory itself. In interviews, I used questions such as “What is your vision for the territory of the *Haute-Mauricie*” or “What are the main issues for managing these forests”. In response, informants spoke of development, of forest planning, of forest practices, of consultation, and of building roads¹⁰. Although they recognize the other uses and users of forests, their responsibilities and interests as forest managers (Chapter 3) are focused on activities related to wood production.

Gérard Crête et fils inc. believes that Québec, using its well managed forests, must be able to count on a stable and prosperous forest industry if it wishes to continue to receive maximum economic benefits, particularly for its communities. A financially healthy industry will encourage investments, in the forest and in factories, to guarantee sustainable development of forests and to face increasing competition.

Crête - Written

If I were Aboriginal, I would manage (Area) 42-99 like a private property. Each space that could grow a tree should grow a tree. Why not make the most of it?

Informant F04 November 2001

Ideally, I would see industries that worked well. And I would also like that people developed other things, other activities than just the wood.

Informant S21 November 2000

¹⁰ When asked what he thought of the territory and what was the most important thing to leave to his children and grandchildren, informant F04 replied “*I dream of a great road in (the Areas) 42-99 and 42-01*”. For informant F02, not included in these interviews, the most important management issue for the CA 42-01 was the sur-abundance of Birch in the forests.

Informant S23, working for the Atikamekw, was the only forester to describe his feelings about the forest;

For me, the best clue for a forest is how I feel when I am in the forest; it is the well being that I feel. I have a feeling of isolation when I see just the logging; you feel that it is dry.

Informant S23 March 2001

The industry recognizes, of course, that other groups and people also use forestlands. This leads to the concept of multiple-use of forestlands, recognising the needs and interests of the Atikamekw, recreational users, hunters, fishers and others.

On the eight management areas where Crête (operates) the territory is carpeted with 12 fauna management zones, 24 exclusive outfitters, 3 fauna reserves, 2 Aboriginal communities, six municipalities, and numerous chalets and non-exclusive outfitters.

Crête – Written

In submissions to the Parliamentary Commission, companies referred to multiple users, but did not raise Aboriginal issues; the above citation is the only reference. However, in interviews, the presence of the Atikamekw in the *Haute-Maurice* was discussed more frequently (all informants knew my research interests). There is some recognition of the existence of an Atikamekw identity and of a link between Atikamekw and forestlands, but informants are uncertain how to describe this. There is also incertitude about the effects of Atikamekw claims to land in the *Haute-Mauricie* (Chapter 3). The industry is prepared to adapt forestry to respond to Atikamekw interests, as they understand them and within limitations (section 7.3.2.1).

Yes they are there on the territory. They have lived there for a long time. They are in the heart of the forest. They say that it is their territory. But the question is that it is also part of Canada, of Québec. The territory belongs to everyone. It is not just the Aboriginals who live here.

Informant F03 January 2002

(The territorial aspect) is a little more complex because we are in an Aboriginal environment, and the biggest challenge on this side is agreement between all the users of this territory.

Informant S21 November 2000

Certainly they have a particular identity. They live in a community in the forest. They have a lifestyle that is not ours. ... They live in the forest, which is not normal for us. But often when they are living in the community, on the reserve, they are living very much in the same way that we do.

Informant F03 January 2002

They have a need to be on the territory. Spending all their time in a sawmill will be difficult for them. Hence they will be able to alternate between jobs in the sawmill and jobs with Aski (SFAA).

Informant F06 November 2001

The industry's understanding of forestlands in *Haute-Mauricie* appears to be dominated by a concern for the production of timber. They recognize a particular place for the Atikamekw in the *Haute-Mauricie*, as well as other values of the forest; but opportunities for addressing these are limited by the industry's role as a "producer of wood" (Bouthillier 2001 p. 255). Nevertheless, the following exchange with informant F06 (November 2001) may indicate the personal interest of foresters in forestlands:

F06 For the (Atikamekw) link with the territory, sometimes I feel that we are being told a story.

SW You yourself are third generation (in the region). You have your chalet and you go hunting with your father and with your son. Do you have a link with the territory?

F06 (Pause) Yes, I have a link with this territory, and with others before. We like going to our chalet and in the forests. We don't like it when others are around. We like to have exclusivity in the area that we use. We take care of that area. We protect it, we develop it, we manage it. For us it is possible to do that. We have the money and the time. It is accessible. We want to be able to pass it on to the next generation.

SW How do you see the situation for the Atikamekw, based on your own experience?

F06 It is even better for them because they live there. They are there in the forest and on the territory all the time. It is not just recreation for them. For us it is more of a recreation to go to the chalet or to go hunting. (Pause) I like your question. I have not thought of it like that.

7.3.3.3 Understanding both *Haute-Mauricie* and *Nitaskinan*

The interview extracts presented here show the great difference between Atikamekw and industry understanding of forestlands; between *Nitaskinan* and *Haute-Mauricie*. For the Atikamekw, their identity and their contemporary lifestyle are based on the occupation of *Nitaskinan*. These interviews support the view that "nature" and "culture" are not separate, but rather that the world is an environment for people (Ingold 1996). The Atikamekw are engaged with *Nitaskinan* (Poirier 2001), not simply living in a village that happens to be located there. They maintain practices and knowledge for occupation of this territory

(Chapter 5), rather than going into the forests for activities. Respect for *Nitaskinan*, and for other beings, is a critical value for the Atikamekw.

In contrast, the industry understanding of the *Haute-Mauricie* forests is centred on forests as a source of timber. Other benefits and uses are certainly recognized and are incorporated in the principal of multiple-use of forests, but the primacy of timber remains (Bouthillier 2001; Duerr et al. 1982). Most industry informants accept that the Atikamekw have a special place in these forests, but are concerned about the implications of this for industry access to forest resources. Similarly, they accept the existence of Atikamekw identity, but are unsure how to address this within contemporary forestry. Nevertheless, foresters F06 and S23 both express personal views about forestlands that resemble Atikamekw statements. S23 works for the Atikamekw and F06 was speaking of his own forest; neither was presenting an official forestry company opinion. The resemblance of their statements to those of Atikamekw suggests that links between understandings of *Nitaskinan* and *Haute-Mauricie* may be possible.

7.3.4 Managing forestlands

Managing forestlands refers to the institutions and practices within the forest management system (Chapter 1, Miller, Gale et al. 1987). The ways that forestland managers, either industry or Atikamekw, determine activities for the occupation and use of forestlands is a central element in a paradigm (Chapter 2). The ways that informants describe their approaches to management reflects their understanding of forestlands, and also their expectations of what they wish to achieve from these lands; be it resources, employment or the necessities of life.

7.3.4.1 Industry management of *Haute-Mauricie* forests

The forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*, and elsewhere in Québec, has dual roles of producing wood and managing forests, in accordance with the Québec forestry regime (Chapter 3). Forest management is a multi-faceted responsibility, and industry informants spoke frequently of its various aspects. In particular, company submissions to the Parliamentary Commission included proposals for modifying the forestry regime to improve forest management. The presentation by Crête contains several important points (emphasis added):

*Gérard Crête et fils agrees with the **intensification of forest management**. The fruits of this approach should serve partly **to offset lost production of wood fibre** due to forest areas being dedicated to, among others, protected areas, and partly to consolidate supplies for existing mills. Crête sees several preconditions for a policy of increased yield. Firstly, **forest zoning** must be reviewed to better reflect priorities for the development of the territory. Secondly, Crête supports the fusion of forest management areas in order to obtain maximum flexibility for establishing a **management strategy aimed at increased yield and at multiple uses of the territory**. The boundaries of these areas must be permanent. The stability of the land base is a precondition for the management of multiple resources. Thirdly, Crête believes that **costs related to planning and executing work** to increase forest yield and multiple-use management should be admissible for full compensation, from forestry revenue or from other sources of finance.*

Crête - Written

Industry informants are clearly concerned about maintaining the supply of wood to their mills. Measures that could lead to reduced timber availability, such as modified logging prescriptions or environmental protection, need to be compensated through the provision of additional timber volumes (or through other measures). Québec's forestry regime establishes a system for planning and implementing activities in the forest, focused on the sustainable production of timber (Chapter 3).

CAAF holders have obligations under our forest management contract: we harvest and we manage the forest. ... For us, our mandate is to produce from the forest, we produce from the forest. It is not to produce from the fauna.

Crête – Verbatim

I would apply the same principle on my private lot of 100 ha as on 100,000 ha here. First thing is to build the roads. This allows you to go in and manage the forest - to plant trees wherever there is a space for them, then thin them out so that they grow better, to do the harvest.

Informant F04 November 2001

I used to see the areas that (the industry) logged, they were obliged to cut because it was counted, even if it was not ready to cut. They cut because the road went there, and it was necessary to fill it up as much as possible.

Informant S23 March 2001

There is an increasing variety of forest management strategies that are available or are being developed (such as ecosystem management, Chapter 1). Two main approaches mentioned by industry informants were mosaic logging (Chapter 4) and forest zoning, which involves determining priority uses for each part of the forest, such as timber production, fauna protection or Atikamekw values. Informants also proposed harmonisation and consultation techniques (section 7.3.2.1). They note that managing forests for non-timber benefits will entail compromises between the industry and other

users. They wish to ensure that these users are aware of the financial costs, or the trade-offs required by these compromises.

It is in the mosaic logging that there is always wood kept alongside, as much wood standing as wood cut. And it is irregular in its shape. Because, like that, it is still a forest environment.

Informant S23 March 2001

Forests of Haute-Mauricie would have a mix of different uses - some zones for recreation, others where Aboriginals take priority and others for intensive silviculture. This needs to be developed taking account of people.

Informant F03 July 1999

.. each party must make compromises. It is not only one person who has to make them. It is not only the industry to make them. ... We must try to find a way that is acceptable to everyone.

Informant S21

All these strategies aim to maintain (or increase) timber production from the forest while still providing for the other uses of forestlands. They reflect a belief that forestlands can be simultaneously managed for timber production and for other purposes. The task of the professional forester is to find the balance between these goals (see Chapter 3). Informant F03 believes “*we need to give more responsibility to foresters*” (F03 July 1999) and increase flexibility to enable them to balance various demands. For the foresters, forest management needs to be able to take account of increasing demands from Atikamekw and other forest users, while still enabling the efficient production of timber - and of other benefits.

(Crête) proposes that the different (management) plans be prepared by a hybrid management company, competent and autonomous, free of internal and external influence. This forest coordinator would consult the various stakeholders and monitor the plans. Management activities, including harvesting, would be executed by the CAAF holders (existing forestry companies).

Crête - Written¹¹

I imagine a composition, for example, of representatives of outfitters, of fauna management areas, of municipalities and of CAAF holders, or maybe others who could manage this society. ... They also have obligations, which would lead them to their management objectives, and also to assume responsibility for their demands.

Crête - Verbatim

¹¹ During the Parliamentary Commission, Crête proposed a “*Société de gestion*” as an alternative arrangement for managing forests. This proposal has not attracted widespread support, and was not included in modifications to the Forestry Act.

7.3.4.2 Atikamekw management of *Nitaskinan*

Section 7.3.3.1 described the Atikamekw understanding of forestlands as being based on their link, or their engagement, with *Nitaskinan* and *notcimilk*. This understanding provides a key to the Atikamekw view of management of forestlands. In fact, “management” was rarely mentioned in interviews. The Atikamekw term “*Tipahsikan*” is an old word indicating “assessment”¹², which has been given a new significance for “land management” in recent publications of the CNA and CAW. For the Atikamekw, managing forestlands is better interpreted as a way of life involving traditional rules, customs, and knowledge:

There are rules for the utilisation and conservation of animals. They used to use a circular system, moving through the territory and coming back to each area every 5-6 years to find that the animals and plants had returned. There were no fixed boundaries and there was not the right to sell.

Informant A15 May 1999

It's there that we must put a rampart to better manage the forest. I think a lot about that, it is good to harvest the forest, but we must not think only of ourselves. Our parents, that's what they did, our ancestors, when they went into a hunting area, they didn't take everything; they kept it. They organized themselves so that it was there always there. That is the spirit that is needed when we log.

Informant S08 November 2000

The value and the knowledge transmitted from generation to generation brings the competence necessary to ensure a management of the territory that integrates a human dimension in the equilibrium of nature, his living place.

CNA - Written

Possession of the knowledge and abilities necessary for such a lifestyle enable a person to be *nehirowisiw*, meaning an autonomous individual. Informant A53 explained *nehirowisiw* as “a person who has all the fitness (all the aptitudes) to survive; someone who is in harmony with his environment, with *notcimik*” (Informant A53 July 2001). In 2000, the CNA commenced working on the *Plan Nehirowisiw* for the integrated management of *Nitaskinan*. In this situation, *nehirowisiw* signifies possessing the knowledge and the social organisation necessary to live harmoniously on forestlands. But *nehirowisiw* also relates to the individual:

¹² In the sense of assessing or evaluating the presence of animals in order to decide upon future hunting or trapping activities. Explanation provided by M. Coocoo, Linguist at Wemotaci

In the Atikamekw language we say “It (Nitaskinan) gives him his onehirowisiwin”, meaning a way of being and of living, a path to reach maturity and autonomy
CNA - Written¹³

Management of forestlands is hence linked to Atikamekw knowledge concerning *Nitaskinan*, and to the values and the ability to live there. Traditionally, Atikamekw learnt this living on *notcimik* within the family (Chapter 3). Now, the Atikamekw organize two periods during the year when many (but not all) return to live on *notcimik* for one or two weeks, to teach children the skills, knowledge and values necessary to be *nehirowisiw*.

When I was 12 or 13 until I was 20, I grew up with my grandfather. I learned from him, and listened to him talking to the other elders. This is the way that we learn.
Informant A86 March 2001

Children need the language to be able to explain their environment, what they see and their way of live. If they speak only French they cannot describe the way that the Atikamekw live and the things that happen on the territory.
Informant A15 September 2000

Recognising the importance of Atikamekw knowledge in their lifestyle and as an autonomous individual helps to explain the importance the Atikamekw attach to being consulted about forestry operations, about the contemporary management of *Nitaskinan* (Chapter 6). They wish to maintain their knowledge of what is happening on *Nitaskinan*, they want this knowledge to be integrated into contemporary management, and they wish to ensure that *Nitaskinan* can continue to provide *onehirowisiwin*.

They (members of the community) want to be able to continue to do what they have always done in the forest and to show it to their children. They want to be the first to know about logging. Then, they will still have the feeling of managing the trapping territories, rather than being robbed.

Informant S02 November 2000

I have two goals for the Table (d'harmonisation). Firstly, make the companies aware of the need to re-establish equilibrium. Secondly, through the participation of the community, move towards mental health, which is necessary for the human being. The companies must recognize that traditional knowledge is needed to establish the balance between using the forest and protecting the environment. All parts of creation contribute to mental health.

Informant A15 February 2001

For the Atikamekw informants, management of forestlands signifies occupation of these lands, implying the knowledge, the aptitudes and the values necessary to live there.

Management is not an activity that is distinct from others. Traditionally, the Atikamekw developed territorial systems and rules and customs that permitted them to live on *Nitaskinan* (Chapter 3, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). These permitted the Atikamekw to be *nehirowisiw*, autonomous on *notcimik*. Contemporary management of forestlands needs to include the application of Atikamekw knowledge and values; if not it contributes to eroding these.

(My vision) is to be successful in conserving the biggest part of the territory intact, to practice, live and hunt on the territory, and to teach the conservation of nature. If they (the Atikamekw) don't conserve nature then they will lose the language. Language is nourished by spirit and by life with nature and with the environment. The grandchildren should really be with the forest, not knowing only a forest with trees in straight lines and no animals.

Informant A15 May 1999

7.3.4.3 Managing *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*

Informants present two quite different approaches to managing forestlands, based on different understandings of the territory. Firstly, the industry is obliged, under the regime, to manage forests to produce timber. In order to fulfil this obligation, they use various techniques such as mosaic logging, forest zoning, harmonization measures and public consultation processes. Industry management of the *Haute-Mauricie* reflects the view that the forest can be managed primarily for timber production while maintaining other uses and values. As stated by the OIFQ, the professional forester has the skills and the knowledge “*to ensure the integration of the range of overlapping activities in the forest environment.*” (OIFQ 2000 p. 11). However, as noted by Dubois (1986), forest management is founded on rational scientific planning and on the economic domination of the forest industry (Chapter 3). For industry informants, the efficient use and management of the forest can generate economic benefits and development, for the industry, for the Atikamekw and for society in general.

The Atikamekw view of forest management is based on an understanding of *Nitaskinan* as a place to live. This understanding emphasises Atikamekw knowledge and values, and the place of these in society and in the individual, *nehirowisiw*. Atikamekw approaches to management, *Tipahiskan* (Chapter 5), and to consultation (Chapter 6) emphasise the

¹³ *Onehirowisiwn* is related, but not identical, to *nehirowisiw*.

sharing of knowledge and respect as ways of guiding peoples' actions on *Nitaskinan*. *Tipahiskan* includes systems of territorial organisation, of responsibility and of rules and customs (Chapter 3 and Chapter 5). The transmission of knowledge and values is a critical part of this, taking place with children on *notcimik* (Lavoie 1999). As noted by Folke, Berkes et al. (1998), traditional knowledge and management practices are integrated with the social systems and institutions that sustain them. Atikamekw "management" of *Nitaskinan* is founded on their knowledge, values and practices, and on maintaining their lifestyle by occupying the territory.

7.3.5 Industry and Atikamekw perceptions of the other

It is useful to know how each party in the relationship (or the partnership) perceives the other, and what they believe to be the interests and goals of the other. Accordingly, in interviews I asked what the informant believed to be the interests and goals of the other party in the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and in management of forestlands.

7.3.5.1 Atikamekw points of view

For many Atikamekw, there is a mistrust of the forestry companies. Informants either know little about companies and their motives, or they believe that the sole objective of the forest industry is to log the forests to make money.

Personally, I don't understand, I don't understand why they are interested (in the Scierie Tackipotcikan). But the big industries are always looking for land to harvest.

Informant B07 November 2000

The companies don't want to do the right thing. We have already asked them to protect (the territory), but they cut it.

Informant A02 March 2001

For the companies, the forest is their money, their capital. They are starting to understand a little that there are people who live on the territory. But we don't know if they are prepared to adopt new methods in forestry.

Informant S02 November 2000

Within this, there is also belief that the foresters who work in the industry do not really understand forests; that in seeing forests solely as a source of timber and income, they are ignoring the humans and the animals who live there. In particular, foresters are perceived as spending too much time with maps and computers, and not enough time on forestlands

to truly understand. As the Atikamekw conception of forest management is based on living on and knowing *Nitaskinan* (section 7.3.4.2), it is unsurprising that they find it strange that foresters emphasise documents rather than a presence in the forests.

The people who work for the companies don't really know what is happening in the operations. The people who write reports about the forest need to go on the territory and see it to understand it. It is necessary to live on the territory

Informant A02 March 2001

I've never seen a member of the forestry companies come here to meet us, either as a member of the Table d'harmonisation or of the population of the community. ... It would be very interesting ... if they thought to try to really know what they want to do.

Informant A88 March 2001

The forest is a business. It seems that they (the companies) see the dollars in it. There is a management plan. Often they prepare a management plan but it is not even appropriate for those who live in the forest, like the animals.

Informant A81 November 2001

Forestry is being done on basis of computers and photos and satellites. They need to get out into the forest and see what is really happening. Need to go out with an Atikamekw, not another forest engineer.

Informant A15 September 2000

However, the perceptions of those Atikamekw who work closely with the industry is notably different. These informants describe the trust and confidence that comes with a working relationship with industry foresters. This relationship appears to exist at a personal level; informants speak of particular individuals with whom they work and whom they trust.

The relationship is good, we have good discussions at technical levels, and we have good discussions also among the partners (in the Scierie Tackipotcikan)

Informant B01 February 2001

I talk with (Informant F03). We started to work with them in 1994. ... You have to respect the individual. ... He knows the Aboriginal world; he has confidence in us. They have enormous confidence in the Atikamekw nation. They have seen it evolve and they are not afraid to be involved.

Informant S08 November 2000

There is no single Atikamekw view of the forest industry, or of the foresters who work there. Those who work with the industry have developed close personal relations. However, for others, there is a lack of information about the industry, and few opportunities to meet with those who manage the *Haute-Mauricie* forests. Thus the Atikamekw feel that their knowledge and values, which are traditionally passed down from elders while living

on *Nitaskinan*, are not being recognized or respected in the contemporary management of forestlands.

All that they know is the Québec way, and what the forest engineers learnt at school. That is not usually enough for forestry that is socially acceptable.

Informant S02 November 2000

7.3.5.2 Industry perceptions of the Atikamekw

All industry informants have had contact or worked closely with the Atikamekw and so have developed ideas about Atikamekw participation in forestry. Firstly, they believe that the Atikamekw lack experience in the forest industry and in contemporary forest management. This lack of experience has contributed to delays and difficulties for *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and for SFAA. Nevertheless, these partnerships provide ways of providing the Atikamekw with experience, and of involving them more closely in forest management.

They don't know enough about forestry to believe that it is possible to increase the allowable cut. They know how to hunt and to fish, but the forest is not just that. It is also wood for the sawmill.

Informant F04 November 2001

It will be difficult for them to work in the way that we are used to working. Because they are in the forest, they live following the rhythms of nature. They are not used to having to work to time limits - tomorrow or the day after will be good enough. But the sawmill can help to develop this capacity.

