The Cross-Cultural Collaboration Of The Community Forest

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Abstract

Cross-cultural collaboration between First Nations and non-First Nations people in the context of local resource management has not been comprehensively documented in Canada. This thesis will explore how two cultures are collectively managing local land as equal partners. My research has been guided by the question: How can First Nations and non-First Nations communities work together to manage local land in a way that fosters meaningful cross-cultural partnerships and builds sustainable communities? Data about the case study, the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest, was obtained through ethnography, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. I will discuss the strategies and policies that have been created by citizens at the local level to make this project a success. First Nation citizens from the Xats'ull Nation are collaborating with the non-First Nation community of Likely to create a new social reality by collectively participating to manage a community forest. Local people are exemplifying what can be accomplished when decision-making over land management is carried out at the grassroots level. By working together, local citizens are focusing on similarities as well as common goals and interests that can be improved through cross-cultural work; stabilizing local control of the forest with *all* of its inherent values.

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Introduction to The Cross-Cultural Collaboration of the Community Forest

The cross-cultural collaboration between First Nations and non-First Nations people in the context of local resource management has not been comprehensively documented in Canada. My goal in writing this thesis is to explore how First Nations and non-First Nations are collaborating to collectively manage local land as equal partners. Further, I want to investigate issues related to the complexity of human social interaction within and between cultures and how this relates to human interaction with the natural environment. My investigation into community forestry has been guided by the research question: How can First Nations and non-First Nations communities work together to manage local land in a way that fosters meaningful cross-cultural partnerships and builds sustainable communities? The answer to this question lies in two interdependent factors.

The first factor is the structural or "on the ground" view of how the people involved in the community forest project are "making it happen." The structural view includes the policies that individuals from different communities, with different cultural backgrounds, have developed to collectively manage a community forest. The second factor is ideological, and is linked to ideas of belonging, place and contestation over what land means and what cultural values are ascribed to land and resources. Cultural values include timber production, but they also encompass other uses for the forest such as spiritual and aesthetic qualities, a healthy ecosystem for living and recreating on and the diversity of non-timber forest products that the forest has to offer (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 87).

I have addressed this broad research interest by investigating the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest as a case study to determine what these two communities are doing to collectively manage a parcel of land at the local level. The settlement of Likely is non-First Nation and the Xats'ull community is First Nation. Both of these places are rural, resource-dependent settlements that have had a history of economic instability. This instability has been maintained through a reliance on local natural resources, which have been managed by large industrial licensees and centralized government policies.

The Likely/Xats'ull board of directors manages this project and they are concerned with practicing sound forest management by focusing on cultural, ecological and economic principles. The board aims to minimize the detrimental impacts of forestry on other resource values that are to be determined by the First Nations and non-First Nations stakeholders (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forests Ltd. 1999: 10). To study the social value of the land, I used face-to-face data collection in order to build local theory about how two communities with separate cultural, historical and contemporary lived experiences, can come together and manage the land-base as equal partners. These communities are concerned with the long-term integrity of the forest for ecological reasons because this will have an effect on the long-term economic and cultural sustainability of their communities (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forests Ltd. 1999: 2).

The Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest is an important step in recognising and affirming Xats'ull's rights to economic and social equality with regard to land and resource management. During the course of this thesis, I maintain that local First Nations and non-First Nations knowledges are equally valid and I strive to represent each culture's viewpoints consistently and in a uniform manner. I will explore how the organizers have dealt with cross-cultural issues within the project. Further, I will explain the ways in which ideological and material realities are intertwined in complex and sometimes conflicting ways.

In order to answer my main research question stated above, I began by breaking down the problem by asking a set of smaller questions. How do First Nations and non-First Nations, with no prior relationship to one another, come together to manage a project? What strategies and polices have been developed at the local level to deal with local land management issues and cross-cultural circumstances? I have addressed these questions in two ways. First, by conducting a literature review on community forests I was able to inform my research question with history, theory and examples of community forestry. Secondly, I carried out my original investigation into the case study in order to contribute knowledge about the cross-cultural aspect of community forestry. As I analysed my original data collected from interviews and board meetings, I kept asking: How do the two sides deal with and explain difference and how is this project cross-cultural? By continually referring back to these ideas of difference and cross-cultural themes, I was able to keep my focus centred on my main research question.