Informant F03 January 2002

It's quite violent, the modification to behaviour for a sawmill compared to their lives now. ... However, it is not insurmountable, it's surprising to see them go from their normal life to a sawmill project, and they are doing it well. They have had some problems, but it is working.

Informant S21 November 2000

The creation of confidence and trust between foresters and Atikamekw is also an important issue, essential to the development of close relations (section 7.3.2.1). However, this is a relationship that is built with the Atikamekw leaders and spokesmen, not with the ordinary members of the community.

I believe that now, there is a feeling of ... Well, my impression is that it is a good relationship at the moment, there is a feeling of confidence.

Informant F03 August 2000

We find that when we can have good discussions with the right people then we can resolve the problems when they are small. Need to establish confidence between the Atikamekw and the whites.

Informant F06 October 2000

In (the sawmill) project, we are not there to involve ourselves in the community. We will respect what the Council (CAW) asks us; we are partners.

Informant F03 August 2000.

Throughout the interviews, industry informants generally show goodwill towards the Atikamekw. They aim to develop closer relations with them, to adapt forestry practices to Atikamekw interests, to consult them about forest management, and to help them gain experience in the forest industry. Foresters are trying to make the industrial forestry paradigm acceptable to the Atikamekw.

We are moving towards an Atikamekw vision of forestry. ... They will see an evolution, a change. As the population sees that changes are being made, and that this corresponds with the Table (d'harmonisation), they will make the link. Then people will become more and more involved. We will be capable of acting and confidence will return.

Informant S23 March 2001

7.3.5.3 Atikamekw and industry understanding each other

It is most important to note the goodwill and the confidence that exists between Atikamekw leaders and forest industry representatives. Partnerships for the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, SFAA and the *Projet d'harmonisation* have all been built on this, and have served to strengthen it. However, this same relationship does not exist with *Wemotaci iriniw*, the people of Wemotaci. They have much less contact with the industry, are less informed and are more distrustful or concerned about the interests of the forest industry. They may feel that their knowledge and values, traditionally passed on orally, are ignored in contemporary forest management.

The industry is making significant efforts to promote greater Atikamekw participation in forestry, encouraging, providing opportunities and sharing their knowledge and experience. Atikamekw leaders are accepting this assistance and the industry may assume that they are also accepting the industrial approach to forestry, albeit with some modifications. However, the Atikamekw have their own views of forestlands (sections 7.3.3 and 7.3.4) and *Wemotaci iriniw* appear to have little confidence in the industry. The Atikamekw may also be expecting the industry to acknowledge an Atikamekw understanding of forestlands and their management.

7.4 Synthesis

This sub-study presents the perceptions of industry representatives and the Atikamekw themselves concerning their use and occupation of forestlands, and Atikamekw participation in forestry. This information helps to understand and support the observations and conclusions made in other sub-studies. However, this sub-study is based on only nineteen informants; although the group is representative, not all Atikamekw or industry workers will share these opinions.

The interviews presented here show areas of agreement and goodwill between the industry and the Atikamekw. Goals and benefits of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* appear to be recognized and accepted by both parties. Although many Atikamekw have concerns about impacts of forest practices on *Nitaskinan* and on their lifestyle, industry partners are cooperating to adapt forestry to Atikamekw interests. However, the interviews also show very significant differences between Atikamekw and industry ways of understanding and managing forestlands. These are central elements of the concept of paradigms (Chapter 2) and characteristics of each are presented in Chart 7.

The industry follows an approach of managing the *Haute-Mauricie* forests principally for timber production, while simultaneously trying to maintain other uses. Foresters working for the industry and the government use their professional knowledge and a variety of techniques and tools to balance these demands and to maintain a supply of timber to industry mills. Atikamekw and other groups are consulted as part of this process.

The Atikamekw, however, are engaged with *Nitaskinan*, the basis of their way of life. This is not simply a matter of hunting and fishing, but includes knowledge, values and education. *Notcimik* is essential to enable a person to become *nehirowisiw*, an autonomous individual. Respect, for *Nitaskinan*, for other beings and for knowledge, is a fundamental value. For many Atikamekw, contemporary management of forestlands does not recognize their knowledge or their link with *Nitaskinan*, thereby ignoring their culture or their identity.

This sub-study also shows that forestry companies and foresters are supporting Atikamekw participation in the industry. The Atikamekw are accepting this assistance, but are also seeking to change the way this industry uses forestlands.

Chart 7

Industrial and Atikamekw perceptions of forestry and forestlands

The analysis presented in this chapter contributes a number of characteristics to an understanding of the forestry paradigms of the Atikamekw and of the forest industry. This chart presents and compares characteristics of the two paradigms, as revealed through the perceptions and words of nineteen informants. This presentation is complementary to the characteristics of the paradigms as described in other chapters.

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- Ways of understanding forestlands
- Knowledge, values and principles for forestlands
- Relationships between Atikamekw and forest industry
- Significance of Atikamekw autonomy

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

- The *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and Atikamekw participation in forestry
- Management systems for forestlands

Values and beliefs underlying the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>Ways of understanding forestlands</i>	
<u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u>	<u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u>
<p><i>Haute-Mauricie</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forests primarily as a source of timber and secondarily for other resources. • Multiple-use forestry can provide various benefits to many users. • Some foresters describe personal feelings for forestlands. 	<p><i>Nitaskinan</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Base of Atikamekw identity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Source of history and heritage; ○ Place for living and various practices; ○ Supports knowledge and language. • Atikamekw “engaged” with <i>Nitaskinan</i>.

<i>Knowledge, values and principles for forestlands</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific knowledge and planning. • Technical methods for management. • Primacy of timber production, subject to sustained yield. • Professionally trained foresters responsible for management. • Important role for forestry companies. • Contribution of forests to economic development of society, including Atikamekw. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atikamekw values and knowledge: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Transmitted orally and through practices on <i>notcimik</i>; ○ Respect for <i>notcimik</i> and for other living beings; ○ Integrated with social systems and institutions. • Basis of lifestyle and of being <i>nehirowisiw</i>. • Sharing of knowledge and respect as ways of guiding peoples actions.

<i>Relationships between Atikamekw and forest industry</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foresters seeking close relationships with key Atikamekw. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some leaders and Atikamekw foresters have close relationships with industry representatives. • <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> have little contact with industry; concerns and distrust.
<p>Where relationships exist, both parties emphasize personal contacts and confidence.</p>	

<i>Significance of Atikamekw autonomy</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autonomy based on economic development. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political autonomy on <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • <i>Nehirowisiw</i> – an autonomous individual, who possesses knowledge and values to live on <i>notcimik</i>.

Techniques and systems for the occupation, use and management of forestlands

<i>The Scierie Tackipotcikan and Atikamekw participation in forestry</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advantages of the project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Good relations with Atikamekw; ○ Access to additional wood supplies; ○ Avoiding conflict; ○ Helps Atikamekw to understand forestry. • Disadvantages, problems and concerns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Lack of Atikamekw experience; ○ Delays in the project. • Adapting sawmill work schedule and forest practices to perceived Atikamekw interests. • Must comply with provincial forestry regime and be financially competitive with other companies. • Consultation to determine Atikamekw concerns; respond to these where possible. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advantages of the project: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Employment, economic development; ○ Good relations with industry; ○ Modifying forest practices; ○ Participation in forest management. • Disadvantages, problems and concerns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Forest practices and impact on lifestyle; ○ Breaking link between Atikamekw and <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Seeking to protect <i>Nitaskinan</i> from poor forestry practices. • Seeking alternate approaches to forestland management. • Seeking to obtain greater control over activities on <i>Nitaskinan</i>.
<p>Both parties are working together to modify forest practices to respond to Atikamekw concerns.</p>	

<i>Management systems for forestlands</i>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Industrial forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligation to manage forests for timber production. • Must also maintain other uses of forestlands - fauna, recreation, Atikamekw. • Variety of techniques; zoning, mosaic logging, harmonization, consultation. • Consultation to take account of views of other users. • Critical role for foresters in balancing interests of different users. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Atikamekw forestry paradigm</i></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tipahiskan</i>, Atikamekw approach to management, is a way of living: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ knowledge and values for <i>notcimik</i>; ○ territorial organisation; ○ rules and customs governing practices. • Integrated with Atikamekw social structure. • Critical role for respected elders who have knowledge.

Chapter 8

Different paradigms; can they coexist?

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the participation of the Atikamekw in forestry, the forest industry and the management of forestlands. Through a literature review and four sub-studies, I have identified a series of characteristics describing different aspects of the ways that the Atikamekw and the forest industry use, occupy and manage forestlands. The concept of “paradigm” was developed in Chapter 2 as a way of examining the different perceptions that the industry and the Atikamekw have of forestlands, and their different approaches to managing these lands. This final chapter synthesizes the results of the preceding chapters to propose an analytical framework for considering and comparing paradigms and descriptions and explanations of each paradigm. On the basis of this synthesis, it is then possible to briefly consider various options, techniques and processes that may assist Atikamekw and industrial paradigms to coexist on the same territory; on *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*.

In this chapter:

Section 8.2 proposes an analytical framework for paradigms and briefly describes industrial and Atikamekw paradigms for forestlands.

Section 8.3 examines the paradigms in greater detail, referring to the nine elements of the analytical framework, and examining theoretical implications of this research.

Section 8.4 considers a variety of proposals for coexistence between the forest industry and First Nations, in relation to the elements of this analytical framework.

Section 8.5 concludes the chapter by discussing the utility of paradigms as an analytical approach.

8.2 Considering forestry paradigms

In Chapter 2 I defined the concept of “paradigm”:

A forestry paradigm is the set of beliefs, values and techniques that are shared by the members of a specific group and that provide a basis for their comprehension of forestlands while directing their activities in occupying and using these lands. Individuals who share the same paradigm may never the less have different perspectives within their group, acting in distinct ways.

Through my research I have sought to determine the characteristics of forest industry and Atikamekw paradigms concerning forestry, and to imagine ways that these paradigms could coexist. In his original work on paradigms, Kuhn (1970) did acknowledge that differing paradigms could coexist. In analysing scientific paradigms, he expected that that coexistence would be relatively temporary and that one paradigm would eventually gain sufficient support (through experimental evidence, theoretical explanations and acceptance by the community) to dominate the other. Applying this understanding to the Atikamekw and the forest industry suggests that one paradigm will eventually extinguish the other. Currently, the forest industry has greater power and is better able to direct discussions about forestlands, and so their paradigm would be expected to prevail over that of the Atikamekw (Hannigan 1995).

But Kuhn's framework was based on “pure” sciences such as physics, and does not address the place of different cultures or worldviews that surround a particular paradigm. The resilience of Atikamekw society and culture through its initial contacts with Euro-Canadian *Kawapisit* (Chapter 3) shows that they have managed to maintain their cultural identity, and their paradigms, while simultaneously integrating new developments and opportunities (Gélinas 2000; Poirier 2001). This suggests that different paradigms, located within distinct cultures, may be able to coexist.

The analysis in this chapter, and the goal of my research, is built upon the expectation that paradigms can coexist; that it is not inevitable that the forest industry paradigm will predominate over the Atikamekw, or that Atikamekw understandings of *Nitaskinan* will be assimilated into industry perceptions of the *Haute-Mauricie*. Coexistence implies that the Atikamekw will be able to maintain their forestry paradigm, while the forest industry

maintains theirs. But these paradigms do not exist in isolation, and each will respond to the influence of the other. Hence coexistence will require the development of concepts and processes that are capable of bridging the gap between the two paradigms; of responding to the differing interests and views of both the Atikamekw and the forest industry. This chapter will attempt to identify these concepts and bridges, firstly through an analytical framework for recognising paradigms, then with an exploration of elements in paradigms, and finally through consideration of various options for facilitating coexistence.

8.2.1 An analytical framework for forestry paradigms

In the studies presented in Chapters 3 to 7, I examined different aspects of the use and occupation of forestlands by the forest industry and the Atikamekw. Within each chapter, I identified a number of characteristics of the forestry paradigms of each party; characteristics that showed the values and beliefs associated with forestlands as well as the techniques and systems used there. At the end of each chapter, Charts 3 to 7 summarize and compare the principal contributions of the chapter to determining the characteristics of each paradigm.

Through these studies, a series of nine key concepts emerged that link various characteristics within a paradigm. These concepts differentiate the two paradigms, but also provide opportunities for imagining ways of bridging the gap between the paradigms. Using these concepts, I propose a framework for analysing different forestry paradigms (Table 13) and two brief descriptions of the forestry paradigms of the industry and the Atikamekw (Chart 8 and Chart 9). Each concept is considered in greater detail in section 8.3, illustrating differences and similarities between the paradigms and exploring theoretical implications in relation to other research.

The analytical framework in Table 13 is intended as an aide both for understanding forestry paradigms and for developing processes that can promote coexistence of paradigms. Clarifying the various concepts underlying paradigms can guide investigation of the characteristics of another paradigm, and promote reflection about one's own paradigm. The framework applies equally to Atikamekw and forest industry paradigms, and so facilitates the task of understanding how a single situation is interpreted within different paradigms. The framework also promotes development of processes for coexistence by highlighting the key concepts that need to be addressed. The range of

possibilities covered by these concepts means that it is highly unlikely that any single process, action or model could respond adequately to all aspects of both paradigms. Instead a variety of complementary processes will almost certainly be needed for coexistence.

Table 13
An analytical framework for forestry paradigms

<i>Key concepts</i>	<i>Characteristics to consider</i>
Understanding forestlands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describing forestlands • Forestlands and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definitions and terms used to describe forestlands. • Human relationship with forestlands.
Knowledge, beliefs, values and practices concerning forestlands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and values • Practices and actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability and transmission of knowledge concerning forestlands; values underlying knowledge. • Practices and actions on forestlands; values underlying practices.
Systems for using and occupying forestlands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History • Goals • Forest management systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The history of changes in occupation and use of forestlands. • Goals, objectives and expectations for the future of forestlands. • Systems developed to manage forestlands and their use.
Forestlands and society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power and rights • Contemporaneity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rights, responsibilities and power for determining occupation and use of forestlands • Contemporary occupation and use of forestlands.

This analytical framework is based on my examination of the Atikamekw and the forest industry. It is unlikely that the Cree of northern Québec share exactly the same paradigm as the Atikamekw, or that the forest industry in Maine USA shares that of the industry in the *Haute Mauricie*. However, the concepts presented in the framework are more general, and reflect other experiences and situations, as described in section 8.3. More precisely, a series of similar concepts were also presented in a framework by Hill, Baird et al. (1999) comparing the traditional fire management practices of the Kuku-Yalanji people in northern Australia to those used by the government agency now responsible for managing their lands. Dimensions identified by Hill, Baird et al. (1999) include: desired outcomes, political and legal controls, economic base, technology of management, social aspects, ethical and spiritual basis, and knowledge base. The emphasise of both frameworks on understanding traditional mechanisms of land management supports other literature calling for increasing recognition of the role of communities in forest management around the world (Bruce 1999; Ostrom 1999). The similarities of these frameworks, in different cultures and geographic situations, suggest that this approach to analysis may be appropriate for examining cross-cultural paradigms relating to land and resource management in other situations.

8.2.2 Forest industry and Atikamekw paradigms for forestlands

Chart 8 and Chart 9 present very simplified views of forestland paradigms currently held by the forest industry and the Atikamekw. These charts should be read in conjunction with the more detailed description and analysis in section 8.3, which also addresses theoretical interpretations. However, the success of relationships between the Atikamekw and the forest industry requires that each party understands the other. Accordingly, these two charts provide a brief description of the key elements of each paradigm.

The forest industry paradigm in Chart 8 is presented before that of the Atikamekw in Chart 9. This is in recognition of the fact that the industry paradigm is currently dominant in the *Haute-Mauricie*. It also serves as a reminder to both the industry and the Atikamekw that coexistence processes need to be developed if the Atikamekw paradigm is not to remain permanently in second place, or to become irrelevant.

Chart 8

The industrial paradigm for forestlands in the *Haute-Mauricie*

The industrial forestry paradigm is based on scientific management of the *Haute-Mauricie* forestlands, principally to provide a sustainable supply of wood fibre. Forestry planning is distinct from planning for management of fauna, water or recreation. Forestry companies prepare and implement management plans, complying with regulations and responsibilities established by the provincial government. Planning and operations focus on the production of timber; other forest uses and values, including Atikamekw practices, are addressed, but are usually treated as constraints to commercial management. Foresters use state-of-the-art technology in forest inventory, stand modelling, mapping and planning, and can choose a variety of techniques to optimize the efficiency of harvesting and silvicultural operations. A competitive economic environment emphasizes optimizing production while minimizing operating costs. Companies assist the Atikamekw to participate in the forest industry, and are working to include Atikamekw knowledge in their planning and management systems. Nevertheless, the industrial paradigm currently provides a limited role for Atikamekw, and for their traditional management systems.

- **Forestlands** are a resource to be managed to provide timber and other benefits.
- People may have important **places** in forests, but forests are not essential to **identity**.
- Professional training and scientific techniques provide **knowledge** for management.
- Forest **practices** comply with standards, and may be modified for Atikamekw interests.
- **Goals** include maintenance of wood supply and further economic development.
- Forestry companies have a **history** of production and management responsibilities.
- The **forest management system** defines responsibilities for government and industry.
- Industry has significant **power**, and **rights** to forestlands are confirmed in contracts.
- **Contemporary** forestry is evolving to integrate management of other uses and values.

Chart 9

The Atikamekw paradigm for forestlands on *Nitaskinan*

The Atikamekw forestry paradigm is based on maintaining occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and is best expressed in the Atikamekw language. **Aski** denotes "Mother Earth", including all components of the biosphere (living, non-living and human). The forest or the territory is **notcimik**, including the forest ecosystem, but also signifying "the place that I come from." **Tipahiskan** is a system of management incorporating land divisions, knowledge and mechanisms for consultation and control of human activities. **Nehirowisiw** indicates being autonomous, either in the context of a person who has the knowledge and skills necessary to live on *notcimik*, or as the Atikamekw nation being responsible for itself. These are characteristics of current Atikamekw use of forestlands – they are both traditional and contemporary. Atikamekw accept timber harvesting as a way of using *notcimik* and of being *nehirowisiw*. However, they expect that it be done in ways that are respectful of *aski* (such as maintaining the diversity of the forest ecosystem) and of *tipahiskan*. Critically, the paradigm implies a role for the Atikamekw, and for their traditional mechanisms, in contemporary forest management.

- The Atikamekw are engaged with *aski* through life on **forestlands**.
- *Notcimik* is an element of personal and communal **identity**.
- Atikamekw **knowledge** is passed on through life on *notcimik*, stories and language.
- **Practices** on *Nitaskinan* maintain Atikamekw lifestyle, knowledge and values.
- **Goals** include development as a way of occupying *Nitaskinan* and being *nehirowisiw*.
- **History**; Atikamekw have adapted Euro-Canadian practices to their way of life.
- Atikamekw traditional **forest management systems** are part of their social structure.
- Atikamekw are seeking greater **power** and recognition of their **rights** on *Nitaskinan*.
- **Contemporary** Atikamekw society draws from both traditions and Euro-Canadians.

8.2.3 Limitations of a theoretical explanation

As stated in Chapter 2, this research is an exploratory case study, providing a detailed examination of a specific situation. The study aims at depth rather than breadth, and I have not attempted to correlate the Atikamekw paradigm with that of other First Nations. In fact, the Atikamekw paradigm presented here is based principally on work with only one community, while the industry paradigm represents the views of only a small part of Québec's forest industry. Nevertheless, these findings are consistent with research concerning other First Nations, forestry in Québec, and the involvement of indigenous peoples in forestland management (as identified through references in this and other chapters). This exploratory approach has enabled me to investigate relations between the Atikamekw and the industry, being open to the information and perceptions that they considered important. This would not have been possible within the constraints of a study based on verification of a hypothesis deduced from existing theory.

The Grounded Theory approach that I have used does not aim at "proving" an explanation. Instead, the final point of the study is the proposition of an explanation that is grounded in the data (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The paradigm descriptions and the analytical framework presented in this chapter represent theoretical explanations of the occupation and use of forestlands by the Atikamekw and the forest industry. These explanations have been developed rigorously from the information collected through this research, and have been verified internally, but have not been otherwise confirmed for either Atikamekw involvement in forestry or for other situations. Further research, using a hypothetico-deductive approach and quantitative techniques, would be useful to examine the extent to which these paradigms accurately reflect Atikamekw and industry practices on forestlands. Similar techniques could also be used to verify the analytical framework in other situations. Alternatively, action-research could use these paradigms and the analytical framework to develop and evaluate new processes for coexistence between First Nations and the forest industry. Such an approach would also be able to monitor the changes in both paradigms that will almost certainly follow from coexistence.

8.3 Critical characteristics of forestry paradigms

Section 8.2 briefly described the paradigms of both the Atikamekw and the forest industry, and presented key characteristics of each paradigm in relation to the concepts of the analytical framework. This section will examine each of these concepts in greater detail, comparing Atikamekw and industrial paradigms as revealed through the sub-studies, and relating this to other research and to theoretical considerations¹. While these concepts highlight the differences existing between industrial and Atikamekw paradigms, they also offer some opportunities for links and parallels between the paradigms.