There is a gap between the theory and practice of community forestry in BC (Beckley, 1998: 736). The Community Forest Agreement (CFA) (see glossary on page 138 for a complete list of terms) program has had limited overall impact on the forest industry to date, however it has attracted far-reaching interest in academia, the forest industry and in public discourse in local communities (Haley, 2002: 58). A lot has been written on the benefits of community-based tenures; yet, not much is known about how to accomplish it (Booth, 1998: 351). Moreover, the move from a theoretical shift, to a practical "on the ground" materialization is slow.

My thesis will help to fill in the above-mentioned gap by explaining the cross-cultural work taking place between individuals and how they are creating policy at the local level. I conducted semi-structured interviews to investigate how these two communities keep the CFA operating. I found out that the board members are operating under policies of open communication, building and maintaining trust and continual cooperation through positive action. They have created a new cross-cultural paradigm by interacting and by actively participating in managing the land. The land has become a common ground both literally and ideologically; the board is managing the CFA as equal partners by acknowledging the past and accommodating the rights of the Xats'ull Nation. Although the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors manage the project as an economic venture, they perceive the forest as more than a place to harvest merchantable timber. The board members perceive the land-base as a diverse ecosystem to which both communities have historical and contemporary connections. The board manages the forest by negotiating cross-cultural meaning that interlaces the social, economic and ecological factors in a holistic way.

The Likely/Xats'ull CFA is responding to the new political landscape where more local control is being exerted at the grassroots level. Further, by combining forces, these two communities are creating a strong and united political force that cannot be ignored by government or industry. With this program, communities have a chance at creating long-term success by managing the forest for different values than traditional forestry. The board is creating jobs in the community and using the profits from the CFA to run social programs. Likely and Xats'ull are solidifying cross-cultural relations, while at the same time, strengthening sustainable treatment of the natural environment through local management of the land. My research into cross-cultural land management has documented one example of the paradigm shift to a postcolonial era in BC where non-First Nation local land management goals are in harmony with the First Nations' ownership and knowledge of how to manage the land.

The CFA program is a product of a new social landscape and is forging partnerships between First Nations and non-First Nations peoples. This program attests to First Nations' rights over the land-base, rights that have always existed, but have not always been recognized by the non-First Nations culture. By bridging the gap between the two cultures using the cross-cultural project, this disparity in social equality is being overcome through action. Individuals are collectively participating to manage community forests; exemplifying what can be accomplished when input from people who are attached to the land are involved in the decision-making over it.

The communities of Likely and Xats'ull are carrying out important cross-cultural work in the interest of helping their own communities. However, this work also is important in the larger political context of power sharing through collaborative land and resource management issues. By working together, local citizens focus on similarities as well as common goals and interests that can be improved through cross-cultural work; stabilizing local control of the forest with all of its inherent values. Insights gained through my research can also be applied to a larger global audience that is practicing community forestry.

Community forest initiatives are found throughout the globe. Over the past few decades, there have been hundreds of land reforms to strengthen local control over natural resources in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 10). Although my study will focus solely on BC's CFA program, it is important to acknowledge how this investigation will be able to contribute to other cross-cultural projects around the globe. The participants and advocates from around the world who are banding together to share their experiences and strategies from particular locations will contribute valuable insights into what is needed to make community forestry a long-term success in both the global and local contexts (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 10).

It is a challenge to come up with one definition of community forestry, as there are as many definitions as communities trying to implement them (Gunter, 2004: 2). However, two criteria link the social and forestry initiatives together. The first is structural: community forestry is a type of forest tenure. The second is ideological: community forestry privileges community needs and values (Booth, 1998: 374). A community forest can be described as a forest managed by a local government, a First Nations group, a community group, or a community-held corporation for the benefit of the entire community (Burda, Curran, Gale and M'Gonigle*,* 1997: 10). A common attribute of different community forests is that they are centred on sustainable social, ecological and economic development (Gunter, 2004: 2; McCarthy, 2006: 86).

Using an interdisciplinary approach, I have drawn from cultural anthropology, First Nation studies and natural resource management to address the research question. By using these disciplines, my investigation is diverse because theory and methodology from the different disciplines have been utilized. Drawing from cultural anthropology, I used a cross-cultural and holistic ethnographic approach to explore First Nation and non-First Nations perspectives on protocols of resource management and forest practices. I interpreted results by using the different cultures' perspectives as a lens in order to gain a cross-cultural perspective.