8.3.1 Defining and describing forestlands

For the Atikamekw, *Nitaskinan* is a place that is integral to their culture, to their way of living. They are “engaged” with *Nitaskinan*, it is not simply a place where they undertake various activities (Poirier 2001). This is consistent with other research among the Cree examining the relationship between people and animals and the territory (Feit 2000; Scott and Webber 2001). For the Atikamekw, as for the Cree, forestlands are occupied by both humans and by other “beings”, which are equally deserving of respect. For some Atikamekw informants in this research, *Nitaskinan* represents their history and their heritage. Placenames commonly record Atikamekw history or describe the characteristics of the place, or of events that occurred there². History, language, relationships and values are all elements of the Atikamekw engagement with *Nitaskinan*.

This engagement is clearly a different understanding from that of the forest industry, for whom the *Haute-Mauricie* forests are resources to be managed. Timber resources are of highest priority for the industry, but other resources such as water, fauna, and recreation are also recognised. These are “resources” in the sense that they are used to produce benefits for society, and each supports an economically important industry. Principles of

¹ Section 8.3 presents a summary and analysis of the characteristics of the paradigms as revealed through the sub-studies (Chapters 2 to 7). In order to avoid excessive references and footnotes, I do not provide references to particular sub-studies or to informants. The reader is invited to refer to the charts at the end of each chapter that summarize the principal characteristics of each paradigm as presented in that chapter.

² Similarly, Euro-Canadian placenames may refer to elements of Québécois history and culture.

multiple-use, sustained yield and timber production are well established in forestry, guiding the management of forestlands to provide optimum and sustainable quantities of various products (Bouthillier 2001; Duerr et al. 1982). Within this view, forestlands are a place to be used, to be managed or to be visited; they are not a place to live.

Nitaskinan remains a place for the Atikamekw to live, as demonstrated by the sub-study in Chapter 5. Clearly, the extent and practices of occupation have altered since *Kawapisit* first arrived in the *Haute-Mauricie* (Clermont 1977; Dandenault 1983). However, it is incorrect to assume that the Atikamekw live solely in the village of Wemotaci, and that their utilisation of forestlands resembles that of the Euro-Canadians living in La Tuque. The Atikamekw have integrated new developments and opportunities into their culture, while maintaining their occupation of *Nitaskinan* (Gélinas 2000; Poirier 2001).

This difference between Atikamekw and industry ways of defining and describing forestlands supports the analysis of Ingold (1996) concerning the distinction between “nature” and “culture”. Western thought has long assumed a basic separation between nature and culture, between the external environment and human institutions, knowledge, and actions. The forest industry represents a human culture that is capable of efficiently managing and using the natural resources of forestlands; going to the forest, taking what is needed, carrying out management activities, and then returning home. However, reviewing research on various hunter-gather peoples, including the Cree, Ingold concluded that the traditional western dichotomy does not apply. Instead, the Atikamekw, like other hunter-gatherers, see themselves as engaged with *Nitaskinan*; forestlands are understood as an environment for (and including) humans, rather than as “nature” separated from human “culture”.

While these two perceptions of the environment, and of humans’ place in it, are fundamentally different, there are links between them. The Atikamekw term “*aski*” may be loosely translated as “Mother Earth”. It encompasses all that is present in the world, or in *Nitaskinan*, including animals, water, trees, rocks and soil, birds and, of course, human beings. *Aski* is analogous to concepts of “ecosystem” or “biodiversity” in contemporary forestry, in which humans are included as integral parts of the environment. Increasing interest in ecosystem management and recognition that humans have a place in forest landscapes (Bengston 1994; Kimmins 2002) suggests forestry principles that resemble those of the Atikamekw. Although professional foresters may continue to view forestlands

as resources, these principles could lead to management that respects the Atikamekw understanding of *Nitaskinan*.

A second critical element in the Atikamekw understanding of *Nitaskinan* is the perception of the territory through routes and itineraries, rather than as a series of distinct geographical areas (Poirier 2001). While the Atikamekw recognise family territories, *natoho aski*, they also describe their occupation and use through circuits, *natoho meskano*, itineraries that relate a series of places, experiences and knowledge. In contrast, the forest industry prepares detailed maps showing species and age of trees in the forest, and dividing the *Haute-Mauricie* into forest management units. The Atikamekw perception appears as a voyage through named geographical space and through time, while forest maps appear as a division solely of geographical space. Nevertheless, forest planning is inherently a question of both space and time; trees planted now will require decades before they are commercially valuable to the industry. This suggests that it may be possible to undertake forestry planning in ways that resemble an Atikamekw itinerary through forestlands.

Finally, Atikamekw involvement in forestry presents a risk for their understanding of forestlands, for their engagement with *Nitaskinan*. The relationship of Atikamekw with *Nitaskinan* and with *notcimik* may change, as they become loggers and managers of forestlands, accepting the practices and institutions of the industry. The maintenance of their way of describing forestlands, as presented here, depends on their being able to adopt forestry into their way of life, while simultaneously integrating Atikamekw understanding into contemporary forestry.

8.3.2 Forestlands and identity

For the Atikamekw, forestlands are a factor in their personal and communal identity. “*Notcimik*” signifies “the place that I come from”, as well as meaning the place where a person can find what they need to live (Poirier 2001). It is places to which they return to refresh or to regather strength, or to reinforce their engagement with *aski*. This indicates that, for many Atikamekw, life in the village may be considered as abnormal, even if they spend more time there than on *notcimik*. Furthermore, the process of becoming *nehirowsiw*, an autonomous individual, requires the knowledge and aptitudes to live on *notcimik*. Without access to *notcimik*, an Atikamekw is not able to be autonomous or to

reassert his identity. Contemporary forest management that affects access to *notcimik* also affects Atikamekw identity.

The importance of *notcimik* for the Atikamekw may be related to the concept of “sense of place” that is identified by some researchers in the social aspects of forestry. “Place” depends on the social and cultural meanings that people give to a particular setting, and on the nature or “spirit” of the place, which may not be readily recognizable (Brandenberg and Carroll 1995). Sense of place does not appear to be recognised in forestry management of the *Haute-Mauricie*, and does not yet have a place in the forest industry paradigm. This corresponds with the comments of Beckley (2003) who believes that the importance of “place” is currently understated, and that it depends on both sociocultural and ecological factors. Speaking of hunters, he says *They develop a relation with a land base or a landscape, and through knowing it, they become attached to it* (Beckley 2003, p 121). This corresponds to the Atikamekw engagement with *Nitaskinan*, although the depth of the relationship may be very different. The interviews in Chapter 7 included the comments of two foresters describing their personal feelings about forestlands, indicating that these lands were not just forests of wood but were places with importance to them. Further recognition of “sense of place” as a concept in forest management may assist the forest industry to recognize the importance of *notcimik* in Atikamekw identity.

8.3.3 Knowledge and information concerning forestlands

Both the forest industry and the Atikamekw have extensive bodies of knowledge concerning forestlands. Contemporary forest management obliges the industry and the government in the *Haute-Mauricie* to collect large amounts of data describing forests. This information is used in sophisticated computer models to determine timber that will be available for harvest and to prepare operational and strategic plans to guide forestry operations in the current year, and for the next twenty-five years. Foresters seek objective, standardized information that can be used to compare various areas without being subject to different interpretations. Much information is highly technical, is stored on computerized information systems, and can only be understood by specialists. This flow of information represents the rational scientific basis of forestry and the principles of good forest management (Duerr et al. 1982; Higman et al. 1999). New approaches to forestry, such as ecosystem management (Kennedy et al. 2001), will probably contribute to even greater information needs concerning the *Haute-Mauricie* forests.

The Atikamekw also have significant knowledge of *Nitaskinan*. This includes information about resources necessary for life (especially fauna habitats and habits), the skills necessary to use these resources while respecting *aski*, the places and routes important for engagement with *Nitaskinan*, and the history, language and systems of Atikamekw occupation. Information such as fauna habitat, important cultural sites, transport routes and campsites were traditionally described through itineraries, and can now be marked on maps. However, there is also much Atikamekw knowledge that cannot be simply mapped or documented; Atikamekw history, the meaning of place names, the use of language to describe forestlands, and the knowledge necessary for living on *notcimik*. Much knowledge is held by *ka nikantic*, responsible for a *natoho aski*, and is based on his experience, practices and observations, supported by the stories told by others. *Ka nikantic* will be reluctant to speak of another territory of which he does not have personal knowledge, and Euro-Canadians may view his information as subjective as it cannot be verified against other data. Nevertheless, having the knowledge to be able to live on *notcimik* implies that an Atikamekw is *nehirowisiw*; that he or she is able to maintain a lifestyle on forestlands.

The existence of these two types of knowledge has been recognised through research into traditional ecological knowledge (TEK, Chapter 1). Various researchers have established lists of different characteristics of “western scientific knowledge” and TEK, including many of the elements identified above. Particularly important is the reliance of western science on being rational (as opposed to inductive), on reducing problems to sub-questions (rather than taking a holistic view) and on rejecting spiritual explanations (Berkes 1993; Johnson 1992). These characteristics have long lead professional scientists and foresters to reject TEK. Nevertheless, traditional knowledge is being increasingly accepted as an essential component of contemporary natural resource management (MacKinnon et al. 2001).

Atikamekw and industry information reflects their different interests in forestlands. Atikamekw knowledge concerns life on *Nitaskinan*, whereas industry knowledge is focused on timber production. Atikamekw knowledge concerning canoe portages, moose hunting practices or the meanings of place names brings little direct benefit to industry management of forests. Although the industry may accept traditional knowledge as a part of contemporary forest management, this is a response to the obligation to recognize the Atikamekw presence on forestlands. Atikamekw information provides a way of modifying forestry operations in response to this presence; it rarely provides positive benefits to the

industry in improving timber production. Nevertheless, contemporary management of forestlands is increasingly taking account of other users and other forest resources, adopting new approaches such as ecosystem management. In this context, Atikamekw knowledge of *Nitaskinan*, and especially of fauna habitats and habits, should be essential for future management of forestlands, even if it is currently accorded little importance.

Forestland management based on both industry and Atikamekw knowledge requires an appreciation of different ways for transmitting or passing on knowledge. Within the industry, professional foresters pass a four year training program at university to give them basic knowledge and skills. While forestry training does include periods of fieldwork, forestry education is often distinct from practice; forestry students are taught by specialist educators and researchers, and only rarely by those who work in the forest³. Information is collected by specialist technicians, rather than by those who will be using the information to plan or to carry out activities in the forest. This approach is quite different to that of the Atikamekw who emphasise the personal and practical aspects of information; knowledge is passed on from elders to children through story telling and through practices on *Nitaskinan* (Lavoie 1999). Women have particularly important roles in teaching children about history and about values, through telling stories and through listening to their children's stories. The transmission of knowledge relies upon social structures and the continuing occupation of *Nitaskinan*.

The forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie* now recognizes the need to collect information about Atikamekw and other uses of the forest, and to include this in forest management planning. Consultation processes aim to identify sites and values that can then be protected through specific measures. In order to facilitate these consultations the Atikamekw have engaged their own forester who can interpret industry plans for them, and explain their interests to company foresters. These consultations are organised around an industry understanding of knowledge, rather than the Atikamekw view. Mapping and documenting are not traditional ways of recording or transferring knowledge, not all information can be marked on maps, and cultural importance of information is often lost if this is reduced to individual sites (Natcher 2001). Atikamekw leaders are reluctant to freely distribute information concerning traditional territories or fauna habitats without

knowing who will have access to this information and how it will be used. This contrasts with an industry view that Atikamekw interests cannot be protected if they do not share information. However, for the Atikamekw, sharing of information should recognise their culture and include participation in decision-making.

If forestland management is to respond to Atikamekw interests, and to recognize a wider range of uses and values, a greater role for Atikamekw knowledge will be needed. Closer collaboration between Atikamekw and forest managers (in the industry or elsewhere) could identify Atikamekw information to enhance management, and industry information that could assist Atikamekw occupation. Such collaboration could enable *ka nikantic*, and other Atikamekw who hold the knowledge, to discuss management with foresters, who also have knowledge about forestlands. This would respect Atikamekw traditions for passing on knowledge, while reducing uncertainty over access and use, and could facilitate Atikamekw participation in decision-making. Both Atikamekw and industry representatives would have to develop the capacity to understand the words and techniques used by the other to pass on information. Such an approach could enable the two types of knowledge to be complementary for forestland management, and contribute to coexistence of the paradigms.

8.3.4 Practices and actions on forestlands

Practices and actions on forestlands may be the most visible manifestation of different paradigms. The industry and the government now generally accept Atikamekw presence on forestlands and their interest in practicing traditional activities. They also accept the need to modify government regulations and industry practices to take account of this. However, it is also important to note that there are different understandings of “traditional activities”. For the government and the industry, the term suggests a relatively restrained group of activities undertaken for subsistence and cultural reasons, with hunting, trapping and fishing being most important. However, the Atikamekw give this a much wider meaning including all Atikamekw activities and identifying the link between activities and knowledge and culture (Poirier 2001).

³ Some universities now offer programs that alternate education between work and academic environments, but such programs are still a minority.

Atikamekw practices were examined most closely in Chapter 5. This sub-study clearly showed the current extent of Atikamekw practices and their importance for contemporary occupation of *Nitaskinan* and for *Nehirowisi pimatisiwin*, the Atikamekw way of life. Atikamekw co-researcher Yvon Chilton and myself identified three main groups of practices: *kapeciwin*, life on the territory and in camp; *atoskewin and natohowin*, taking and using resources; and *tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to managing *Nitaskinan*. Within these groups are numerous individual practices; those that are well known such as *mos atoskaniwon*, killing a moose, and those that are less recognised by non-Atikamekw such as *acikewin*, sharing moose meat with other members of the community. Atikamekw practices are inter-related rather than distinct; each practice contributes to others, to maintaining knowledge and the Atikamekw language and to supporting social structures. Similarly, other research has shown the significance of hunting for the Cree and the importance of traditional practices in maintaining their lifestyle (Feit 2000; Scott 1989). For the Atikamekw, as for the Cree, traditional practices are not just activities that are undertaken in forestlands, they are a part of an engagement with *aski*, with *Nitaskinan* and with *noctimik* (Poirier 2001). If practices are affected by forestry operations on *Nitaskinan*, then the Atikamekw way of life is also affected.

The forest industry is obliged to manage forests to produce timber, a goal requiring a vast range of practices. Logging, road construction and tree planting may be the most visible, but these are also supported by other tasks such as forest inventories, consultations, and, of course, converting logs into wood products. The industry must comply with forestry regulations, particularly for logging standards (and including certification processes), while operating in a competitive international market for wood products. Consultation processes are now included in industry practices and the industry is aware of public concerns about forest practices. For industry foresters, forest practices need to produce timber in compliance with required standards and economic limitations, while still responding to the interests of the Atikamekw and other users of forestlands. As for the Atikamekw, industry practices represent a complex web of inter-related activities, knowledge and structures.

Over the last five years, forestry companies and the Atikamekw have been co-operating to find ways to harmonize industry and Atikamekw practices, particularly to reduce the impacts of forestry upon the Atikamekw. Initiatives by *Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw*, *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski*, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation*, together with forestry company partners, have all lead to changes in

industry practices. However, it is also important to note the limitations of these efforts. AMAA's initial approach in proposing new, more restrictive, standards was rejected by the industry, and the information collected in the 1980s is only now being used in forestry planning (Chapter 4). SFAA and the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* both modified some industry practices, but being part of the forest industry also obliged them to accept many more. The *Projet d'harmonisation* team is now negotiating modifications on a case-by-case basis, working within the planning and management framework established by the forestry regime. Similar harmonization efforts among the Cree have led to changes, but have not resolved conflicts or led to agreement on the extent of areas that should be excluded from logging (Feit and Beaulieu 2001). These experiences demonstrate that it is very difficult for First Nations to develop new approaches to forestry within the industry management systems (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999; Ross and Smith 2002).

8.3.5 History of use and occupation of forestlands

The Atikamekw have a long history of occupation of *Nitaskinan*. Prior to the arrival of *kawapisit*, they had developed their own systems for occupying these forestlands (section 8.3.7). Atikamekw history is maintained through placenames on *Nitaskinan*, and through stories and teaching (Lavoie 1999). Although *kawapisit* brought many changes to the *Haute-Mauricie* and altered traditional lifestyles, the Atikamekw have maintained their language and continued to live on *Nitaskinan*. They have integrated new developments into their way of life, avoiding assimilation into Euro-Canadian society (Gélinas 2000; Poirier 2001). Since the early 1900s, the Atikamekw have had relations with the forestry companies, eventually leading to the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* partnership. Over the last thirty years, the Atikamekw have increasingly sought to assert their cultural identity and their rights to *Nitaskinan* (Chapter 3). While the Atikamekw now have responsibility for many social services within the communities, they have not yet succeeded in gaining control of *Nitaskinan* (in full or in part). Understanding Atikamekw history shows their enduring occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and their capacity to integrate the Euro-Canadian presence into ways of maintaining this occupation. However, this history also shows *kawapisit* taking control of the majority of the *Haute-Mauricie*, and reluctance to recognise Atikamekw rights. For the Atikamekw, participation in forestry represents both a continuation of their previous success in integrating new developments, and an opportunity to exercise some control over forestry on *Nitaskinan*.

The forest industry history is much shorter, but is nevertheless significant. The forest industry in Québec developed with the goal of producing timber from the province's seemingly endless forests. Subsequently, increasing timber production led to the need for forest management and the development of the forestry profession. During the last twenty years, the industry has continued to adapt to more government involvement and to increasing public concerns about forests, while continuing to manage forests to produce timber. Most recently, forestry companies are accepting a role for First Nations, and Crete and Smurfit-Stone have worked to promote Atikamekw participation in forest management and timber production. Both these companies have particular histories that may affect their relations with the Atikamekw; Crete is a regional family-owned, and Smurfit-Stone is the inheritor of nearly 100 years of relations with the Atikamekw at Wemotaci and of large private forests in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The history of the industry, and these companies in particular, shows a long-established role as manager of forests and producer of timber. This role has been generally accepted by Québec society, and is still seen as important for regional economic development. For the industry, forest management provides both timber and economic development, and Atikamekw participation in forestry is a natural way of meeting the needs of both.

Although historical relations have contributed to the development of partnerships between the Atikamekw and the industry, relations between the First Nations and Euro-Canadian society cannot be idealised. Although Atikamekw from Wemotaci frequently visit La Tuque, and the CNA Offices are located in the town, there are few relations between the communities (Nadeau 2002). Dupuis (2001) describes the lack of understanding between Euro-Canadian and First Nations in Québec, and these differences were clearly illustrated through public controversy and conflict over the terms of a general agreement between the Québec government and the Innu nation in 2002 (Chapter 1). Although representatives of the forest industry may not support these views (and many have good relations with Atikamekw leaders), the perceptions held by Québec society of First Nations will affect the ways that the forest management system addresses relations between Atikamekw and the industry.

The industry and the Atikamekw have different histories concerning forestlands. These histories have lead them to develop knowledge, practices and management systems for forestlands. They have also contributed to both good relations and to mistrust. These

historical factors affect the decisions that both parties now make concerning their occupation and utilisation of *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie*

8.3.6 Goals, objectives and expectations concerning forestlands

Within their own paradigms, both the industry and the Atikamekw have numerous goals, objectives and expectations⁴ concerning forestlands. What people want from forestlands is important in determining the decisions that they make regarding the management of forestlands and of human actions on these lands. Table 14 (page 298) provides a summary of various goals, objectives and expectations identified during this research. The priority or importance of these elements differs among informants within each group.

Some expectations appear on both lists, or are very similar and may be considered as harmonious. Among these are the creation of employment and economic development, and increased Atikamekw participation in forestry and the forest industry, leading to a share of economic benefits. These are the advantages of partnerships most often mentioned in the literature (Mayers and Vermeulen 2002; NAFA/IOG 2000). Such shared expectations have been the foundation of existing partnerships in SFAA, the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* and the *Projet d'harmonisation*. They will probably also contribute to the further development of the relationship.

⁴ Although each of these three terms has a distinct significance, in this section I will use them in a general sense to describe what the two groups are seeking from forestlands. “Goal” is a general description of what is sought through effort or ambition; an “objective” is often a specific measurable achievement, usually associated with progress towards the goal; “expectation” is something that is hoped for and sought after, but that is not necessarily achieved.

Table 14
Expectations associated with forestlands

<i>For the forest industry</i>	<i>For the Atikamekw</i>
<p>Producing timber</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing forests for sustainable production of timber. • Maintaining access to timber resources, and increasing these where possible. • Creating employment and economic development. • Providing financial returns to companies. <p>Atikamekw relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoiding conflict with Atikamekw and other users of forestlands. • Establishing and maintaining good relations with Atikamekw leaders. • Ensuring that Atikamekw understand forestry issues and constraints. • Encouraging Atikamekw participation in forestry and the forest industry. • Assisting Atikamekw economic development to achieve autonomy and address social problems. <p>Managing forests</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complying with standards and regulations established by government and others (eg, certification). • Maintaining other uses of forestlands. <p>Forest practices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing forest practices to protect Atikamekw and other uses of forestlands. • Obtaining information needed for planning and management; efficient consultation processes. 	<p>Maintaining a lifestyle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining occupation of <i>Nitaskinan</i>; maintaining lifestyle, language and identity. • Achieving recognition of Atikamekw culture and identity. • Being able to be <i>nehirowisiw</i>, autonomous on <i>notcimik</i>. <p>Employment and development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating employment and economic development. • Participating in the forest industry and sharing in financial returns from forestry. • Receiving training in new forestry techniques and practices. <p>Changing forest practices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing forest industry practices to protect <i>aski</i>, <i>Nitaskinan</i> and lifestyle. • Promoting new forestry practices and integrated resource management. <p>Rights and management of forestlands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieving recognition of Aboriginal rights. • Obtaining greater political autonomy and full or partial management of <i>Nitaskinan</i>. • Improving consultation processes with the forest industry. • Including Atikamekw institutions and knowledge in contemporary forest management systems, respecting values and customs.