My thesis is situated in the disciplines of anthropology and First Nations studies, which I utilised to view the cultural interaction between the two communities, which is the "community" aspect of the investigation into community forestry. Strength was gained by using knowledge from the discipline of natural resource management in order to look into the "forestry" angle of community forestry. I relied on natural resource management to understand how the CFA is part of the larger tenure structure in BC that has set the stage for the community forest movement. Further, I used natural resource management to understand the challenges faced by CFA holders who are managing local land and resources.

I have divided this thesis into four chapters. In Chapter One, I deal with the different theories that guide my work through the research design and reporting stages. The first theory that I discuss is postmodern-feminism, which I utilize in two ways. Firstly, I employ this theory as a methodological tool. Methodology is the broader intellectual framework that includes the theory and reasons for using specific methods, which are the actual tools used for data collection. Postmodern-feminism advocates that researchers should construct situated knowledges where the author and actors are positioned in specific time and place, rather than creating an over-generalized account of reality (Haraway, 2002: 362). In following this approach, I have included actual excerpts from the research participants as well as practiced situating myself in the text. Both of these practices have allowed me to account for the multiple voices in the research setting.

The second way that I use postmodern-feminism is to look at community forestry as a site of social resistance. The notion of resistance has informed my research question by allowing me to examine how the shift from industrial forestry to community forestry is a power laden issue. By looking through a postmodern-feminist lens, the land in BC can be seen as contested terrain. Local communities want more control over the land, while at the same time, First Nations communities are negotiating land-claims to exercise their ownership of land. Contestation over industrial forest management coupled with First Nations' resistance to the imperial status quo has created fertile ground for the community forest movement in BC.

The next theory I discuss is postcolonialism, which allows other ways of knowing to be explored and documented as equally legitimate to the knowledge that comes from the imperial status quo. Joined with interpretive theory, postcolonialism has allowed me to focus on what individuals are doing in the research setting, while equally representing all voices there. Further, interpretive theory has facilitated my discovery of local meanings, while postcolonialism has allowed me to uniformly describe the multiple "truths" inherent in the research setting.

The theoretical discussion will then move to landscape theory to show how at different times in history, as people interact in specific locales, the land is altered in a variety of ways. Land-use can be seen as a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that, in the context of community forestry, is linking the needs and values of First Nations and non-First Nations communities together. I will illustrate how policies that the Likely/Xats'ull board members have created in dealing with cross-cultural dynamics, have been constructed *as* the individuals interact with each other while managing the land. The theory chapter will also discuss well-being and sustainability as theoretical concepts. I will demonstrate how a culture's ideology (which are created in the cognitive world) have *tangible* effects on the landscape and in the lives of people.

My aim in Chapter Two is to examine the relationship between the methodology and methods that were used during this research project. I will discuss the specific methods that I used to obtain the original data and then I will outline the methodology. Methodology is the broader intellectual framework that includes the theory and reasons for choosing specific methods. Methods are the actual tools used for data collection. The methods section examines ethnography, which is the qualitative collection method that I used to observe the behaviours of the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors at their monthly meeting. In order to understand the member's perceptions of their actions, I relied on the method of participant-observation, which is a data collection technique that represents the starting point to ethnographic research. I conducted informal and semi-structured interviews with all of the six board members and two other individuals that are involved in the project. Some of the preset questions focused on the domains that I observed during participant-observation and wrote about in my field notes, while other questions were developed during a literature review about community forestry.

During Chapter Three, I cover the contextual backdrop of community forestry by discussing the history of the forest sector in the province. I will outline the history of the CFA program and the contemporary tenure structure to position this new forest policy within the existing tenure regime. My discussion will include the challenges that have arisen from government forest policy as well as, the internal challenges related to managing resources at the local level. These challenges illustrate the tensions and potential areas of conflict in the CFA program.

First Nations and non-First Nations peoples are questioning the current tenure structure that grants Crown land to large companies who practice industrial logging. Although the CFA is in its fledgling stage, some advocates from the government, rural communities, as well as academia, perceive the program's potential to be a long-term solution to unstable communities and unsustainable forest practices. In chapter three, I will describe the ways in which First Nations' involvement in the land-claims process and community forestry relate to each other to reveal how these different political objectives are interlinked. Community forestry is seen as an important step for First Nations peoples to reinforce self-government and manage resources from the local-level (Booth, 1998: 351; Penikett, 2006: 210). Traditional, historical and contemporary land-use practices are not mutually exclusive phases that can be precisely delineated through time. Rather, land-use practices should be looked at as occurring in contested ways in highly diverse contexts at all times.

In Chapter Four, I will present the information collected during my original investigation into the cross-cultural negotiation involved in the Likely/Xats'ull CFA. I chose this particular CFA as a case study, because it is a partnership between two rural resource dependent communities, one First Nation and the other non-First Nation. Further, both communities are working together to manage a parcel of land; in Likely's case, the land is within the boundaries of the community and in Xats'ull's case, the land is part of their territory and is currently under land-claims. By investigating this project, I have generated insight into how cross-cultural collaboration between two communities is achieved. By combining my research from the literature review and my original field research, I have generated knowledge about cross-cultural partnerships of land management. Research into community control over the landscape is important and timely because these issues are relevant in today's political, economic and ecological climate.

I have written my thesis as a theoretical contribution to the academic community. However, I would also like my work to be accessible at the community level. I have made a report based on the original research that uses language and a format that is more accessible to community members. It is important for communities to be able to access this information, because it will allow for a better understanding of the different ways that local First Nations and non-First Nations communities, as well as, the government, utilize the environment. Furthermore, the competing interests between these groups can be investigated to learn about the variation in land-use strategies from different stakeholders in the land-base. I want my research to testify to the ability of First Nations and non-First Nations people to work together as equal partners toward a common goal. I hope that knowledge about local cross-cultural land management will add to our understanding of, and ability to, support sustainable ecological development and the continuance of small rural communities.

Chapter One: Theory

Introduction to Theory

Chapter One will traverse the different theories that have guided this thesis project. The journey will begin with postmodern-feminist theory that has allowed my research and representation in the research process to be examined as power laden issues. I selected post-modern feminism as a methodological tool   Postmodern-feminist theory advocates researchers constructing situated knowledges where the author and actors are positioned in specific time and place, rather than creating an over-generalized account of reality (Haraway, 2002: 362). Postmodern-feminist theory allows for multiple "stories" or accounts to be told through the literature by a variety of people, rather than one monolithic 'story'. This allows for different individual perspectives as well as different cultural values to be privileged equally in knowledge production. As the reader moves through this work, they are participating in a representation of a particular place and time in history. Specificity is important to emphasize because this project can be used to compare to other contemporary community forests around the globe, or the same project in the future. My thesis should not be read as a monolithic testament to all community forests, or as a closed and bounded representation of the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest.

The next theory I will discuss is postcolonialism, which calls into question the inability of the imperial process to see across boundaries of cultural polyvalency and hybridity. Postcolonialism allows other ways of knowing and other ways of being-in-the-world to be explored and documented as equally legitimate to the knowledge that comes from the imperial canon.

I will discuss interpretive theory in the postcolonial section because it allows me to focus on what research participants are doing, while postcolonial theory allows me to represent the multiple voices in the research setting equally. Interpretive theory is very useful for ethnographic research because it allows for the local meanings of issues to be used. What people believe to be true about the world is constructed *as* people interact with each other in specific social settings. Interpretive theory is crucial to the investigation into the community forest because it allows us to see how people are negotiating meaning-making and collaboration in a cross-cultural context.

Landscape theory will be used in order to demonstrate how places take on meanings through people living in them. It is in specific places where social activities happen. Further, I will link how the material reality of place changes over time to the mental and cognitive worlds of the place's inhabitants. Examining changes throughout time, we can see how ideological and lived experiences intersect in myriad of ways. I will show how the notion of belonging to a place is an ideological connection that influences people's desire to have power over land and resources. Notions of belonging and attachment to place also inform the postmodern-feminist ideas of resistance to the status quo because people exert autonomy over land to which they feel attached. The First Nations and non-First Nations communities in BC have a diverse array of meaningful connections to the land. Now, under the CFA, they are exerting power to define how to manage the land and the resources on it. Increased autonomy over the land will affect the well-being of the communities and the sustainability of resource use.

The topics of community well-being and sustainability are important to deal with in the theory chapter because it is crucial to recognize policy development as a theoretical exercise that has tangible impacts on the environment and the lives of individuals. A culture's ideology created in the cognitive world has tangible effects on the landscape and in the lives of people.