Many of the expectations listed in Table 14 are similar, but involve differences of interpretation that could lead to misunderstandings. Both the industry and the Atikamekw are seeking to change forestry practices to take account of Atikamekw interests. But for the Atikamekw, this means protecting *aski* (all parts of the forest ecosystem), as well their occupation and life on *Nitaskinan*. In contrast, the industry adopts a narrower interpretation of Atikamekw interests, concentrating on physical sites related to activities such as hunting. Likewise, both parties seek improved consultation and the application of Atikamekw information and knowledge in forest management. The industry wants information that can be used in forest planning processes, leading to changes that protect specified Atikamekw sites or uses of the territory. However, Atikamekw prefer that their knowledge should be used in accordance with their customs and values, and that this include participation in decision-making. Expectations that are similar, but carry different shades of meaning, may be the most critical for future relations and for the development of partnerships. Many analyses of partnerships around the world stress the need to carefully plan organisational goals and structures, and to be prepared to manage conflicts (Chambers 1999a; Mayers and Vermeulen 2002). These are issues where both the Atikamekw and the industry will have to ensure that the processes used to achieve these expectations do actually respond to the different interpretations of each party.

Some expectations may not be shared, but are still compatible with the interests of the other party. Many Atikamekw value opportunities that provide them with new skills and practices related to forestlands, while certification efforts are important for the industry but have attracted little Atikamekw interest. These can be achieved through a partnership if each party agrees to consider the interests of the other.

However, there are a number of Atikamekw expectations that are unlikely to be achieved within the existing forest management system. Recognising Aboriginal rights and obtaining greater autonomy are important for the Atikamekw, but will almost certainly require the government to change legislation. The Atikamekw seek to include their traditional institutions in contemporary forest management systems, but these systems are embedded in legislation, in the industry and in public uses of forests and are slow to change. Curran and M'Gonigle (1999) and Ross and Smith (2002) propose new forest tenure systems to enable First Nations to develop their own ways of managing forestlands.

Finally, the multiplicity of expectations both within and between these groups, demonstrates the difficulty of establishing partnerships between Atikamekw and the forest industry, or indeed in other cross-cultural situations (Mayers and Vermeulen 2002). Partners must be able to recognize not only their common interests, but also those areas where these interests diverge and where they may be in conflict. They need to take account of differing views within their communities, as well as those of others outside the partnership, such as governments and interest groups. Achieving these multiple expectations will mean modifying existing practices and organisations, developing ways to manage differences, and imagining new processes for coexistence.

8.3.7 Systems for managing forestlands

The concept of a forest management system was introduced in Chapter 1 to describe the institutions and practices associated with the management of forestlands. Miller, Gale et al. (1987) examined the evolution of the US forest management system over several centuries, considering ways that views and expectations of forests have changed, and how governments, industry and other parties developed knowledge, processes and institutions to improve forest management. These elements are similar to the concepts underlying forestry paradigms (section 8.2.1).

Québec's forest management system, the existing forestry regime, was described in Chapter 3. The regime has developed over several centuries, balancing the roles of the industry and the state in the use and management of forest resources to produce timber. It is based on rational scientific management in which companies optimise timber production within constraints such as sustainable yield, government regulations and the economic condition of the industry (Bouthillier 2001; Curran and M'Gonigle 1999; Duerr et al. 1982). Other users of forestlands, including the Atikamekw, are consulted within this system to identify their interests and ways that these may be accommodated. First Nations are increasingly participating in this system through forestry companies such as *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* and partnerships such as the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*. However, such participation obliges First Nations to conform with the regime, developed by the government and the industry. It offers limited opportunities for First Nations to adopt different ways of managing forestlands (Ross and Smith 2002).

The Atikamekw forest management system has developed over several thousand years to support Atikamekw life on the forestlands of *Nitaskinan*. Through several sub-studies I have identified elements of *Tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to managing forestlands. However, the existence of this approach is not generally recognised by the forest industry. Chart 10 summarizes the principal elements of *Tipahiskan*, and this should be compared with the characteristics of Québec's forestry regime presented in section 3.3.1 (page 100). This approach integrates Atikamekw knowledge, values, practices and customs concerning how to live on *Nitaskinan*. It also includes the social institutions developed to facilitate these practices, such as trapping circuits, the role of the *ka nikanitic* in coordinating occupation, and story telling to transmit knowledge and values. *Tipahiskan* reflects the Atikamekw relationship and engagement with *Nitaskinan* (Feit 2000; Poirier 2001); it is a way of guiding human life and activities.

Tipahiskan is both traditional and contemporary, and is still applied by many Atikamekw through occupation of *Nitaskinan*. However, it is also being weakened; knowledge is eroded, not all Atikamekw maintain practices and youth are not always taught (or wish to learn) traditional ways. As forestry operations change the landscape, knowledge and places become less relevant. If the *ka nikanitic* is not consulted about activities on the *natoho aski*, then his ability to advise others is reduced. The Atikamekw forest management system remains in practice, but it is threatened by the forestry regime.

Differences between these two forest management systems reflect different understandings of nature and culture (Ingold 1996). The regime and the industry paradigm assume the separation of nature and culture – the industry and the government manage a natural resource that is distinct from human culture. Most Québécois do not live in forests, although many visit or work there. Forest science originated in eighteenth century Germany where early foresters set out to regulate both the forest and logging in order to ensure future supplies of timber (Wiersum 1999). In contrast, *Tipahiskan* assumes a reciprocal relationship between humans, animals and forestlands; *aski* encompasses the whole ecosystem, including humans. In this view, nature and culture are not distinct (Ingold 1996).

Chart 10

***Tipahiskan* - An Atikamekw approach to managing forestlands**

The Atikamekw approach to “managing” forestlands is based upon their engagement with *Nitaskinan*. It represents a way of living on these lands, rather than just management of them. A central principle is respect; for *Aski*, for other beings on *Nitaskinan*, for elders and others with knowledge, for customs, and for Atikamekw history and values.

Nitaskinan is subdivided into a number of *natoho aski*, family territories of 1-2,000 km², each of which comprises a series of *natoho meskano*, circuits used for hunting, trapping or other activities. This subdivision of *Nitaskinan* was flexible, and access to areas and circuits could be varied according to needs. Traditionally, *natoho meskano* changed each year, and there would be a delay of four to six years before trapping the same area.

For each *natoho aski*, there is a *ka nikanitc* who is responsible for co-ordinating the use of the area; for determining the areas and the circuits that can be used for various practices, for advising others about appropriate places for activities, for maintaining knowledge about the area, and for ensuring that customs are respected. *Ka nikanitc* is chosen for his knowledge and experience, and for the capacity to guide others. Users do not seek approval for their activities, but the suggestions of *ka nikanitc* are usually followed through respect for his knowledge and experience. Users are obliged to return to *ka nikanitc* after their activity, to share what they have taken and their observations of *natoho aski*.

Tipahiskan relies on knowledge about *natoho aski* and *notcimik* and the practices necessary to live. *Ka nikanitc* holds particular knowledge about the area, but other users also need to have the skills and knowledge necessary to live on *notcimik*; they need to be *nehirowisiw*. This knowledge is taught and maintained through practices and travel through *Nitaskinan* and through observation, experience and story telling.

The Atikamekw approach to determining the use of *Nitaskinan* and *natoho aski* is a process with a central role for the *ka nikanitc*, who is the most knowledgeable and experienced. Various users discuss their needs and share their knowledge of the area, to arrive at a decision that respects their values and customs. *Tipahiskan* is not a way of changing or controlling *Aski*; it is a process for guiding human occupation and use of *notcimik*.

Characteristics of *Tipahiskan* presented in Chart 10 also support the analysis of Folke, Berkes et al. (1998) who examined the interrelation of ecological practices and social mechanisms in traditional resource management systems. They stress that practices cannot be separated from the social institutions that support these practices. Furthermore, attempts to use traditional knowledge in contemporary resource management must take account of the culture in which this knowledge is embedded. Atikamekw knowledge cannot be properly applied without acknowledging *Tipahiskan*.

The contributions of Ingold (1996) and Folke, Berkes et al. (1998) indicate an important difference in the goals of the two forest management. In the industrial system, the forest is a natural resource, managed to produce benefits for humans. Management actions are frequently aimed at changing or “improving” the forest in order to provide increased quantities of benefits. Within multiple-use or ecosystem forest management these benefits could include timber for industry, fauna for hunters or biodiversity for conservationists. However, *Tipahiskan* is principally concerned with guiding peoples’ actions in occupying and using *notcimik*, rather than modifying or improving *aski*. This follows from the Atikamekw engagement with *Nitaskinan* and the view of management as part of a social system for living on forestlands. For the Atikamekw, forestlands are not just a resource to be used and managed.

Although there is a fundamental difference between these two views, *Tipahiskan* may also provide an opportunity for new consultation processes between Atikamekw and the forest industry. Within *Tipahiskan*, the *ka nikantic* has a role of bringing together different users of forestlands in order to determine how the needs and actions of each will affect other users, the resources available and forestlands themselves. Each user is assumed to have knowledge concerning forestlands and practices, and to share this knowledge with others. Hence, a consultation process with a key role for *ka nikantic* could provide a model for recognising the knowledge, practices and institutions of both the industry and the Atikamekw. Such an approach would not oblige either the industry or the Atikamekw to change their own views of nature and culture. However, it would mean changing power, rights and responsibilities within the forest management system

8.3.8 Power, rights and responsibilities

The power and rights held by different groups is a central issue in participation; people often choose to participate in forestry because they wish to change forest management (Buchy and Hoverman 2000). Power and rights are an element of forestry paradigms as they determine the extent to which a group can promote their views, knowledge and techniques as a basis for decision-making about occupation and use of forestlands. This is an element where there is an important imbalance between the forest industry and the Atikamekw.

Québec's forestry regime confirms the rights and power of the industry to manage forests in conjunction with the government. Forest tenure and licensing systems, operational regulations and planning requirements all define key roles for the industry as the principal actor in forest management. The industry is also the principal creator of economic wealth from forestlands, and has the greatest financial capacity to manage these lands with the government. First Nations are increasingly benefiting from opportunities to participate in forestry regimes, but these opportunities have followed numerous protests, lengthy negotiations and legal proceedings (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). The Atikamekw are participating in Québec's forest management system through their forestry organisations, but they must comply with the requirements of the regime. Consultation processes enable First Nations to promote their views, but remain within the scope of the regime. While First Nations are able to participate in existing management systems, they must do so by accepting the forest industry paradigm.

The Atikamekw, and other First Nations across Canada, do have rights concerning forestlands. First Nations interpret Aboriginal rights to mean the right to occupy and use the land, as well as rights to self-government, language and their identity (Asch and Zlotkin 1997). Legal and political processes in recent years have contributed to defining these rights in ways that recognise First Nations' roles in management of forestlands. However, this has not always lead to changes in practices or in provincial forestry regimes, and recent agreements with First Nations have maintained restrictive interpretations of Aboriginal rights (Rynard 2000). Furthermore, negotiations and legal proceedings oblige First Nations to present their cases in terms set by the state, rather than in ways suited to their own paradigm (Poirier 2000). In negotiations with governments over the last twenty-five years, the Atikamekw have maintained a position calling for the recognition of their

Aboriginal rights, and their continued occupation of *Nitaskinan*. While this issue remains unresolved, forest industry rights through tenure and licence arrangements have been confirmed and renewed throughout the *Haute-Mauricie*.

The slow progress of the Atikamekw in establishing their rights over *Nitaskinan* may contribute to their interest in seeking control over forestland management through participation in forestry. SFAA provides the Atikamekw with some control over forest operations, and *Scierie Tackipotcikan* would have led to greater management responsibilities. Equally, the *Projet d'harmonisation* enables the Atikamekw to negotiate forest plans and practices with companies. However, Atikamekw decisional power over forestland management remains strictly limited. The companies SFAA and *Scierie Tackipotcikan* have contractual arrangements with the government and the industry that provide few possibilities to introduce elements of *tipahiskan*. Consultation processes established with the *Projet d'harmonisation* are led by foresters, take place within the existing regime, and do not include Atikamekw in decision-making on forestland management. The Atikamekw do have influence within the decision-making process, but they do not have the power to make decisions about management of the *Haute-Mauricie*. This situation reflects Cree criticisms of consultation processes described by Feit and Beaulieu (2001) and contributes to the need for "meaningful consultation" (NAFA 2000).

Curran and M'Gonigle (1999, p 773) note that "*assertions of Aboriginal title are a threat to, and opportunity for, the industrial system*" of forest management. The threat lies in the prospect that continuing affirmation and definition of Aboriginal title throughout Canada will lead to a loss of industry power over forest management, and a loss of timber harvesting rights. However, even if Aboriginal rights are confirmed, First Nations still need to negotiate with a powerful forest industry if they wish to derive economic benefits from their traditional lands. The Nisga'a Agreement in British Columbia specifically provided for the continuation of forest harvesting, and offers only limited opportunities for the Nisga'a to establish their own approach to forestland management (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). But Aboriginal title also represents an opportunity to move away from forestry based on production of timber volumes and towards more integrated management of forestlands. Curran and M'Gonigle foresee greater flexibility, eco-system based management, local control and "*sustainable governance of traditional lands by the communities who live within them*" (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999 p. 774).

8.3.9 Contemporaneity

Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* should not be considered only in terms of “traditional” activities and knowledge; it also represents a contemporary way of life that combines both forestlands and village life. Atikamekw practices and management systems have changed since the arrival of *Kawapisit* in the *Haute-Mauricie*. The Atikamekw have integrated, and continue to integrate, new developments into their lifestyle, adapting these ideas and experiences to their own way of living on forestlands. Poirier (2000) proposes the term “contemporaneity” to indicate this synthesis of traditional culture and the modernity of the dominant society. Atikamekw participation in forestry, and projects such as the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*, is a part of this process, enabling the Atikamekw to continue to occupy and use *Nitaskinan*. However, the relative lack of Atikamekw rights and power in comparison to the forest industry raises the question of whether the Atikamekw will be able to maintain their own understanding of forestlands, or whether they will be assimilated into the dominant forest industry paradigm.

But the forest industry itself is also facing a need to develop a more contemporary approach to forest management. The traditional emphasis on timber production has been widely criticized, is in decline and may even be disappearing, and forestry is evolving towards greater recognition of ecological and social values (Adamowicz and Veeman 1998; Kennedy et al. 1998; Kimmins 2002). New forestry paradigms⁵, such as ecosystem management and natural disturbance, are being proposed, and forest policies, government regulations and certification processes are recognizing the variety of non-timber values associated with forestlands. Furthermore, forestry regimes now include public consultation processes that will almost certainly promote changes in forestland management. The Atikamekw, and other First Nations, use these processes to promote their view of forestlands, hopefully contributing to a greater mutual understanding of the different paradigms presented in this thesis. For Dupuis (2001), legislation and Aboriginal rights need to be complemented by discussions and forums to promote comprehension and convergence on relations between First Nations and Euro-Canadian society. Given

⁵ The term “paradigm” is used by these authors in slightly different ways to the definition that I propose in Chapter 2.

the importance of forestlands to both First Nations and the industry, a synthesis of different views could contribute to a contemporaneity in forestry.

Hence, contemporaneity is a concept that can apply to both the Atikamekw and to the forest industry. The Atikamekw continue to develop their contemporary society by integrating forestry (and other) developments into their own paradigm. Similarly, the industry is developing a contemporary forestry by adapting its paradigm to the presence of the Atikamekw and other forest users. Furthermore, the availability of resources and use of forestlands is changing the way that both the industry and the Atikamekw understand these forestlands. The forestry paradigms of each group are dynamic rather than static, as are forestlands themselves. As noted by Freudenberg et al. (1995) and Milton (1996), relationships between people and their environment are reciprocal; forest characteristics affect paradigms, and people's actions based on these paradigms affect forestlands. Bouthillier (2001) refers to this as a co-evolutionary approach. Forestlands, the Atikamekw and the industry are all adjusting to each other, and to the changes that are occurring. Contemporaneity for forestlands, for the industry and for the Atikamekw is clearly a complex process, rather than a solution or a fixed point.

Contemporary occupation and management of forestlands does not mean that the industry must organise its activities in the *Haute-Mauricie* forests in accordance with the Atikamekw paradigm. Nor does it mean that the Atikamekw should be obliged to occupy *Nitaskinan* in accordance with the industry paradigm, whether contemporary or not. Instead it implies coexistence, where both industry and Atikamekw modify their own practices by adopting some of the ideas of the other, and where paradigms evolve to representing changes in values, in knowledge and in practices.

8.4 Coexistence of forestry paradigms

The Atikamekw are integrating forestry into their paradigm and the forest industry is integrating Atikamekw into theirs. But this does not mean that each must conform to the other's paradigm. Nor does it mean that the Atikamekw and the industry must try and develop a single paradigm that is acceptable to both. Acknowledging the existence of two distinct paradigms concerning the same area of forestland requires that we imagine ways of bridging the gap between these paradigms. Coexistence of Atikamekw and the forest industry needs ways of directing occupation and utilisation of *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie* that respect the beliefs, the values and the practices of both.

But coexistence and bridging gaps needs to be recognized as a “wicked” problem (Wang 2002). Wicked problems are problems that can be defined in different ways depending on perspectives, where solutions are relatively good or bad rather than right nor wrong, and where answers are neither final nor clearly testable (Rittel and Webber 1973, in Wang 2002)⁶. Different paradigms imply different perspectives and different ways of defining problems. The Atikamekw and the industry will often see a single situation in different ways. They have different knowledge, values, practices and expectations, and so they will often define a problem differently, and arrive at different solutions. Imagining and implementing new ways of coexistence may require years, and more time will be needed before their effectiveness can be judged. New ideas will almost certainly be modified and adapted during this time, and so they should be seen as processes rather than solutions.

Many ideas for coexistence are already to be found. Indigenous participation in forestry across Canada and around the world has led to the development of many different ideas, processes and structures. Some are aimed principally at indigenous peoples themselves, some at the industry, and some at governments and institutional environments. Many recognize that their experience is specific to a particular situation, while others propose ideas that are more generally applicable. Table 15 lists a variety of initiatives for collaboration between indigenous peoples, the forest industry and governments; initiatives that offer opportunities for bridging the gap between Atikamekw and industrial views of forestlands. In this final section, I will briefly review these initiatives, comparing them to

characteristics of Atikamekw and industry paradigms presented in this chapter. However, my research has not attempted to evaluate different processes, or to determine which options may be right or wrong for relations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. Equally, Table 15 is not a complete list of initiatives for collaboration between indigenous peoples and forest industries. Instead, these initiatives show that there are a variety of ways of responding to the wicked problem of coexistence; that each initiative meets some Atikamekw and industry needs, but that no single one provides a complete solution. All these initiatives include actions that can help to bridge the gap in perceptions and understandings of the occupation and use of the *Haute-Mauricie* and *Nitaskinan*.

As part of his response to wicked problems, Wang proposes a new “metaforestry”, to be more comprehensive and complex than traditional forestry. Metaforestry would: recognise the interconnections between the various functions of forests; require a broader definition of forestry; and promote reflexion about the principles needed for sustainable management of forestlands (Wang 2002). Metaforestry means thinking outside the narrow confines of conventional forestry and searching for new understandings of forestland management. It means looking for ideas for contemporary forestry within the Atikamekw paradigm.

Table 15

Ideas and processes for supporting coexistence

- New approaches to forestland management
- Consultation and participation in forestland management
- Using traditional knowledge in forestlands management
- Integration of *Tipahiskan* in contemporary forestlands management
- Harmonization of forest practices
- Recognition of Aboriginal rights
- Co-management
- Legal and institutional arrangements for First Nations
- Business arrangements between First Nations and the forest industry
- “Green” accounting
- Education and training for foresters

⁶ Wang presents ten properties of wicked problems drawn from Rittel and Webber (1973).

New approaches to forestlands management

The forest industry paradigm has been based on timber production, but is increasingly accepting other forest values and uses. New approaches to forestland management may be able to respond to both Atikamekw and industry paradigms. Ecosystem management, acknowledging forestlands as complex relationships between plants, animals, water and even humans, is a particularly important approach (Aley et al. 1999). Ecosystems can be likened to the Atikamekw concept of *aski*, and ecosystem management may provide a framework appropriate to First Nations values and practices concerning forestlands (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). But ecosystem management often emphasises a highly scientific and technical approach based on expert analysis of biological and social factors, rather than more democratic people-oriented actions (Freemuth 1996). This technical approach would provide little place for Atikamekw knowledge, *Tipahiskan* or their participation in decision-making. However, alternative forms of ecosystem management may serve as useful bridges between paradigms.

Morel and Belanger (1998) propose an integrated approach to forest and wildlife management specifically tailored to the Innu people of Québec. This approach included complementary management of wildlife and forestry values, protection of areas of importance to Innu occupation of forestlands, and consensual decision-making. Importantly, they noted the need to adopt a variety of different approaches to address specific issues in various areas.