Postmodern-Feminist Theory

I use postmodern-feminist theory to investigate community forestry as a site of social resistance. Using postmodern-feminist theory I address my research question in a way that allows me to look at the shift from industrial forestry to community forestry as an assertion of local First Nations and non-First Nations autonomy over the land. Further, I use this theory to look at First Nation exertion of power over the land as a site of resisting the imperial status quo, while at the same time, resisting the dominant industrial forestry paradigm. Colonization has been built upon a base of economic development that marginalizes First Nations peoples. The Western models of "development" that emphasize efficient extraction of resources are damaging to First Nations peoples throughout the globe (Dale and Robinson, 1996: 205). However, through community forestry, change is being implemented as First Nations reclaim their power through resisting outmoded industrial use of the land. Further, non-First Nations are also exerting power over land through collaborating with First Nations. Both cultures are resisting the industrial forest paradigm and redefining the status quo.

Postmodern-feminism informs my method of researching the Likely/Xats'ull case study as a site of social resistance. My research outlines specific details of the case study at a particular point in time in order to examine one location, with the intention of contributing to the larger field of study about community forests. By performing a literature review on this new forest tenure I have been able to present the dominant forestry paradigm along with the specific data obtained through face-to-face collection about the particular CFA. At the time of writing this thesis, the government is using the CFA policy in BC to address issues of local land management, First Nations' land-claims and cross-cultural cooperation between First Nations and non-First Nations. In this light, the CFA is a means to address the multiple political agendas that are operating in the context of BC's forests. First Nations are relying on the CFA in order to regain some control over their territory that is currently under land-claims, while non-First Nations are using the CFA to gain more autonomy over the land and resources in their specific locales (Penikett, 2006: 210). Each of these parties is using the CFA for their own political reasons. The cross-cultural collaboration between these two cultures is a way of resisting the system of imperial knowledge by reconceptualizing cultural relations during the management of the natural environment.

Postmodern and feminist theorists deny that a neutral account of society can be written and call into question the notion of "a view from nowhere" that advocates objectivity as a detached form of social inquiry (Haraway, 2002: 364; McOuat, 1998: 7). For this reason, during the course of this thesis my reader will find me firmly situated within the text alongside my research goals, the research participants and the particular circumstances of the CFA program at this specific time in history.

In Donna Haraway's article, *Situated Knowledges: the Problematics of Research on Language and Gender* (2002), she calls for a doctrine that allows for a simultaneous account that recognises knowledge production is political and that knowledge is not produced in a vacuum. Someone produces knowledge at a specific time and place in history; therefore, it is a *situated knowledge.* Haraway maintains that the "view from nowhere" is a "power-play" that dictates *who* determines the object and subject and who gets to claim that they have leapt out of the marked body into "a conquering gaze from nowhere" (Haraway, 2002: 364). The "gaze from nowhere" allows authors to represent while escaping representation of themselves.

By creating a situated knowledge, embodied objectivity can allow for issues of power relations between the observed and the observer to be called into question. The metaphor of sight is useful for thinking about how we perceive the concept of objectivity. If we insist that the scientific endeavour involves the researcher magically suspending their own subjectivity whereby the viewer is "looking from nowhere" and has a god-like view, then what we "see" will be contingent on this god-trick (Haraway, 2002: 364). Conversely, if we use the sight of an embodied observer, whereby the onlooker is found in a setting of space and time and a location of where and when, then objectivity is *situated* and seen from a specific place (Haraway, 2002: 364).

Particularity is the desired outcome of this way of producing knowledge, leaving outmoded ideas of universality behind. The view from a particular body is a complex, contradictory and structured account rather than an unattainable view from nowhere that can lead to universal understanding or a metanarrative about a topic. Situated knowledges allow science to be a paradigm of contested meaning and cyclical conversation rather than one of closure (Haraway, 2002: 368). "Accounts of a "real" world do not, then, depend on a logic of "discovery" but on a "power-charged" relationship of conversation" (Haraway, 2002: 369). A focus on conversation allows for knowledge-production and the documenting of meaning-making to be seen as acts of rhetoric that are continuously open to dialogue, just as in the flow of conversation. In this light, my research will be able to be added to in the future; changes in circumstances can be traced to allow new connections to be made.

For the past couple of decades there has been a steady decline in the faith of unsituated methodologies in the social sciences (Geertz, 1988: 130). The view of science is changing from a "pure scientific method" to a culture where specific sets of communal questions are asked; from this point of view, science is as much a culture in the anthropological sense, as it is a method (McOuat, 1998: 9). This new view is not meant to call into question the rationality of science, however, it is emphasizing the fact that all scientific endeavours are intimately culturally grounded (McOuat, 1998: 9). Science can still be objective, however the subject, researcher and the locale are much more closely related to that object than previously thought (McOuat, 1998: 9). Constructing knowledge in this way emphasizes locale and historical specificity and this knowledge production is always open to revision (Banks and Mangan, 1999: 17).