Consultation and participation in forestlands management

Consultation and participation processes are gaining increasing importance in international forestry as ways of enabling the public, and indigenous peoples, to contribute to forest management (Buchy and Hoverman 2000; IMIOFDP 1996; NAFA 1995c; Yamasaki et al. 2001). These processes can lead to specific changes in forest management as requested by participants, and can also contribute to an improved understanding of the points of view held by others. Working together, participants in consultation processes can develop new ideas and options for management of forestlands (Daniels and Walker 1997).

Existing consultation processes have contributed to closer relations between the industry and the Atikamekw, and enable the Atikamekw to influence decision-making for

forestlands. However, these processes do not provide direct Atikamekw participation in decision-making. Processes are usually developed within existing forestry regimes and do not necessarily lead to “meaningful consultation”, indicating decisions which respect First Nations views (NAFA 2000). Furthermore, traditional knowledge usually involves cultural significance that is difficult to address in many consultation mechanisms (Natcher 2001). In the future, consultation may need to progress higher up the ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969) to provide greater equality between the paradigms and to incorporate a broader range of Atikamekw knowledge and values.

Using traditional knowledge in forestlands management

Mapping and documenting of traditional knowledge, occupation and land use has been undertaken in Canada since the 1970s, initially through anthropological and social science experience and then developing more broadly (Robinson 1999). Similar studies were undertaken in the 1980s and early 1990s documenting Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan*, describing their traditional management systems, and investigation their understanding of forestlands (AMAA 1994; Dandenault 1983). Atikamekw proposals to use this information to promote integrated management of the *Haute-Mauricie* were rejected by the industry and the government in the 1990s, but the information is now being used by the *Projet d'harmonisation* to support negotiations with forestry companies. Although efforts at mapping and documenting traditional knowledge have contributed to academic understanding, the use of this information by forestry companies has been problematic for both parties. These approaches have rarely led to First Nations participation in management (Robinson and Ross 1997) and the cultural context of knowledge is often lost in the process of researching, mapping and integrating into forestry plans (Natcher 2001). The inclusion of traditional knowledge in forestland management is important, but this needs to be treated as part of a process that considers Atikamekw and industry needs for information, ways of sharing this, and decision-making based on the knowledge.

Integration of *Tipahiskan* in contemporary forestlands management

Chart 10 presents key characteristics of *Tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to management of forestlands. Integration of this approach with contemporary management practices originating with the industrial paradigm provides an important option for

coexistence. Folke, Berkes et al (1998) emphasize the importance of social-ecological systems, noting that they contribute to maintaining stability by improving learning and the capacity to respond to changes. *Tipahiskan* provides a context for the utilisation of traditional knowledge in forestland management, reducing the potential for some of the problems described by Robinson and Ross (1997) and Natcher (2001). The central role of *ka nikanitc* in *Tipahiskan* also provides a mechanism to improve consultation between Atikamekw and the forestry companies.

However, *Tipahiskan* should not be perceived as simply a way of facilitating consultation. Rather, the integration of *Tipahiskan* would require that the *ka nikanitc* become an integral member of a group responsible for planning and implementing management of forestlands. Management would need to address the full range of forest values and uses with Atikamekw fauna and historical information having an equal place alongside forest stand information. Participation of the *ka nikanitc* would help to ensure that Atikamekw information was interpreted and used in accordance with customs. Consistent with such an approach, planning areas would need to recognise the limits of Atikamekw family territories as areas outside a territory would require the participation of another *ka nikanitc*. Logging and management practices used by the industry would almost certainly need to be modified in recognition of Atikamekw respect for *Aski* (the forest ecosystem) and of the importance of *notcimik* for their identity. Integration of *Tipahiskan* as part of contemporary management of forestlands is unlikely to be easy or quickly achieved, but it does address several of the characteristics identified in Table 13 and provides an important option for coexistence. Conversely, failure to integrate elements of *Tipahiskan* will maintain the dominance of the industrial forestry paradigm in the management of forestlands and contribute to a continuing erosion of Atikamekw culture.

Harmonization of forest practices

Industry forest practices are a major concern for First Nations across Canada, contributing to efforts to harmonize industry and indigenous practices through consultations, negotiations, protests and various management structures (Iisaak n/d; NAFA/IOG 2000; Ross and Smith 2002). Processes such as the Atikamekw *Projet d'harmonisation* enable First Nations and the industry to negotiate modifications to forestry practices. But such negotiations inevitably require compromises, and agreements may reflect the greater power and resources of the industry, leaving First Nations believing that these processes

do not protect their interests (Feit and Beaulieu 2001). This is also an approach that remains within the dominant forest management system, offering little scope for other characteristics of forestry paradigms.

Harmonization is also an option for government intervention. Modifications to Québec's Forestry Act in 2001 gave the government new powers to modify forest practice regulations to better acknowledge the interests of First nations. Similarly, the *Paix des braves* of 2000 between the Cree and the Québec government established a Cree-Québec Forestry Council with a mandate to develop forestry procedures that would reflect the interests of the Cree, the government and the industry. These are important actions, and use a framework that is already familiar for the industry, but they cannot address the full range of issues of Atikamekw occupation of forestlands.

Certification processes are also addressing the issues of indigenous concerns about forest management. Principles established by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) specifically address the rights of indigenous peoples and call for their inclusion in all aspects of forest management (Collier et al. 2002). The FSC certification process implies an ongoing participation of First Nations in determining, planning and monitoring management activities on forestlands. Other certification processes, including those adopted by several forestry companies in the *Haute-Mauricie*, require public involvement in forest management without necessarily specifying roles for indigenous peoples.

Recognition of Aboriginal rights

The last thirty years have seen significant progression in the definition and recognition of Aboriginal rights by the courts and by the government. Judicial decisions have led to new obligations on governments and the forest industry to take account of these rights in forest management (House 1998). Aboriginal rights established in treaties and agreements have also extended First Nations' roles in forestry, but have not necessarily recognised the inherent or "undefined" rights attached to Aboriginal title (Asch and Zlotkin 1997). Although these processes have established opportunities and rules for coexistence of First Nations and the forest industry, they have also involved distrust and uncertainty. According to Asch and Zlotkin (1997), the settlement of outstanding territorial disputes should be based on a better relationship between First Nations and Canada, and this will necessitate the affirmation of Aboriginal title. Dupuis (2001) also recommends a wide-

ranging review of legislation to acknowledge Aboriginal rights and that judicial processes should be used as a final, rather than an initial, option. She also proposes the establishment of forums to promote closer links between First Nations and non-Aboriginals.

An important corollary of recognition of rights is that it provides an opportunity for First Nations to share directly in the economic benefits of the forest industry, without necessarily being part of the industry. All governments collect a variety of fees from the forest industry in return for rights to harvest timber. Recent agreements such as the Nisga'a and the *Paix de braves* have included provisions for First Nations to receive a proportion of payments received by provincial governments from the forest industry. Such provisions can provide significant financial benefits to First Nations, but also imply trade-offs between levels of logging revenue and the maintenance of traditional practices and occupation of forestlands.

Recognition of their rights over *Nitaskinan* remains a major goal for the Atikamekw. However, recognition of Aboriginal rights does not guarantee recognition of an Atikamekw forestry paradigm, especially if they wish to harvest forests for economic development. The Nisga'a treaty recognised rights, but offered little change for forest management on Nisga'a lands (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). Even if rights were recognised, it would still be necessary to find ways to bridge the gap between paradigms; to ensure appropriate use of Atikamekw knowledge, or to establish a management system based on *tipahiskan*.

Co-management

Co-management arrangements have been promoted as a means of resolving issues of rights, decision-making and practical management of forestlands (Berkes et al. 1991; Notzke 1995; Robinson 1999). This most commonly means the establishment of a management authority that is equally responsible to a First Nation and to one or more governments, but has also been extended to include First nation – industry arrangements (Chambers 1999a). Co-management authorities may be mandated to undertake extensive consultation, to incorporate both traditional and scientific knowledge into their management practices, and even to build on traditional management systems. Natcher (2000) notes the advantages of co-management, but also stresses the need for flexibility in developing arrangements that respond to local goals and needs. One of the strengths of co-management is its potential for using both local knowledge and capacity and

government technical, institutional and financial resources. However, existing co-management regimes often resemble government bureaucracies based on technical expertise, with traditional knowledge and institutions in a secondary position (Rodon 2003). If co-management arrangements are to realise their potential, they will almost certainly need to incorporate elements of traditional, government and industrial management systems if they are to benefit from these strengths.

Co-management of *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie* is an important option for bridging the gap between Atikamekw and industry paradigms. Including the industry in these arrangements would build on the historical relationships already developed with the Atikamekw. This approach could respond to the interests of both parties in using forest resources, while also developing management structures that would take account of both *tipahiskan* and industry techniques for information and management. Co-management may also help to resolve issues of recognition of Atikamekw rights, and contribute to redressing the power imbalance between Atikamekw and the industry.

Tenure systems for First Nations' management of forestlands

An alternative to co-management is the creation of new forest tenure arrangements for First Nations within existing forestry regimes. Curran and M'Gonigle (1999) and Ross and Smith (2002) note that existing forest management systems disadvantage First Nations' participation and restrain their ability to manage forestlands in ways that are appropriate to their culture. As previously described, both *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski* and *Scierie Tackipotcikan* are contractually bound under the Québec forestry regime and have only limited scope to introduce management practices that respond to the Atikamekw paradigm. The forest tenure approach creates an important institutional space within the existing regime that could allow the Atikamekw to manage forests on *Nitaskinan* in ways different to that of the forest industry. Modifications to Québec's Forestry Act in May 2001 introduced a new form of tenure, the *Contrat d'aménagement forestier*, that responds to some of the suggestions of Ross and Smith. The Algonquin community of Kitigan Zibi (Maniwaki) is currently the only group to have obtained this type of forest management contract from the MRNQ⁷, and SFAA will hold such a contract for the timber volume

⁷ MRNQ, Bulletin des droits forestiers consentis, March 2003 & September 2003.

previously allocated to the *Scierie Tackipotcikan*⁸. These arrangements allow forest management activities without the obligation to also own timber processing mill (a requirement under the CAAF and an element criticized by the above authors). However, these revised tenure arrangements remain within the framework of the existing regime, and so the Atikamekw may still be expected to conform to the industry paradigm.

Business arrangements between First Nations and the forest industry

Scierie Tackipotcikan and SFAA are both examples of business arrangements between First Nations and the forest industry. Many, if not all, First Nations are concerned about employment and about economic development, and the use of resources from forestlands provides such benefits. Although business opportunities such as recreation and non-timber forest products exist (Mitchell 1998), the forest industry provides the most important economic opportunities in Canada's forestlands. Business arrangements, such as contracting and partnerships, enable First Nations to be employed in forestry, gaining income and learning new skills (Mayers and Vermeulen 2002; NAFA/IOG 2000). These arrangements also provide benefits for the industry, such as avoiding conflict and gaining access to timber supplies.

Business arrangements may also provide opportunities for Atikamekw and the industry to cooperate on developing practices or management approaches that respond to both paradigms. However, such arrangements can rarely challenge obligations under contracts or the forestry regime, and so offer limited scope for developing new approaches to management or for responding to other Atikamekw concerns. Business arrangements are important for sharing the economic benefits of forestry with First Nations, but need to be complemented by other processes for bridging the gap between paradigms.

“Green” accounting

“Green” or “heritage” accounting is recent approach to countering the financial bias of traditional methods of determining the costs and benefits of forestland management. Adamowicz, Beckley et al. (1998) considered the problems of using conventional nonmarket valuation techniques in natural resource management, and especially in cross-

⁸ Informants S05, S08 and S21.

cultural settings with indigenous peoples. The green accounting approach enables comparison of different scenarios for forestlands management. It serves as a tool for supporting discussions and decisions about management and for revising scenarios, rather than as a way of choosing the “best” option. This approach has been tested with the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie* (Beaulieu 2002), and is now being explored with the Atikamekw (Bergeron and Bouthillier 2002). The proposed model includes quantitative evaluations of financial, economic and social costs and benefits, as well as a fourth qualitative analysis considering impacts of forestry on the Atikamekw lifestyle. This approach may assist both the Atikamekw and the industry to evaluate different management options for forestlands. The economic fundamentals of the approach may be more acceptable to industry financial analysts than other methods of consultation.

Education and training

Dubois (1986) examined the professional beliefs of foresters in Québec noting the effects of education, practical experience and role models on these. Professional forestry education in Québec includes only very limited material on issues of First Nations involvement in forestry. The situation is slightly better in some other provinces and several universities offer courses in Aboriginal aspects of forestry (Smith 2002). The important role of foresters in forestland management and the importance of First Nations’ traditional lands in supplying the forest industry suggests that foresters need to have a greater knowledge of First Nations, of their forestry paradigms, and of their potential role in forestlands management. Some foresters develop an appreciation of First Nations through personal contacts and practical experience, but this often remains within the framework of industry-Aboriginal relations. Similarly, there is a shortage of First Nations members who are trained in forestland management, at either technical or professional levels, leading to a forest industry where First Nations’ views are rarely represented. There are several forestry technicians among the Atikamekw, and another is completing professional training to become an *ingenieur forestier*, but the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie* is almost exclusively Euro-Canadian, with little knowledge of the Atikamekw. Education, training and personal development opportunities could contribute to greater mutual understanding and facilitate coexistence of Atikamekw and the forest industry.

8.5 Conclusion: the utility of recognizing paradigms

At the beginning of this study I proposed the concept of forestry paradigms as a means of exploring Atikamekw and forest industry views of forestlands. *Nitaskinan* and the *Haute-Mauricie* describe a single physical space, but represent quite different perceptions. Beliefs, values, practices and systems all contribute to forestry paradigms. Different paradigms lead to different expectations for forestry and forestlands, and to different ways of managing these lands. Shared paradigms do not mean that all members of a group will think and act in exactly the same way. Rather, they represent a core understanding, and the actions of individuals will also reflect their own experience and attitudes.

The paradigm concept has proved to be a useful tool for exploring Atikamekw and forest industry views. It includes both characteristics that are difficult to identify such as beliefs, values and knowledge, and those like practices and systems that are more readily observable. The concept has been sufficiently open and flexible to enable me to identify a wide range of elements, while also guiding me in analysing, understanding and presenting this information, and in proposing a theoretical explanation.

The concept of paradigm has also enabled me to present two brief descriptions; simple views of the way that Atikamekw and the forest industry understand, occupy and use forestlands. But these short descriptions are also supported by more detailed analysis, establishing links between the experiences of this case study and the analyses and theoretical considerations presented in the literature.

Paradigms have also contributed to providing an analytical framework for examining different views of forestlands. Although this framework is based on Atikamekw and the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie*, similar concepts are found in a variety of other situations and experiences. The framework may be useful for analysing paradigm differences in other cross-cultural relations and partnerships. It has also provided a way of considering the advantages and limitations of various initiatives for coexistence of different paradigms. Importantly, it highlights the need for a range of complementary processes that address the multiple challenges of coexisting paradigms. Finally, recognising and understanding differences between Atikamekw and industry interests and views concerning forestlands should facilitate greater cooperation between them.

General Conclusion

This thesis began by referring to 14th December 2000 when the Atikamekw of Wemotaci and two forestry companies signed an agreement to construct a sawmill. The hopes and expectations of the partners were that closer collaboration, through this sawmill, would be more beneficial to both parties than would separate existence in the forests of the St-Maurice river basin. This search for shared benefits from better management of forestlands, and increasing recognition of the need for partnerships and collaboration, is part of a trend across Canada and around the world. Indigenous peoples, local communities, pressure groups and others are all seeking to be part of forestland management, while government agencies and forest industries are increasingly recognizing the advantages of such participation. But the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* sawmill has not been built. What does this mean for closer collaboration, for shared benefits and for sustainable management of forestlands, especially involving two different cultures?

This research has been an exploratory study, aiming to understand Atikamekw participation in forestry and forest industry relations with the Atikamekw. I posed no hypothesis, but instead developed a theoretical explanation of this case using the Grounded Theory approach. This approach provided a framework for data collection, analysis and validation, while being flexible and open to the concepts and explanations provided by participants and avoiding preconceived ideas. Case studies are limited in general application of theoretical explanations, but permit depth and complexity in the analysis. In undertaking this research I was obliged to set limits and to make choices about which questions should be examined. There is clearly a need for further research to validate my conclusions, to apply these in other situations and to explore the many issues that I have not addressed. I believe that the theory, the methods and the limits used in this research have successfully enabled a detailed examination of a complex situation, and that similar techniques will be useful in studying other problems in forestry. Accordingly, I have deliberately emphasised my research approach and methods, in the hope that this will contribute to wider acceptance of the place of social science within forestry.

In this thesis I have developed the concept of paradigms as a way of understanding the ways that different groups, or cultures, understand and use forestlands. A forestry paradigm comprises the values, knowledge, beliefs and techniques commonly held by a

group. This is the basis of the way that the group understands forestlands and determines their actions in the use and occupation of these lands. As an analytical concept, paradigms have enabled me both to explore the different understanding and practices of the parties, to describe these simply, and to consider the theoretical implications of these. Both the forest industry and the Atikamekw have their own paradigms concerning forestlands; they understand, use and occupy forestlands differently. Addressing Atikamekw, or indigenous peoples', involvement in forestry is not solely a matter of understanding Atikamekw views, but also of understanding those of the forest industry.

The forest industry paradigm is centred on the scientific management of forests, principally to provide a sustainable supply of timber. Management involves technical information, detailed plans, computer models and a key role for professional foresters, operating within a forestry regime developed by the government and the forest industry over many years. Within this regime, forestry companies are increasingly considering Atikamekw interests and assisting them to participate in forestry. Nevertheless, this paradigm provides little place for Atikamekw participation in decision-making or for their own systems of occupying and managing forestlands.

The Atikamekw paradigm is based on maintaining occupation of *Nitaskinan*, and their sense of engagement with *aski*, representing the integrity of a forest ecosystem where humans, biological and geological processes are all interconnected. For an Atikamekw, *notcimik*, the territory, provides what they need to be autonomous, *nehirowisiw*, and is where they learn the knowledge and skills necessary to live there. Knowledge, values, practices and social systems are all connected through *tipahiskan*, the Atikamekw approach to management of human activities on forestlands. This knowledge has been eroded and not all Atikamekw are now able to be *nehirowisiw* on *notcimik*, but it remains central to Atikamekw understanding of forestlands. The Atikamekw are not opposed to forest harvesting, but expect that it be done in ways that respect *aski* and involve them in management of forestlands.

As the Atikamekw seek greater participation in forestry, they will need to consider the effects of this participation on their own forestry paradigm; on their engagement with *Aski* and on their own identity. A role in the industry offers new opportunities for employment, for greater autonomy and for controlling the occupation of *Nitaskinan*. However, forestry practices may also erode their knowledge of and respect for *notcimik* and change social

systems and values within their culture. There is no single response to this question, and the Wemotaci community includes those who support a greater role in forestry, those who are concerned about this, and many who hold both views. The Atikamekw will also need to consider similar questions in relation to other developments and industrial opportunities on their traditional lands.

Acknowledging the existence of different forestry paradigms does not require that one group must accept the paradigm of the other, nor that their holders should develop a single common understanding. Rather it emphasizes acknowledging the existence of different paradigms and the need to imagine ways that these can coexist; ways of occupying and using forestlands that respect the values, knowledge, beliefs and practices of both the forest industry and Atikamekw. However, it is the industry paradigm that is currently dominant in the Québec forestry regime. The framework established by the regime constrains Atikamekw participation in forestry, as well as the ability of the industry to adjust practices to the interests of their Atikamekw partners. Promoting coexistence will oblige industry and government to address several key issues.

Atikamekw occupation of *Nitaskinan* implies an engagement with forestlands, the Atikamekw are not simply living in a village that is located in the forest. Atikamekw practices, such as moose hunting or sharing meat, are not just the utilisation of a resource, but represent essential elements of *nehirowisi pimatisiwin*, the Atikamekw way of life that is still maintained on forestlands. This understanding of forestlands is difficult to integrate into a forest industry paradigm that views the forest as resources. Nevertheless, coexistence will require that forestry companies recognize this relationship and that forestlands are managed as a place where people live, not just as a resource to be harvested.

Tipahiskan represents the Atikamekw approach to managing their life on *Nitaskinan*. It is a management system that includes territorial sub-divisions, appropriate knowledge, control processes and decision-making; characteristics similar to those of Québec's forestry regime. But *tipahiskan* also represents the Atikamekw way of living on forestlands. Knowledge, practices and social systems are all integrated. Processes for involving Atikamekw in contemporary forest management need to maintain the cultural context of knowledge and provide a place for Atikamekw in decision-making for forestland management. The inclusion of *ka nikanitc* in forestland planning and management, and

the acceptance of Atikamekw knowledge of fauna and cultural values, would help integrate *Tipahiskan* in contemporary management systems.

The Atikamekw have Aboriginal rights over *Nitaskinan*, but there is little acknowledgement of these by government or the forest industry. Forestry companies and the government invite Atikamekw to participate in consultations, and these processes do provide benefits. However, the Atikamekw are constrained to present their views within a framework established by the regime and which reflects the industry paradigm. Such processes do not accord the Atikamekw a role in decision-making over forestlands, but instead maintain the industry paradigm in a dominant position. The Atikamekw continue to seek recognition of their rights on *Nitaskinan*, and the forest industry cannot ignore the importance of this issue for both parties.

Coexistence of Atikamekw and forest industry in the St-Maurice river valley will require the development of new ways of using and managing forests; ways that are capable of responding simultaneously to both Atikamekw and industry paradigms, and of bridging the gap between these. This requires both concrete actions on the ground on forestlands and modifications to management and decision-making processes. This research has identified the great diversity of issues surrounding coexistence between the forest industry and First Nations, and a variety of approaches will be needed to respond to these. Some of these are already being used at Wemotaci and elsewhere; such as harmonization of forest practices, co-management arrangements, and business partnerships to provide employment and economic opportunities. These need continued modification to adapt to Atikamekw and industry paradigms, and to changes in forestlands and in occupation of these. Other approaches to forest management, to institutions and to economics are being developed, and there are undoubtedly other ideas that remain to be proposed. Coexistence will require a variety of innovative processes and actions, and these will have to be sought both within and outside the forestry profession.

Coexistence will almost certainly require continuing evolution within forestry paradigms. Atikamekw have adapted to *kawapisit* presence in *Nitaskinan* during the last two hundred years, incorporating many Euro-Canadian practices into their lifestyle. The forestry profession is currently faced by tremendous challenges in adapting to changing social demands and ecological imperatives, particularly in relation to the traditional dominance of timber in forest management. Foresters will need to incorporate new ideas from outside

their traditional expertise to respond to these challenges, enabling an evolution in the paradigm. Forestry paradigms are dynamic, rather than static; they need to reflect the changes in people's demands upon forestlands, and the changes of forestlands themselves. Recognition of alternative ways of understanding forestlands contributes to enriching forestry paradigms, both Atikamekw and industrial.

This study focused on the Atikamekw and the forest industry in the St-Maurice basin of Québec. But many of the issues here have also been identified in other studies across Canada and around the world: First Nations are involved in forestry, mining and other domains; Mexican communities are taking responsibility for management of local forests; large companies establish joint ventures with rural landholders; and villagers in Pacific Islands produce timber for international markets. The experience of the Atikamekw on *Nitaskinan* and the forest industry in the *Haute-Mauricie* shows the importance of understanding different paradigms. Recognizing these differences can help to establish alternative ways of managing forestlands, and new models for coexistence. The absence of the *Scierie Tackipotcikan* does not mean that collaboration has failed, rather that a range of processes are needed to respond to both paradigms. It is likely that similar paradigm differences occur elsewhere in the world. It is my hope that this research will assist in understanding the nature of these paradigms and in promoting greater coexistence between different groups, and between people and forestlands.

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Annexe A-1

Glossary of Atikamekw terms

Prepared with Marthe Cocoo and Yvon Chilton

Atikamekw people

<i>Atikamekw iriniw</i>	The Atikamekw people
<i>Wemotaci iriniw</i>	The people of Wemotaci
<i>Nehirowisiw</i>	An individual who is capable of being autonomous
<i>Ka nikanitc</i>	The person responsible for a family territory

Atikamekw territory

<i>Aski</i>	The earth, including water, plants, animals and humans
<i>Notcimik</i>	The forest, including water, plants and animals. Also, the place where a person can obtain what they need and “ <i>the place that I come from</i> ”.
<i>Kitaskino</i>	“Our land, our territory”. Atikamekw territory, used when Atikamekw are speaking among themselves
<i>Nitaskinan</i>	“Our land, our territory”. Atikamekw territory, used when Atikamekw are speaking to non-Atikamekw
<i>Nehirowisi aski</i>	Atikamekw territory; the earth (<i>aski</i>) where Atikamekw can be autonomous (<i>nehirowisiw</i>)
<i>Natoho aski</i>	A family territory, where a person can obtain what they need.
<i>Atoske meskano</i> <i>Natoho meskano</i>	A trapping or hunting circuit – <i>meskano</i> , path or route

Atikamekw seasons

<i>Miroskamin</i>	Spring	May - June
<i>Nipin</i>	Summer	July - August
<i>Takwakin</i>	Autumn	September - October
<i>Pitcipipon</i>	Pre-winter	November - December
<i>Pipon</i>	Winter	January – February
<i>Sikon</i>	Pre-spring	March – April

Atikamekw life, knowledge and practices

<i>Nehirowisi pimatisiwin</i>	Atikamekw lifestyle / way of life
<i>Notcimi pimatisiwin</i>	Practices related to the occupation and utilisation of <i>notcimik</i>
<i>Tipahiskan</i>	Management of human activities on forestlands
<i>Nametawin</i>	Moving about and leaving traces on forestlands
<i>Pamatisinaniwon notcimik</i>	Travelling through forestlands
<i>Kiskeritamotarikewin</i>	Transmission of culture, knowledge and values
<i>Nakickotatowin</i>	Meetings to arrange hunting or other practices
<i>Kapeciwin</i>	Living in camp and on <i>notcimik</i>
<i>Makocan</i>	Communal meal or celebration
<i>Atoskewin</i>	Practices for using the resources of <i>Nitaskinan</i>
<i>Natohowin</i>	Practices to obtain food and for other products
<i>Mos atoskaniwon</i>	To search for a moose, to become a predator
<i>Nakotosowin</i>	Carrying moose meat to a camp or the village
<i>Acikewin</i>	Sharing meat with other members of the community
<i>Onihikewin</i>	Setting a trap, general term for trapping
<i>Mowisowin</i>	Collecting blueberries
<i>Nanto mackikiwaniwon</i>	Collection of medicinal plants
<i>Wepahapewin</i>	Fishing with a cast line, general term for fishing
<i>Kawapisit</i>	Euro-Canadians

Annexe A-2

Comparative glossary of Atikamekw terms

Prepared with Yvon Chilton, Marthe Coooco, Jean-Paul Néashish and Gilles Ottawa

This comparative glossary presents a number of Atikamekw terms that should be properly understood by the reader. These terms do not have exact equivalents in English or in French. This glossary explains the significance of the term for the Atikamekw and the meaning of a comparable term in English. This comparison illustrates the differences between the Atikamekw and English terms, and the importance of understanding the Atikamekw meaning.

Atikamekw	English
<p><i>Notcimik</i></p> <p>The environment or ecosystem, including the forest, physical resources, plants water, and especially as a living place for humans. It also means “<i>the place that I come from</i>” and a place where a person can obtain what they need to live.</p>	<p>Forest</p> <p>For many people, “forest” implies only the trees. Sometimes, it may include the ecosystem, but it is rare that the forest is a place to live.</p>
<p><i>Atoskewin</i> and <i>Natohowin</i></p> <p><i>Atoskewin</i> covers all practices for using the resources on forestlands, such as animals, fish, wood and plants. <i>Natohowin</i> emphasizes practices to obtain food or other products.</p> <p>Both <i>atoskewin</i> and <i>natohowin</i> imply following customary rules and having the necessary knowledge and skills.</p>	<p>Hunting</p> <p>Hunting is a recreational activity or sport, limited to certain periods of the year. Meat is eaten, but this is rarely an essential part of the hunters’ diet. Hunters must follow government regulations, but these are different to those of the Atikamekw.</p>
<p><i>Tipahiskan</i></p> <p>Assessing forestlands with the aim of ensuring that people’s activities on a given area do not exceed the capacity of the area to support these. Implies guiding people’s actions rather than changing <i>notcimik</i>.</p>	<p>Management of forestlands</p> <p>Assessing forestlands, controlling various activities and modifying the area to improve its capacity provide benefits.</p> <p>In French, <i>aménagement forestier</i> is particularly concerned with activities aimed at optimizing timber production.</p>

<p><i>Kapeciwin</i></p> <p><i>Kapeciwin</i> includes a range of practices associated with living in a camp or on <i>notcimik</i>. It can also indicate being on <i>notcimik</i> simply for the pleasure of being there.</p>	<p>Camping</p> <p>Camping is primarily a recreational activity, for several days or a week, but people rarely live in a camp. Other activities such as fishing or swimming may also be carried out, but these are not integral to camping itself.</p>
<p><i>Ka nikanitc</i></p> <p><i>Ka nikanitc</i> is the person responsible for a territory. He, or sometimes she, has the best knowledge of the area and of practices upon it. The principal role is to monitor what others are doing and to advise and guide them. Other users will usually discuss their plans with him, and he will agree or suggest other possibilities. The <i>ka nikanitc</i> does not approve or disapprove, but advice is usually followed through respect for his experience. .</p>	<p>Manager, controller or owner</p> <p>In English and in French these terms indicate the person who has authority to make decisions and approve actions on a particular area. The position and the authority are derived from regulations or from ownership, not necessarily from their knowledge of the area.</p>
<p><i>Atoske meskano, natoho meskano</i></p> <p>A circuit for hunting, trapping or other practices. This is an itinerary or a route rather than a zone with boundary lines. The circuit changes form one year to another depending on the land and the animals. This is based on Atikamekw experience as nomads travelling around <i>Nitaskinan</i>.</p>	<p>Trapping or hunting zone</p> <p>These terms indicate defined areas used for hunting or trapping. The emphasis lies on the area within external limits or boundaries, either surveyed lines or natural features. The words “zone” and “sector” reflect a western, sedentary concept of private property.</p>
<p><i>Pamatisinaniwon notcimik</i></p> <p>Travelling through <i>notcimik</i>. This is a practice that enables Atikamekw to observe what is happening on forestlands, and to look for signs of animals that may be important for <i>atoskewin</i>. It also provides opportunities of take something that is needed from <i>notcimik</i>, such as shooting a rabbit or collecting firewood. An Atikamekw will generally watch the sides of the road for animal tracks or other clues.</p>	<p>Visiting the forest</p> <p>Like camping, visiting the forest is a recreational activity that enables a person to change their daily routine. They may carry a camera and a picnic lunch, but rarely a gun. Often people will travel to a particular place, such as a scenic site, without really noticing what they have passed on the way.</p>

Annexe A-3

Abbreviations and names of organizations

Abbreviation	French	English
	<i>Projet d'harmonisation</i>	Group formed to harmonize industry and Atikamekw practices on forestlands.
	<i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>	Sawmill to be constructed at Wemotaci
	<i>Table de concertation, CA 43-20</i>	Forest management advisory committee organized by Kruger and other companies.
AMAA	<i>Association Mamo Atoskewin Atikamekw</i>	Atikamekw hunters and trappers association.
CA	<i>Aire commun</i>	Common Area. Unit used for forest management planning 2–4,000 km ²
CAAF	<i>Contrat d'aménagement et d'approvisionnement forestier</i>	Contract held by forestry company to undertake management and harvesting.
CAM	<i>Conseil des Atikamekw et des Montagnais</i>	Precursor of CNA, dissolved in 1994
CAW	<i>Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci</i>	Council elected by Wemotaci community.
CNA	<i>Conseil de la nation Atikamekw</i>	Formed by the three Atikamekw communities for negotiations and services.
Crête	<i>Gérard Crête et fils inc.</i>	Sawmilling company, Prouxville, Québec
DIANC		Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Canada (Federal government)
FAPAQ	<i>Faune et Parcs Quebec</i>	Provincial government agency for hunting, fishing and recreation
FR	<i>Reserve forestier</i>	Forest Reserve. Forest planning unit reserved for local management.
MRNQ	<i>Ministre des Ressources naturelles du Québec</i>	Provincial government forestry agency.
SFAA	<i>Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski</i>	Atikamekw forestry services company.
Smurfit-Stone		Smurfit-Stone inc. Paper and carton manufacturer, Chicago, USA

Annexe B-1

Informants and participants

A total of 218 people participated in this research. Of this total, ninety-eight people gave me information directly, either through semi-directed or informal interviews or my providing me with documents or reports. I have used a letter-number code to describe each of these informants when I needed to indicate the source of information provided in the text of this thesis. The coding system is summarised below. The remaining one hundred and twenty people are those who participated in the various consultation events examined in Chapter 6, but who did not give me additional information.

Summary of informants and participants

Code group	Code numbers	General Characteristics	Number of men	Number of women
A	01 - 24	Atikamekw men	24	
A	51 - 57	Atikamekw women		7
A	81 - 88	Atikamekw youth	6	2
A	100 - 109	Atikamekw – (occupation study only)	7	2
		Atikamekw (consultation events)	73	47
B	01 - 09	Atikamekw leaders - Wemotaci	7	2
B	21 - 24	Atikamekw leaders - CNA	3	1
S	01 - 10	Atikamekw forestry organizations – Atikamekw employees	9	1
		Total Atikamekw	129	62
S	21 - 27	Atikamekw forestry organizations – non-Atikamekw employees	6	1
F	01 - 16	Forest industry	15	1
N	01 - 04	Other non-Atikamekw	2	2
		Total non-Atikamekw	23	4

Informants participating in semi-directed interviews

A total of 75 informants participated in semi-directed interviews during this research. This table provides brief information concerning each informant. An “X” indicates that an informant participated in the exploratory study (Chapter 2), the occupation study (Chapter 5) or in a general interview (Chapter 7). An “*” in the column for Chapter 2 or 5 indicates participants in family interview. An “N” in the column for Chapter 7 indicates that the informant was interviewed, but that this was not included among the nineteen interviews selected for analysis.

Atikamekw informants

Code	Sex	Age group	Employment or position	Interview information Language, location, number, notes or taped	Used in Chapter		
					2	5	7
A01	Male	30 - 60	Businessman	French, informant's house			N
A02	Male	60 +	Elder	Atikamekw / French, notes			X
A03	Male	60 +	Elder	French, Atikamekw, camp	X*	X	
A04	Male	60 +	Elder	Atikamekw, notes (3 interv)			N
A05	Male	60 +	Elder	Atikamekw, camp	X*	X*	
A08	Male	60 +	Elder	French / Atikamekw, house		X	
A09	Male	30 - 60	Potential sawmill worker	French, taped			X
A10	Male	30 - 60	Community services	French, work		X	
A11	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment	French, informant's house		X*	
A12	Male	30 - 60	Potential sawmill worker	French, notes			N
A13	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment	French, informant's house		X	
A15	Male	60 +	Elder	French, notes (3 interviews)	X*		X
A18	Male	30 - 60	Community services	French, work		X	
A19	Male	20 - 30	Community services	French, office		X	
A20	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment	French, informant's house	X*		
A22	Male	30 - 60	Community services	Atikamekw / French, notes	X		
A23	Male	30 - 60	unknown	French, informant's house		X	
A24	Male	20 - 30	Community services	French, office		X	
A25	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment	French, private house	X*		
A51	Female	30 - 60	Comm. services, healer	French, work		X	
A52	Female	30 - 60	Community services	French, informant's house		X*	

A53	Female	30 - 60	Community services	French, notes (2 interviews)			X
A54	Female	30 - 60	Community services	English, notes (2 interviews)	X		X
A55	Female	30 - 60	unknown	French, camp		X*	
A56	Female	30 - 60	Community services	French, private house		X*	
A81	Female	20 - 30	Community services	French, taped			X
A82	Male	20 - 30	Comm. serv.- Opitciwan	French, office		X	
A83	Male	20 - 30	Community Services	French, house			N
A84	Male	20 - 30	Community Services	French, work		X	
A86	Male	20 - 30	No fulltime employment	French, notes			X
A87	Male	20 - 30	Employee in business	French, office		X	
A88	Female	20 - 30	No fulltime employment	French, taped			X
A101	Male	20- 30	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A102	Male	30 -60	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A103	Female	30 - 60	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A104	Male	30 - 60	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A105	Male	30 - 60	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A106	Male	30 - 60	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A107	Female	20 - 30	Unknown	French / Atikamekw, camp		X*	
A108	Male	20 - 30	Community services	French, informant's camp		X	
A109	Male	30 - 60	No fulltime employment	French, private house		X*	
B01	Male	30 - 60	Councillor, Administrator	French, taped			X
B02	Male	30 - 60	Councillor	French, notes (2 interviews)	X		N
B03	Male	60 +	Councillor, Administrator	French, notes	X		
B04	Male	30 - 60	Administrator	French, notes			N
B05	Male	30 - 60	Councillor, Administrator	French, notes	X*		
B06	Female	30 - 60	Administrator	French, notes			N
B07	Female	30 - 60	Councillor, Administrator	French, taped			X
B08	Male	30 - 60	Councillor, Administrator	French, notes (3 interviews)			N
B21	Male	60 +	Councillor, Administrator	French, notes	X		
S01	Female	20 - 30	Tech. Atik forestry	French, notes, forest	X	X*	
S02	Male	20 - 30	Tech. Atik forestry	French, written			X
S03	Male	30 -60	Tech. Atik forestry	French, work		X	
S04	Male	20 - 30	Tech. Atik forestry	French, taped			N
S05	Male	30 - 60	Tech. Atik forestry	French, notes			N
S06	Male	30 - 60	Tech. Atik forestry	French, taped			X
S07	Male	20 - 30	Tech. Atik forestry	French, taped			N

S08	Male	30 - 60	Admin. Atik forestry	French, taped			X
S10	Male	30 - 60	Admin. Atik forestry	French, work		X	
Total of 58 Atikamekw informants					12	29	24

Non-Atikamekw informants

Code	Sex	Age group	Employment or position	Interview information Language, location, number, notes or taped	Used in Chapter		
					2	5	7
F01	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, notes	X		
F02	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	English, notes	X		
F03	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, taped, notes (4 int.)			X
F04	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			X
F05	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, notes (2 interviews)			N
F06	Male	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, notes (3 interviews)			X
F07	Male	30 - 60	Forester, ex-industry	French, taped			N
F08	Female	30 - 60	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			N
F09	Male	20 - 30	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			N
F10	Male	20 - 30	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			N
F11	Male	20 - 30	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			N
F12	Male	60 +	Forester, forest industry	French, notes			N
F13	Male	30 - 60	Forester, government	French, taped			N
F14	Male	60 +	Administrator, industry	French, notes			X
F15	Male	30 - 60	Administrator, industry	French, notes			N
S21	Male	30 - 60	Forester, Atik forestry	French, taped	X		X
S23	Male	30 - 60	Forester, Atik forestry	French, taped			X
Total of 17 non-Atikamekw informants					3	0	15

Annexe B-2

Demographic information

Population (resident at Wemotaci)

	1996 Census Statistics Canada	2000 CAW
Total	855	1,086
0 – 14 years	400	472
15 – 29 years	235	282
30 – 59 years	185	286
Over 60 years	45	46
CAW recorded a further 273 <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> who were not resident at Wemotaci.		

Employment and income

	Men	Women	Total
Full time employment	45	45	90
Average full-time income	\$ 24,146	\$ 23,277	
Part-time employment	100	55	155
Average part-time income	\$ 8,959	\$ 8,943	
Government transfer payments comprise 39.8 % of total income			
Average income from full-time employment for men in La Tuque is \$ 39,496 Government transfer payments in La Tuque represent 18.2 % of total income			

Sources :

Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci, Population of Wemotaci at 31 December 2000.

Annexe B-3

Interview guide – Occupation study

Atikamekw co-researcher Yvon Chilton and myself developed the following interview guide (in French) for investigating contemporary occupation of *Nitaskinan* by the Atikamekw (Chapter 5). Three other forms (fiches) and a summary page were used to record information provided by participants. These forms are contained in our separate report (Wyatt and Chilton 2003).

Introduction

- Explanation of this meeting and of the *Table d'harmonisation*
-

Fiche 1

What activities do you practice on the territory?

- When?
 - With whom?
 - Where?
 - How many times (per week, per month, per year, how many years before returning)?
 - For what reasons?
-

Fiche 2

Are there specific sites that are important for these activities

- Where?
- What type of site?

Other activities or other information concerning activities on the territory.

Circuits for occupying the territory (if any)

Fiche 3

Do you practice other activities on other areas? If so, for what reasons?

Has forestry changed the way that you use the territory?

Have you any suggestions for harmonizing logging with your activities on the territory?

Who are other people who use this territory (family, friends, others)?

Conclusion

- Synthesis and review of information
- Actions that are being planned by the *Table d'harmonisation*

Annexe B-4

Interview guide – General interviews

This interview guide was used for the general interviews that contributed to Chapter 7.

Theme and typical questions	Information sought
<p>Forest, forestry and territory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think of forestry / of the sawmill project ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To open discussion. • General comments on forestlands, forestry and the <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i>.
<p>Ways of managing forestlands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main issues for managing forests? • How do you decide what happens on the territory? • What do you mean by territory? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of issues concerning the use and occupation of forestlands. • Principal concerns or issues relating to forestry. • Terms used for describing forestlands. • Identification of non-forestry issues.
<p>Information, knowledge, consultation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What information do you have about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Forestry; ○ The sawmill; ○ Atikamekw uses of the forest? • Do you have enough information? • How should Atikamekw be consulted? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge about industry and Atikamekw uses of forestlands. • Preferences for consultation. • Transmission of information / knowledge. • Information needs.
<p>Decision-making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are decisions made about forests / territory? • How are decisions made about the sawmill? • How should decisions be made? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management systems. • Decision-making processes. • Consultation processes. • Information about the sawmill and about forestry. • Atikamekw involvement in forest planning and management. • Atikamekw involvement in sawmill project.