The notion of scientific findings always being open to revision is attributed to the fact that scientific enquiry is cyclical in nature (Singleton and Straits, 2005: 23). Rather than being a linear, cause and effect process, scientific inquiry is a continual process that always leads to more questions and further inquiry. "Knowledge is understood to be the best understanding that we have been able to produce thus far, not a statement of what is ultimately real" (Banks and Mangan, 1999: 22). What is known to be true about the world is not the all-encompassing *Truth* about reality. Other cultures' ways of knowing, perceiving and being-in-the-world are as valid and true as the Western paradigm. All knowledge production is a cultural event and postcolonial theory will be explored to demonstrate how imperialism is being replaced by decolonized methodologies.

Postcolonial Theory

The perception of anthropology being the “handmaiden of imperialism” holds true in many places (Cummins and Steckley, 2005: 05). Anthropological research can be used to dismantle this legacy of disparity in power between researchers and researched by using postcolonial theory. Postcolonial studies resulted from an interaction between the imperial culture and the complex of Indigenous cultural practices (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995: 1). Postcolonial studies involve the continuous act of suppressing the imperial process through a wide range of societies. The word ‘post’ is not meant to denote *after* colonialism or *after* independence because all postcolonial societies are still influenced by subtle forms of neo-colonialism. For example, in BC, First Nations are dealing with the effects of being marginalized from mainstream society on reserves and in residential schools (Harris, 2002: 279; Hedican, 2000: 216). They are now overcoming the mistreatment and segregation from mainstream society through land-claims and treaty negotiations. First Nations are exercising their political and cultural autonomy in specific social settings. By initiating action at the local level, First Nations are resisting marginalization and claiming their right to self-determination.

Interpretive theory maintains that what people believe to be true about the world is constructed as people interact with each other in specific social settings (Kruger and Shannon, 2000: 464). These constructs are not fixed or static truths, rather they are altered through dialogue or over time. Alterations lead to new constructions or views of reality as well as new ways of acting (Kruger and Shannon, 2000: 464). The intention of interpretive research is to increase insight and understanding about how relations acquire meaning by looking at what people are doing and listening to what they have to say about what they are doing (Kruger and Shannon, 2000: 464). In the interpretive paradigm, culture is created as individuals negotiate multiple and overlapping interpretations of what they do in social situations. In this respect, postcolonial resistance to the status quo is a continuous process of resistance and reconstruction that is carried out as individuals act (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 4).

The imperial process works *through* as well as *upon* individuals and societies (Bhabha, 1985: 33). The concepts of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘ethnicity’ are both charged with latent notions of race, marginality, normalization and identity. These hegemonic concepts have created a social hierarchy within the imperial process that privileges the universal narrative of nineteenth-century historical and political evolutionism and discredits the validity of other ways of knowing (Bhabha, 1985: 33). The result of this is a forever shifting theoretical landscape because as individuals act and speak out in different ways, they challenge the status quo and produce new knowledges (Ashcroft et.al., 1995: 213).

To understand this continually shifting theoretical ground, the imperial project as well as the resistance to it, must be perceived as process rather than structure. The term ‘process’ denotes fluidity, movement and activity, while a ‘structure’ invokes images of fixity, solidity and non-action (Ashcroft et.al., 1995: 213). To contextualize this notion of a process we can think of the imperial centre influencing the colonial margins and vice versa. The margin and the centre are always in flux and are not a dyad. An example of this is the current land-claims process; First Nations are exerting their rights to land, resources and cultural autonomy through negotiations and making formal agreements with the provincial and federal governments (Harris, 2002: 320). It is over-simplified to think of a one ethnic group at the centre and all others at the margin, because this binarism overlooks the actual overlap between the diversity of ethnic groups and the dynamic processual and multi-facetted institutions of power (Ashcroft et.al., 1995: 213). To think of the centre and the margin as a binary leads to an oversimplified view that ignores the institutions and procedures by which power is disseminated and sustained (Ashcroft et.al., 1995: 213).