<p>Atikamekw identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some people speak of a link between the Atikamekw and the territory. Is there a link and what is it? • Is there an Atikamekw identity? What is it? • How can these be addressed in forest planning? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terms used to describe link between Atikamekw and territory. • Perceptions of such a link. • Perceptions of an Atikamekw identity. • Effects of forestland management on these. • Values (Atikamekw and industry).
<p>Forestry, sawmill and Atikamekw lifestyle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does forestry / the sawmill need to take account of an Atikamekw lifestyle? • How can this be done? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of Atikamekw lifestyle • Importance of Atikamekw knowledge and practices • Impacts of forestry and sawmill on Atikamekw • Impacts of Atikamekw lifestyle on work in forestry / sawmill
<p><i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> – benefits and problems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What benefits do the companies / the Atikamekw hope to get from the sawmill project? • What are the problems / difficulties with the sawmill project? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advantages of sawmill project and of Atikamekw participation in forestry. • Disadvantages / problems of sawmill and of Atikamekw participation in forestry. • Expectations and hopes of Atikamekw and industry.
<p><i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> – history</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the history of sawmill project? • What was relationship between partners? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goal and interests of partners. • Critical stages in the project. • Role of partners and decision makers. • Description of relationships.
<p>Vision of forestlands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your vision of the future for the territory? • What do you wish to leave to your children and grandchildren? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expectations and hopes for forestlands. • Most important characteristics of forestlands. <p>Actions needed to achieve these expectations.</p>

Annexe B-5

Research notes

I used the following format to record information, observations and preliminary analyses during research activities. Over 350 individual research notes are recorded in this format on computer. Approximately, 100 other notes are recorded in my field observation books, but have not been transferred to computer.

Research Note

Reference number

Date	Category / Concepts <i>Preliminary category or coding</i>
Source	<i>Observation, informal discussion, documentary, Informant name / code</i>
Cross-ref	<i>Reference to other Research notes that may be linked to this one</i>
<p><i>Site and occasion of observations, discussion or documents.</i></p> <p><i>Information such as :</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Descriptions of activities, sites, people involved, and their explanations of this (where provided);</i> • <i>Summary of conversation, including various key phrases;</i> • <i>Information from documents, along with source and context of documents.</i> <p><i>Background information that helps to understand this information, such as previous statements or actions by the informant or reasons why a particular event was taking place. Typically information from other sources, documented in other research notes.</i></p> <p><i>Preliminary analysis; comments on significance of this information, possible links to other information, other possible actions to investigate or to confirm this information.</i></p>	

Annexe B-6

Original French transcriptions of citations

As described in section 7.2.2, interviews with eleven informants were recorded on audiotapes, while in other interviews I made verbatim notes (in French) of particular phrases used by the informant. This annexe contains the original French language transcriptions of half of the citations used in Chapter Chapter 7, along with the English translations and the number of the section in which they are used. Other citations are based on my English language notes of the interview (taken during the interview and immediately afterwards).

Section 7.3.1.1 Atikamekw perceptions of *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Quand on a commencé dans le conseil à discuter, on voyait qu'il y avait beaucoup de demandes d'emplois, puis le secteur qui nous apparaissait le plus créateur d'emplois, c'était la forêt. ... Bon, s'il y a une cinquantaine de personnes qui travaille, le niveau de l'économie va être plus élevé, peut être qu'il y a d'autre chose qui va se développer par après, d'autres entreprises ...

When the Council started to discuss the sawmill, we saw that there were many demands for jobs, and it seemed that the sector that could create the most jobs was the forest. ... If there are fifty people working there, then the economic level (of the community) will be higher and maybe there will be other businesses that develop afterwards.

Informant B01 February 2000

Nous avons rien contre la scierie. Elle va créer beaucoup d'ouvrage – mais la façon de boucher – c'est d'autre choses

We have nothing against the sawmill. It will create a lot of work. But the way of logging, that is another thing.

Informant A02 March 2001

Je ne pense pas qu'on coupe comme n'importe qui. Si on met beaucoup d'efforts et beaucoup de travail, il peut y avoir du changement au Québec.

I don't think that we will log like other people. If we make the effort and work hard, then there can be a change in Québec.

Informant A09 November 2001

Section 7.3.1.2 Industry perceptions of *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Ça prend des activités pour que les gens puissent avoir leur autonomie. Avec le monde industriel d'aujourd'hui, c'est certain que l'on ne vie plus de chasse et pêche aujourd'hui, on ne se contente plus seulement de se nourrir, de se loger et de se vêtir. On fait un peu plus que ça, c'est pour ça que cela demande des activités économiques

There must be activities so that people can have their autonomy. With today's industrial world, it's certain that people can't live just from hunting and fishing; they are not just content to eat, to have a place to live and clothing. People want a little more than that ; that's why they need economic activities.

Informant S21 November 2000

Pour les autochtones, ce n'est pas comme si on faisait affaire avec quelqu'un qui connaissait les scieries, ... Alors, je pense que c'est un projet que tu ne peux pas mener aussi rapidement que lorsque tu décides que tu construis une scierie et puis que tu as de l'expertise. Dans ce cas là, ce n'est pas toi qui le construis, c'est fait pour les autochtones et c'est à eux de se sentir bien avec ça.

For the Aboriginals, it is not as if we are working with someone who knows sawmills. ... I think that it is a project where you cannot go as rapidly as if you decide yourself ... to build a sawmill and you have the expertise. In this case, it is not you who builds it, it is for the Aboriginals and it is up to them to feel at ease with this.

Informant F03 August 2000

Section 7.3.2.1 Industry and forest practices

Mais comme je te dis, pour moi avec Aski et avec les relations que j'ai, même si ça me coûte un peu plus cher, je leur ai toujours dit que je voulais qu'ils fassent du bois à des prix compétitifs. ... Alors ma façon de voir, c'est d'avoir une relation d'affaires avec les autochtones mais, dans le respect mutuel.

For my relations with (SFAA), even if it costs me a little more, I have always said that I want them to provide wood at competitive prices. I see it as a business relationship with the Aboriginals, but with mutual respect.

Informant F03 August 2000.

Et je pense que c'est l'harmonisation qui serait la chose la plus intéressante qui pourrait arriver ici : autochtones, blancs, industrielles, chasseurs, pêcheurs et même les pourvoyeurs. Je crois que ce serait la plus belle chose qui pourrait arriver, c'est-à-dire que tout le monde participe réellement à confectionner les plans. Correctement et en acceptant que tout le monde fasse des compromis

Harmonization ... Aboriginals, whites, the industry, hunters, fishers, and outfitters. I think this is the most interesting thing that could happen here, that everyone participates in the preparation of plans ; properly and accepting that everyone must make compromises.

Informant S21 November 2000

Les compagnies avec les discussions, je vais me servir des discussions qu'on a eues avec eux autres là, j'inventerai rien. Les discussions qu'on a eues avec les compagnies me montrent de l'ouverture en autant que ça leur coûte pas trop cher.

Discussions that we have had with the companies show me that they are open (to harmonisation), as long as it is not too expensive.

Informant S23 March 2001

Il y a beaucoup de choses qui pourraient peut-être se faire mais qui ne se font pas parce que le gouvernement à des normes très strictes où on ne regarde pas, on n'est pas en fonction des objectifs mais on travail en fonction des moyens.

There are many things that could be done but are not because the government has set standards that are too strict, or that are not based on objectives.

Informant F03 August 2000

Section 7.3.2.2 Atikamekw and forest practices

Aujourd'hui, ma position à la Table est – Ce n'est pas trop tard à apporter des changements ... Les gens de la communauté doivent être dans l'action, dans la pratique.

Now, my position in the Table (d'harmonisation) is that it is not too late to bring about changes. ... People in the community must be in the action, in practice.

Informant A15, February 2001.

Que les efforts des atikamekws servent à défendre et protéger le territoire et tous les êtres vivants. Il doit y avoir toujours un habitat pour chaque espèce, et les atikamekws doivent travailler à cela pour pouvoir continuer de pratiquer leurs activités en forêt en respectant les animaux et la forêt. Il faut prendre notre place sinon on risque d'assister à la destruction du territoire par les compagnies. C'est notre devoir de se lever et de défendre notre droit, tout comme celui du territoire, à être traité avec respect.

(It is most important) that Atikamekw efforts serve to defend and protect the land and all living creatures. There must always be a habitat for each species, and the Atikamekw should work to this, so that they can continue to practice their activities in the forest while respecting the animals there. We have to take our place; otherwise we will be standing by while the companies destroy the land. It is our duty to stand up and defend our rights, and those of the land, to be treated with respect.

Informant S02 November 2000

Peut-être que lui va faire sa coupe différemment l'autochtone, peut-être qu'il va la faire de meilleure manière. ... Le Québécois lui faisait pas attention à ça, toutes ces histoires là, lui, il ne faisait juste sa job, c'est pour être payer et il s'en retourne chez eux. Mais nous autres par exemple, les autochtones qui vivent en territoire. Ils doivent être portés au moins à respecter comment qu'on fait ça, puis à couper d'une façon différente

Maybe the Atikamekw will cut differently, maybe he will do it in a better way. ... But the Québécois doesn't pay any attention, he is just doing his job, to be paid and then to return home. But for us, who live on the land, we have to respect how we do it; we have to log differently.

Informant A81 November 2001

Or, nous ne sommes pas contre l'exploitation commerciale de la forêt. Nous voulons simplement que vous teniez compte de notre existence dans le territoire et que la survivance de notre culture dépend de la qualité de notre environnement. Nous voulons faire partie du processus décisionnel lorsque ces décisions affectent notre territoire. Nous voulons également participer aux retombées économiques de l'exploitation de ce qui nous appartient et qui nous revient de droit.

We are not against commercial logging of the forest. We simply want you to take account of our existence on forestlands, and that the survival of our culture depends upon the quality of our environment. We want to be part of the decision process when decisions are made about our land. We also want to share in the economic benefits of our property, to which we have rights.

CNA - Verbatim

Section 7.3.3.1 Atikamekw understanding of Nitaskinan

Dans un premier temps, premièrement, l'épanouissement culturel de la société attikamek est intimement relié à l'intégrité de son territoire et de sa capacité de supporter notre mode de vie. Deuxièmement, les multiples activités traditionnelles représentent le lien sacré des Attikameks avec leur territoire et forgent la culture et les valeurs fondamentales attikameks. L'exercice des activités traditionnelles encadrées par les valeurs attikameks et en cohésion avec le mode de vie traditionnel est la garantie de la perpétuation de la culture et de la société attikamek. Le peuple attikamek est l'occupant permanent de Nitaskinan et nous faisons partie intégrante de ce territoire, d'où l'existence d'un droit autochtone sur ce territoire, un droit que rien ni personne ne peut éteindre.

Firstly, the cultural blooming of Atikamekw society is intimately linked to the integrity of its territory and the capacity to support our lifestyle. **Secondly**, the multiple traditional activities represent the sacred link between the Atikamekw and their territory, forging the culture and the fundamental Atikamekw values. The practice of traditional activities in keeping with Atikamekw values and the traditional lifestyle is the guaranty of the perpetuation of the Atikamekw culture and society. **(Thirdly)** the Atikamekw people are the permanent occupants of Nitaskinan and we are an integral part of the territory, from which derives an Aboriginal right to the territory, a right which no one can take away.

CNA Verbatim

Ça veut dire l'histoire Atikamekw. Je veux dire que sans territoire, on n'aurait pas, si on faisait la cueillette des bleuets, on n'irait pas à la pêche, à la chasse. On pourrait pas tenir la, parce qu'il n'y aurait pas de lumière, vraiment une histoire. ... Le territoire c'est mon histoire.

The territory means the history of the Atikamekw. I mean that without territory, we cannot collect blueberries, go fishing or hunting. We can't stay there, there is not light, no history. ... The territory, it is my history.

Informant A81 November 2001

C'est un héritage, c'est un héritage à donner. Sur et certain on essaie de garder l'héritage que nos parents nous ont enseigné. ... C'est l'occupation territoriale. Puis aussi en montant les gens d'ici en forêt, c'est notre milieu de vie, notre milieu de ressourcement. D'arriver souvent et voir de jour en forêt, de visiter et de regarder aussi les endroits que mon père m'amenait, et mon grand-père aussi. Ils m'amenaient aussi, mais derrière ça, il y a beaucoup des places, c'était des places. Une certaine, un transfert se faisait dans certains cas.

(The territory) is a heritage, a heritage to give. Certainly, we try and keep the heritage that our parents taught us. ... It is occupying the territory. People from here, when they are in the forest, it is where we live, where we draw strength. To arrive and to see the sun rise in the forest, to see the places where my father took me, and my grandfather as well. They took me, but behind that, there are many places, it is the places. There is a certain, a transfer that occurs, it is like that.

Informant S06 February 2002

C'est le respect, c'est le respect. Les valeurs Atikamekw, c'est le respect envers toutes choses, au niveau de l'être humain, ça va comme ça. ... On est venu au monde, c'est notre, c'est notre, on fait partir de la terre, c'est lui qui nous donne à manger, qui nous fait

vivre, nous fait respirer. ... Puis quand on parle d'exploitation forestière, comme on disait au début, faut que ce soit fait convenablement, en faisant attention et en faisant des vérifications.

Atikamekw values, is respect, respect towards everything, as a human being, it is like that. ... We arrived in the world, it's our, it's our, we are part of the earth. It is the earth who gives us food, who enables us to live, to breath. ... When we talk of forest harvesting, as we said at the beginning, it must be done properly, paying attention and checking.

Informant S06 February 2002

C'est sur faut respecter la forêt, même si tu travailles dans la forêt, il faut la respecter au maximum. Ça je te dis, je bûcherais, moi j'arriverais dans un endroit où il y a des animaux, j'arrêterai automatiquement.

It is clear that you have to respect the forest; even if you work there you have to fully respect it. I cut trees, but if I come to a place where there are animals, I stop immediately.

Informant A09 November 2001

Ben, les valeurs. Moi je veux dire le respect de la nature, ça s'en est une qui est importante ça.

Values; I would say that respect for nature, that is the one which is the most important.

Informant A81 November 2001

Section 7.3.3.2 Industry understanding of *Haute-Mauricie*

Gérard Crête et fils inc. croit que le Québec doit, à partir de ses forêts bien aménagées, pouvoir compter sur une industrie forestière stable et prospère s'il veut continuer à bénéficier d'un maximum de retombées, notamment pour les communautés locales. Une industrie en bonne santé financière favorisera des investissements, tant en forêt qu'en usine, afin de garantir un développement durable du milieu forestier et d'affronter la compétition de plus en plus grande.

Gérard Crête et fils inc. believes that Québec, using its well managed forests, must be able to count on a stable and prosperous forest industry if it wishes to continue to receive maximum economic benefits, particularly for its communities. A financially healthy industry will encourage investments, in the forest and in factories, to guarantee sustainable development of forests and to face increasing competition.

Crête – Written

Idéalement, je verrais des industries qui fonctionnent bien. Et j'aimerais aussi (? 456) sur des gens développent d'autres choses, d'autres activités que celles du bois.

Ideally, I would see industries that worked well. And I would also like that people developed other things, other activities than just the wood.

Informant S21 November 2000

Pour moi c'est ce milieu forestier mais le plus gros indice quand je vais me sentir en forêt, c'est le bien-être que je vais ressentir. J'ai un sentiment d'isolation quand je vois juste de la coupe, tu sens que c'est sec

For me, the best clue for a forest is how I feel when I am in the forest; it is the well being that I feel. I have a feeling of isolation when I see just the logging; you feel that it is dry.

Informant S23 March 2001

Sur les huit unités d'aménagement, où Crête détient des contrats d'aménagement et d'approvisionnement forestier dans les régions 03 et 04, le territoire est tapissé de 12 ZEC, de 24 pourvoies à droits exclusifs, de 3 réserves fauniques, de 2 communautés autochtones, de 6 MRC, de nombreux villégiateurs regroupés ou non et de pourvoies à droits non exclusifs.

On the eight management areas where Crête (operates) the territory is carpeted with 12 fauna management zones, 24 exclusive outfitters, 3 fauna reserves, 2 Aboriginal communities, six municipalities, and numerous chalets and non-exclusive outfitters.

Crête – Written

L'autre aspect, c'est l'aspect territorial. Comme tu le mentionnais, il est plus complexe un peu, parce que nous, nous sommes en milieu autochtone, et que le grand défi forestier de ce côté là, c'est plutôt l'entente qu'il y aura entre les utilisateurs de ce territoire là.

(The territorial aspect) is a little more complex because we are in an Aboriginal environment, and the biggest challenge on this side is agreement between all the users of this territory.

Informant S21 November 2000

Section 7.3.4.1 Industry management of *Haute-Mauricie* forests

Gérard Crête et fils inc. est d'accord avec une intensification de l'aménagement forestier. Les fruits de cette approche doivent servir, d'une part, à compenser la perte de production de matière ligneuse sur les superficies forestières dédiées, entre autres, aux aires protégées et, d'autre part, à consolider les approvisionnements des usines existantes. Crête voit des préalables à une politique de rendement accru. Premièrement, le zonage forestier doit être revu afin de cibler davantage les priorités de développement du territoire. Deuxièmement, Crête favorise une fusion d'unités d'aménagement (aires communes) afin d'obtenir un maximum de souplesse au chapitre de l'établissement d'une stratégie d'aménagement visant un rendement accru et une utilisation polyvalente du territoire. Le périmètre de ces nouveaux territoires doit être permanent. La stabilité de l'assise territoriale est un préalable à son aménagement multiressource. La gestion forestière en sera également simplifiée. Troisièmement, Crête est d'avis que la totalité des coûts, reliés à la planification et à l'exécution des travaux visant à améliorer le rendement des forêts et son aménagement polyvalent, soit admissible à une compensation complète à partir des redevances ou de toute autre source de financement gouvernementale ou mixte.

Gérard Crête et fils agrees with the **intensification of forest management**. The fruits of this approach should serve partly **to offset lost production of wood fibre** due to forest areas being dedicated to, among others, protected areas, and partly to consolidate supplies for existing mills. Crête sees several preconditions for a policy of increased yield. Firstly, **forest zoning** must be reviewed to better reflect priorities for the development of the territory. Secondly, Crête supports the fusion of forest management areas in order to obtain maximum flexibility for establishing a **management strategy aimed at increased yield and at multiple uses of the territory**. The boundaries of these areas must be permanent. The stability of the land base is a precondition for the management of multiple resources. Thirdly, Crête believes that **costs related to planning and executing work** to increase forest yield and multiple-use management should be admissible for full compensation, from forestry revenue or from other sources of finance.

Crête - Written

Les détenteurs de CAAF à deux A ont des obligations en vertu de notre contrat d'aménagement de la forêt; bon, on récolte, oui, et on aménage la forêt. ... Nous autres, notre mandat, c'est de produire de la forêt; on va produire de la forêt. Ce n'est pas de produire de la faune.

CAAF holders have obligations under our forest management contract: we harvest and we manage the forest. ... For us, our mandate is to produce from the forest, we produce from the forest. It is not to produce from the fauna.

Crête – Verbatim

Dans l'industrie, il y a une chose qui m'agaçait énormément. Je voyais les territoires qu'ils coupaient, on était obligé de couper parce qu'on avait des compteurs consols puis qu'il n'était pas prêt à être couper. On coupait parce que le chemin passait là, il fallait l'emplir le plus possible.

I used to see the areas that (the industry) logged, they were obliged to cut because it was counted, even if it was not ready to cut. They cut because the road went there, and it was necessary to fill it up as much as possible.

Informant S23 March 2001

Ça c'est dans sa coupe mosaïque que le reste il reste toujours du bois à côté, autant de bois debout que de bois coupé. Et c'est assez irrégulier comme forme. Parce que quoi que ça va rester un milieu forestier.

It is in the mosaic logging that there is always wood kept alongside, as much wood standing as wood cut. And it is irregular in its shape. Because, like that, it is still a forest environment.

Informant S23 March 2001

... tout le monde doit faire des compromis, chaque partie doit faire des compromis. Ce n'est pas seulement à une personne d'en faire. Ce n'est pas seulement aux industriels d'en faire. ... il faut essayer de trouver une manière qui va plaire à tout le monde.

.. each party must make compromises. It is not only one person who has to make them. It is not only the industry to make them. ... We must try to find a way that is acceptable to everyone.

Informant S21

Elle propose aussi que les différents plans soient préparés par une société de gestion mixte, compétente et autonome qui sera libre de toute influence interne ou externe. Ce mandataire de coordination de la foresterie devra consulter les intervenants du milieu et faire le suivi des plans. Les travaux d'aménagement y compris la récolte seraient exécutés par les détenteurs de contrats d'aménagement et d'approvisionnement forestier à titre de mandataire d'opération.

(Crête) proposes that the different (management) plans be prepared by a hybrid management company, competent and autonomous, free of internal and external influence. This forest coordinator would consult the various stakeholders and monitor the plans. Management activities, including harvesting, would be executed by the CAAF holders (existing forestry companies).

Crête - Written

Je verrais une composition, par exemple, de représentants de pourvoiries, de représentants de ZECs, des MRC, des détenteurs de CAAF, ou peut-être autres qui pourraient administrer ce type de société ... Ils ont aussi des obligations, je pense, ces

autres intervenants-là du milieu, ça les amène aussi à les amener leurs objectifs d'aménagement et aussi à assumer éventuellement leurs responsabilités face à leurs demandes.

I imagine a composition, for example, of representatives of outfitters, of fauna management areas, of municipalities and of CAAF holders, or maybe others who could manage this society. ... They also have obligations, which would lead them to their management objectives, and also to assume responsibility for their demands.

Crête - Verbatim

Section 7.3.4.2 Atikamekw management of Nitaskinan

C'est là qu'il faut mettre un rempart pour mieux gérer la forêt. Je pense beaucoup à ça moi, c'est beau en récolter mais, il ne faut pas penser juste à nous autres. Nos parents c'est ça qu'il faisaient, nos ancêtres, quand ils allaient le chercher dans le secteur de chasse, ils ne prenaient pas tout, ils en gardaient. Ils s'organisaient pour qu'il y en ait tout le temps. C'est un peu dans le même esprit qu'il faut faire quand on coupe.

It's there that we must put a rampart to better manage the forest. I think a lot about that, it is good to harvest the forest, but we must not think only of ourselves. Our parents, that's what they did, our ancestors, when they went into a hunting area, they didn't take everything; they kept it. They organized themselves so that it was there always there. That is the spirit that is needed when we log.

Informant S08 November 2000

Les valeurs et les connaissances naturelles transmises de génération en génération procure les compétences nécessaires à assurer un aménagement du territoire qui intègre une dimension humaine dans l'équilibre du milieu naturel, son milieu de vie.

The value and the knowledge transmitted from generation to generation brings the competence necessary to ensure a management of the territory that integrates a human dimension in the equilibrium of nature, his living place.

CNA - Written

En langue Atikamekw on dira "il lui donne son onehirowisiwin", c'est-à-dire, une manière d'être et de vivre, un chemin pour parvenir à la maturité et à l'autonomie.

In the Atikamekw language we say "It (Nitaskinan) gives him his onehirowisiwin", meaning a way of being and of living, a path to reach maturity and autonomy

CNA - Written

Ils veulent pouvoir continuer à faire ce qu'ils ont toujours fait en forêt et le montrer à leurs enfants. Ils attendent d'être les premiers avertis lors des coupes forestières. Comme ça, ils auront encore le sentiment de gérer le territoire de trappe, mais pas se le faire voler.

They (members of the community) want to be able to continue to do what they have always done in the forest and to show it to their children. They want to be the first to know about logging. Then, they will still have the feeling of managing the trapping territories, rather than being robbed.

Informant S02 November 2000

Section 7.3.5.1 Atikamekw points of view

Personnellement je ne comprends pas pourquoi sont intéressés la-dedans, alors que les grosses industries ici sont toujours à la recherche de territoire à exploiter.

Personally, I don't understand, I don't understand why they are interested (in the Scierie Tackipotcikan). But the big industries are always looking for land to harvest.

Informant B07 November 2000

Pour la compagnie, la forêt c'est son argent, son capital. ... Ils commencent un peu à comprendre qu'il y a des gens qui vivent sur le territoire. Mais ont sais pas si ils sont près à mettre de l'avant des nouveautés en foresterie.

For the companies, the forest is their money, their capital. They are starting to understand a little that there are people who live on the territory. But we don't know if they are prepared to adopt new methods in forestry.

Informant S02 November 2000

J'ai jamais vu encore un membre des compagnies forestières, venir nous rencontrer nous en tant que soit membre de la table d'harmonisation ou en tant que population de la communauté. ... Ce serait très intéressant. ... si eux penseraient à essayer de vouloir vraiment savoir qu'est-ce que eux prévoient de faire, c'est quoi leur but eux?

I've never seen a member of the forestry companies come here to meet us, either as a member of the Table d'harmonisation or of the population of the community. ... It would be very interesting ... if they thought to try to really know what they want to do.

Informant A88 March 2001

La forêt c'est un exploitation aussi. On dirait qu'il voit des piastres la-dedans. Souvent on élabore un plan d'aménagement mais il n'est même pas convenable à ceux qui vivent en forêt comme les animaux.

The forest is a business. It seems that they (the companies) see the dollars in it. There is a management plan. Often they prepare a management plan but it is not even appropriate for those who live in the forest, like the animals.

Informant A81 November 2001

La relation est bonne, si on a des bonnes discussions au niveau technique, on a des bonnes décisions aussi au niveau de la table des actionnaires.

The relationship is good, we have good discussions at technical levels, and we have good discussions also among the partners (in the Scierie Tackipotcikan)

Informant B01 February 2001

J'ai parlé avec (Informant F03) On a commencé à travailler avec eux en 1994. ... Il faut respecter l'individu, ... il connaissait le milieu autochtone, il a confiance en nous. Ils ont une énorme confiance en la nation Atikamekw. Ils l'ont quand même vu évoluer un peu, donc ils n'ont pas eu peur d'embarquer.

I talk with (Informant F04). We started to work with them in 1994. ... You have to respect the individual. ... He knows the Aboriginal world; he has confidence in us. They have enormous confidence in the Atikamekw nation. They have seen it evolve and they are not afraid to be involved.

Informant S08 November 2000

Eux tout ce qu'ils connaissant c'est la façon du Québec et ce que les ing .for. ont appris à l'école. Souvent, c'est pas assez un travail orienté vers de la foresterie acceptable socialement.

All that they know is the Québec way, and what the forest engineers learnt at school. That is not usually enough for forestry that is socially acceptable.

Informant S02 November 2000

Section 7.3.5.2 Industry perceptions of the Atikamekw

C'est très violent comme modification de comportement une scierie par rapport à ce qu'ils vivent déjà. ... Ce n'est pas insurmontable quand même, c'est surprenant de voir les autochtones sont passés d'un comportement normal à un projet de scierie et ils le font passablement bien. Ils ont certains problèmes mais, ça roule.

It's quite violent, the modification to behaviour for a sawmill compared to their lives now. ... However, it is not insurmountable, it's surprising to see them go from their normal life to a sawmill project, and they are doing it well. They have had some problems, but it is working.

Informant S21 November 2000

Je pense que dans le moment, il y a un sentiment...en tout cas...mon impression, c'est qu'il y a une bonne relation dans le moment, il y a un sentiment de confiance.

I believe that now, there is a feeling of , well my impression is that it is a good relationship at the moment, there is a feeling of confidence.

Informant F03 August 2000

Dans ce projet là, on n'est pas là pour s'impliquer dans la communauté. On va respecter ce que le conseil demande; on est partenaire,

In (the sawmill) project, we are not there to involve ourselves in the community. We will respect what the Council (CAW) asks us; we are partners.

Informant F03 August 2000.

On est plus vers une vision Atikamekw de la foresterie. ... Puis ils vont voir l'évolution, un changement. Puis la population va voir que des changements qui sont apportés de même, puis ça correspond avec l'arrivée de la table aussi. Ben ils vont faire le lien. Puis le monde va embarquer de plus en plus. Puis on va être capable de faire de quoi et la confiance va revenir.

We are moving towards an Atikamekw vision of forestry. ... They will see an evolution, a change. As the population sees that changes are being made, and that this corresponds with the Table (d'harmonisation), they will make the link. Then people will become more and more involved. We will be capable of acting and confidence will return.

Informant S23 March 2001

Annexe C-1

History of Atikamekw and Euro-Canadians at Wemotaci

4,000 years ago	First inhabitants in the St-Maurice valley
1636	Jesuits refer to the "Attikamègues"
From 1700	Europeans trade furs for manufactured goods.
1778	Fur-trading post established at Wemotaci (North-West Company).
1846	Church constructed at Wemotaci
1847	Timber inventory conducted in St-Maurice valley to plan logging.
1869	Estimated 6-7,000 timber cutters operating in the St-Maurice valley.
1881	Atikamekw chiefs seek reserves to protect fauna on their lands.
1895	Establishment of Indian Reserves at Wemotaci and Coucoucache.
1910	Railway line arrives at Wemotaci, Paper mill constructed at La Tuque.
1914	Sanmaur village and construction of Gouin dam on St-Maurice river.
1925	Construction of timber houses at Wemotaci for the Atikamekw.
1930	CIP takes over Sanmaur village.
1940s	Atikamekw start to work in forest industry on seasonal basis.
1951	Establishment of Beaver Reserve by provincial government.
1954	CIP abandons Sanmaur, number of families living there falls from 74 to 15.
1970s	Atikamekw families start to live in Wemotaci on a permanent basis. Forest industry becomes more mechanized and Atikamekw employment falls.
1973	School opened at Wemotaci teaching in French.
1975	CAM formed to negotiate territorial claims with governments.
1982	CNA formed by communities of Wemotaci, Manawan and Opitciwan.

Summarized from Clermont (1977); G  linas (2000); G  linas (2003)

Annexe C-2

History of *Services forestiers Atikamekw Aski*

This table summarises the development of SFAA as a forestry services company between 1982 and 2002 illustrating the expansion of its forest harvesting activities and the resulting changes in company finances.

Year	Principal activities	Turnover \$,000 \$	Net Profit/Loss \$,000
1982 - 1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tree-planting • Thinning of plantations for forest industry 	n/a	Not available n/a
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Line clearing for Hydro-Québec • Tree-planting 	n/a	n/a
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Line clearing for Hydro-Québec • Tree-planting 	2 868	(700)
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 5,000 m³ for Crête • Line clearing for Hydro-Québec • Thinning 	1 745	(132)
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 35,000 m³ for Crête • Line clearing for Hydro-Québec • Thinning • Construction of bridge 	3 114	(352)
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 50,000 m³ • Thinning 	3 901	(427)
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Line clearing for Hydro-Québec • Plantation thinning 570 ha • Logging of 60,000 m³ for Gérard Crête 	4 076	(681)
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management plan for Forestry Reserve 42-99 • Logging of 128,000 m³ • Plantation thinning 450 ha 	4 477	(29)
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 160,000 m³ • Plantation thinning 200 ha 	5 034	600
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 170,000 m³ • Tree-planting 150,000 plants • Thinning 160 ha 	7 152	1 698
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 131,000 m³ • Tree-planting 700,000 plants • Thinning 240 ha 	6 636	(35)
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logging of 86,000 m³ • Tree-planting 600,000 plants • Thinning 244 ha 	4 803	(562)

From SFAA Annual financial statements, Minutes of board meetings, Informants S21, S22

Annexe C-3

History of *Scierie Tackipotcikan*

Late 1995	Informal discussions between Wemotaci, Cartons St-Laurent and Crête.
March 1996	CAW advised of preliminary discussions for a partnership to build a sawmill.
September 1996	CAW presents three projects to a regional economic development meeting – sawmill, fish-farming and hydro-electricity generation.
November 1996	Informal committee comprising representatives from the partners starts to plan the project. Industry will be minority partners.
Early 1997	Consideration of possible scenarios and available timber volume.
February 1997	Agreement signed by three partners to work towards a sawmill.
April 1997	CAW requests government support for project, and provision of 98,000 m ³ of wood per year from public forests.
November 1997	MRNQ agrees to allocate timber volume.
February 1998	Consultants are engaged to prepare an evaluation of the project.
August 1998	Timetable for sawmill to commence operations in November 1999.
Early 1999	Consideration of different scenarios prepared by consultants.
April 1999	New chief and council elected at Wemotaci.
June 1999	CAW maintains support for project, sawmill to open in May 2000.
December 1999	Establishment of <i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> .
January 2000	Timetable for opening of sawmill in January 2001.
March 2000	Public meetings organised by <i>Projet d'harmonisation</i> and by sawmill.
May 2000	Cartons St-Laurent is bought by Smurfit-Stone inc.
2000	Consultants prepare plans for construction of the sawmill, and attempt to identify prospective financial support (government, public funding agencies and private).
October 2000	Agreement on a financial structure.
December 2000	Formal establishment of <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> by partners.

January 2001	Establishment of board; 5 members nominated by CAW. Crête and Smurfit-Stone are observers, but do not have voting rights.
Throughout 2001	Consultants seeking financial support from private institutions. CAW lawyer ensuring compliance with legal requirements (permits etc.)
Feb. – June 2001	Consideration of the purchase of <i>Produits forestiers La Tuque</i>
April 2001	Preparation of training program for potential employees – May to December Beginning of a timber trade dispute between Canada and USA.
May 2001	Timetable for opening of sawmill in February 2002
June 2001	Agreement with Hydro-Québec for hydro-electricity generation.
May – November 2001	Atikamekw being trained in harvesting, log transport and in sawmill maintenance, ready to start work in early 2002.
August & October 2001	USA imposes tariffs and levies of 32 % on timber imported from Canada.
September 2001	Representatives of financial interests visit site, agreement in principle on financial support. Timetable to open sawmill in October 2002.
November 2001	Federal government financial agency withdraws support and other financial supporters follow. <i>Scierie Tackipotcikan</i> put “on ice”.
Throughout 2002	Unsuccessful attempts to identify new financial support

Compiled from: minutes from CAW, *ad hoc* working group for the project, and *Scierie Tackipotcikan*; informants B01, B08, F03, F04 and F06; and personal observations.

Annexe D

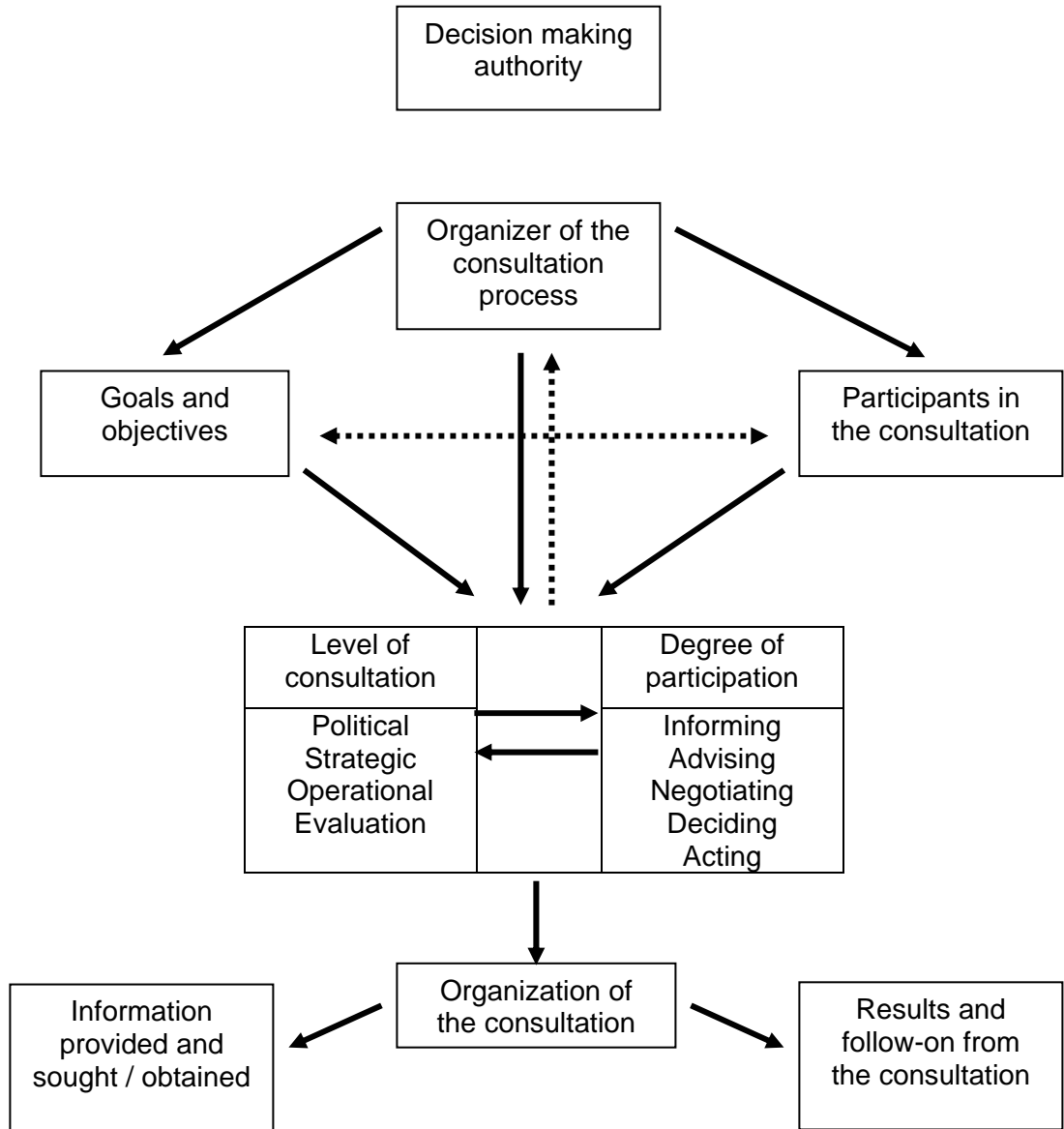
A conceptual framework for industry – Atikamekw consultation

The elements described in Chapter 6 help to understand consultations between the Atikamekw and the forest industry. They show what information the parties are providing to each other, and what they are seeking to obtain. The elements relating to process, the ways in which consultations are conducted, show that these consultations generally respect the existing forest management regime. Consultation processes do not change roles and responsibilities for forestland management, and most information is being sought in order to complement existing management and planning mechanisms.

I propose a conceptual framework for consultations between the forest industry and the Atikamekw, based on the elements presented in Chapter Chapter 6. This framework facilitates a deeper understanding of differences and similarities in the different consultation processes described in this chapter. It also demonstrates the importance of the role of the organizer and the issue of power within consultation and forestlands management, as described in Chapter 6.

The conceptual framework is also used to compare the four generic approaches to consultation, presented in Chapter 6. As such, it contributes to the clarification of the different forestry paradigms held by the parties, and to the development of ways to reconcile these paradigms.

Conceptual framework for consultations



Elements of the consultation framework

Decision making authority is not integrated with the other elements as none of the 22 consultations had a decision-making role in forest management.

The organizer determines the objectives, the level of consultation and the degree of participation, identifies participants and manages the process.

Goals and objectives may be set by the organizer or imposed by external factors, such as legislation. It is possible that participants may subsequently modify the goal.

Participants in the consultation will be identified by the organizer, probably being those who will most usefully contribute to the objectives. The organizer is also a participant.

The level of consultation will probably depend on the organizer, the goal of the consultation and the participants. Four levels of consultation are proposed: **political, strategic, operational** and **evaluation**.

The degree of participation represents to extent to which participants control the process and contribute to decision-making for forestlands. I identify five degrees of participation: **informing, advising, negotiating, deciding** and **acting**.

Organization of the consultation includes location, language and the conduct of meetings. It should be appropriate to the goal, the participants and the type of consultation.

Information being provided or sought / obtained will be a central point of most consultations. However, the information provided will not always be that which parties were hoping to receive or are able to use.

Results and evaluation are the final stages of one consultation, determining what has been achieved. They contribute to **continuation** through other consultations.

Comparison of different approaches to consultation

Element	Information gathering	Consultation at the table
Organizer	Different organizers, depending on who is seeking the information.	Forestry companies or Atikamekw representatives. Organizer has a formal mandate.
Objectives	Provide or obtain information regarding forest management and use.	Discuss strategic directions for forest management.
Participants	Representatives of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry companies; • Atikamekw. <i>Wemotaci iriniw.</i> Other external parties.	Representatives of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry companies; • Atikamekw; • Other external parties.
Level of consultation	Operational Strategic	Strategic Politic
Degree of participation	Informing	Advising Negotiating
Organisation	Different forms. Verbal presentations, maps, questions / answers. French and Atikamekw. Technical but popularised.	Formal meetings in conference rooms. Documents and maps. French language. Often technical.
Information	Targeted information: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proposed operations; • Traditional knowledge; • Site-specific. Organizer determines the information sought or provided.	Expectations and concerns of parties represented. Broad-scale information on forest resources. All parties are able to raise issues.
Anticipated results, evaluation and continuation	Parties have more information than previously. No role in decision-making. Follow-on should determine: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if parties require more information; • if information has been applied. 	Objectives or guidelines for forest management. Decisions are made outside the process. Follow-on should verify that operations result in achievement of objectives.

Element	Consultation on the map	Atikamekw consultation
Organizer	Forestry companies or Atikamekw representatives. Organizer has been given a mandate to organise the consultation.	<i>Ka nikantic</i> . Selected on basis of knowledge and experience of the territory.
Objectives	Discuss specific plans for forest management operations.	Control actions of individuals who use resources of <i>natoho aski</i> .
Participants	Representatives of: • Forestry companies; • Atikamekw. <i>Wemotaci iriniw</i> active on the territory (occasionally).	Atikamekw who wish to use the <i>natoho aski</i> .
Level of consultation	Operational	Strategic Operational Follow-on
Degree of participation	Informing Advising Negotiating	Informing Advising Negotiating Deciding Acting
Organisation	Formal or informal meetings, often in offices. Maps, documents, discussion. French language. Highly technical.	Informal in forest or in a camp. Discussions. Atikamekw language. Use of stories. Non-technical.
Information	Specific to site and operations. Details of forest resources on a limited area. All parties able to raise issues.	Expectations and needs of resource users. Detailed information on resource availability. Based on traditional knowledge. Information sharing.
Anticipated results and follow-on	Modification of proposed operations. Protection of specific sites. Decisions are made outside the process. Follow-on should verify that modifications result in achievement of objectives.	Modification of proposed actions. Decision made jointly by <i>ka nikantic</i> and user. Follow-on should: • Determine if action has been done as decided; • Update information held by <i>ka nikanitc</i> .

Annexe E

Credits for cartographic data

All maps were prepared by Martine Lapointe, Faculté de foresterie et de géomatique, Université Laval, Québec. Any errors in the maps are, however, my own responsibility.

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Nitaskinan, Atikamekw family territories, Beaver Reserve

Maps 2, 3, 4 and 6

Conseil de la nation Atikamekw, La Tuque

Rivers and lakes, railway lines, forestry roads, forestry boundaries

Maps 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6

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National and provincial boundaries, towns and place names (English)

Maps 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6

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