At the outset of this research, I had to choose how to refer to the two communities with which I would be working. The repertoire of words from my language and culture appeared inadequate and politically charged. Choices include: Indian, Native, white and Caucasian, all of which have a racialized connotation. The non-racialized choices were colonizer and colonized, both of which are counter-productive when trying to move away from hegemonic colonial thought into a postcolonial view of reality. Therefore, I choose to use ‘First Nations’ and ‘non-First Nations’ in an attempt to use terms that are not as racially charged as ‘native’ and ‘white’. I acknowledge these terms are still constructing a binary structure, however, I propose that this alternative has is roots in a *cultural* rather than a *racial* construct. Although, the main goal of this thesis is not to dispel racial beliefs, it is a sounding board to refute racial categories and advocate cultural distinctions as the lowest common denominator of human behaviour.

Racial classifications are political phenomena. Racial representations have little to do with the facts that are perceivable out in the world and have a lot to do with faith and material interests (Anderson, 1991: 20). The concept of race is a product of power relations between the *racialized* and the individuals who created the racial categories. To illustrate this example of racialization in the context of BC we need to look at how, in colonial times, racial categories were constructed by the colonizers about the First Nations. In 1881, 51.9% of the population of BC were First Nation and 29.6% were British (Anderson, 1991: 223). Initially, force was used to appropriate land and resources from the First Nations however, force was only part of the method used to colonize. Immigration, regulation and control over the divisions of labour, access to power and status differentiation between 'white' settlers and 'Indians' contributed further to the colonization process (Featherstone, 2005: 202; Harris, 2002: xxi). This example illustrates how colonizing power worked on two levels, the material level and the ideological level. Overt forms of social control coupled with ideological notions of 'us' and 'them' allowed BC to become the "…society of European institutional completeness that it is today" (Anderson, 1991: 24).

In BC, a combination of ideology, political and legal measures were used to appropriate First Nations' land. The state relied on the use of racialized ideology that justified and informed racist policies (Harris, 2002: 5). In 1861, The Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island petitioned to extinguish the rights of First Nations and during this decade the reservation system was established (Harris, 2002: xxvii). The racist policies and laws that the newcomers enacted on the First Nations were not passively accepted (Harris, 2002: xxx; McDonald and Joseph, 2000: 6). However, the colonial government's position of power afforded them the opportunity to protect colonial interests. The colonial government relied (and arguably still does) on racist policies of economic development that did not allow First Nations an equal opportunity to participate in the market economy. For example, the timber policy between 1864 and 1888 granted the timber leases to European loggers in the colony and excluded First Nation people (McDonald and Joseph, 2000: 6). This example illustrates how policy has been created and maintained to exclude First Nation economic enterprises while privileging those of the colonizers. The colonizers moved in, set up government and courts to write and enforce policies that gave the colony the upper hand at the expense of First Nations peoples (McDonald and Joseph, 2000: 6).

The sheer physical act of moving into the places, combined with the idea that the land was "free for the taking" allowed the expansion of the colony (Featherstone, 2005: 202). The following quote from Simon Featherstone's recent book, *Postcolonial Culture* (2005), demonstrates how the landscape and land practices of the First Nations cultures were ignored and rendered obsolete:

> The indigenous place was rendered 'space' as the local land practices were either by-passed or overridden. On its sites, the colonial place was constructed through the development of the perspectives, assumptions and technologies of Europe. In all colonized states, to a greater or lesser extent, imported geographical concepts of national borders, private property, desacralisation and the exploitability of natural resources largely superseded already existing cultural and social practices (Featherstone, 2005: 202).

When looking backward in time, this insight into how ideological life and material life are intertwined exemplifies how colonial culture came to dominate the social, as well as, geographical landscape. Connecting mental and material reality, one can be forward looking and imagine a mental and material landscape that does not separate people into artificial racial categories. "The link between the two realms [mental and material] is not linear causality but circular interaction within an organic whole" (Anderson, 1991: 24). Mental and material worlds are not simply mental (cause) and material (effect) but rather, they have a circular and reciprocal pattern that oscillates between the two realms. Landscape theory is of primary importance to understanding the new relationships that are forming by allowing insight into issues of belonging and ideological connection to the land.

Landscape Theory

At a rudimentary level, landscapes are constructed out of tangible materials: rocks, trees, rivers, hills and so on. However, landscapes are also places that hold meanings created by human actors, in this regard all landscapes are symbolic in practice (Baker and Biger, 1992: 1). Through living in, on and with a particular landscape, humans alter the landscape but at the same time, the landscape influences what human action is carried out. There is a reciprocal process whereby the landscape is moulded by ideologies and ideologies are themselves fashioned by the actual landscape. "[T]he product is a dialectical landscape which is a resolution of nature and culture, of practice and philosophy, of reason and imagination, of 'real' and 'symbolic'" (Baker and Biger, 1992: 7). This quote is important because it illustrates how a 'natural' landscape is turned into a 'cultural' landscape through human action. Forestry exemplifies this reciprocal process between the mental and material realities. Forest policy dictates who gets to define the landscape and who gets to have access and power over the resources.

Although forestry is a resource based and economic activity, it is influenced by social and cultural factors, such as the dominant ideologies held by the various stakeholders in the land, such as land-owners, forest-industry workers, First Nations, environmentalists and outdoor enthusiasts. Further, because of the expansive amount of forested land in BC, a large part of the culture is based on forest related activities. Thus, the forests are more than simply places to harvest merchantable timber they are diverse ecosystems that humans live *within*. The concept of place is important to understand how individuals gain a sense of belonging and attachment to a particular location. People create attachments to places that are crucial to their well-being or distress (Tuan, 1990: 3). Attachment to a place can create social, material and ideological dimensions as people develop ties to kin and neighbours, buy or rent land and participate in public life as residents of a specific community (Hayden, 1998: 112). Individuals *actively* manage what are socially and culturally constructed landscapes in opportunistic ways (Stott, 2000: 35). People's experiences and their perceived stake in the land (economic, spiritual or otherwise) influence their construction of environmental knowledge (Stott, 2000: 45).

The community forest land should be viewed as a place where certain activities are taking place now, due to the community forest policy that is influencing action on the landscape. However, this land is still the same place that the Xats'ull lived on before contact. After colonization, the land was considered Crown land, private land, a placer mining lease or forest tenure for logging companies; a 'natural' piece of land can have varied and sometimes, conflicting cultural meanings ascribed to it. There is a fundamental difference between First Nations and non-First Nations concepts of land. Only the First Nations have an indigenous connection based on a concept of ownership that extends far back in time, while non-First Nations have a connection based on colonial history. Now there is a cross-cultural connection, through the CFA, based on a revision of property relations.

The landscape should be looked at as a continuum of land-use practices and ideological perceptions of the land rather than a series of stages (Norton, 1989: 3). By looking at the landscape as a continuum, First Nations ways of using the land are not a distant stage from the past that is ended; rather these practices are relevant and useful now. Furthermore, when First Nations log and extract resources from their land for money they are not acting in a way that diminishes their First Nation way of being in the world. Cultures are in continual flux, and as a result so are the places they inhabit.

Place is an ever-shifting cultural system that can have multiple perspectives applied to it; a single place can hold different meanings for different people and at the same time, a place can also hold different meanings to the same individual at different times in their life (Kruger and Shannon, 2000: 463). In his article, *Community Control of Forests*, Hammond argues for holistic forestry, which helps to link a “sense of place” with a responsibility for deciding the future of the forest (Hammond, 1991: 43). Forest and human communities both have a concept of place, which historically implies being a *part* of that place or a *part* of a forest (Hammond, 1991: 43). The Aboriginal cultures around the globe have this philosophy of belonging to place, which has directed them to a different perspective of stewardship than the other cultures that have appropriated the forests of the world since colonization.

Human and forest communities can be looked at as connected by a web of land, air and water; communities and different forest types are clusters of interdependent places that are connected in space across the landscape (Hammond, 1991: 262). “As our forests and all of their resources become increasingly scarce and global environmental issues are connected to local situations, people see an increasing need to have ‘place’” (Hammond, 1991: 43). Hammond says that, without this attachment to place, people make bad environmental decisions and rationalize them based on short-term economic gain.

Notions of belonging and attachment to place are informed by postmodern-feminist ideas of resistance to the status quo. As people exert autonomy over land that they feel attached to, they are potentially affecting their community's well-being through increasing sustainability of resource use. Increased environmental sustainability leads to more sustainable communities because there is more stable employment available. Well-being can be measured by looking at factors such as the people's access to employment opportunities, access to social amenities and community stability.

A Holistic Approach to Sustainability and Well-being

Sustainable development is not fixed; rather, it is a process of change in which the exploration of resources, direction of investments, development of technology and institutional changes are made consistent with present and future needs in mind (Our Common Future, 1987: 8). The well-being of a community as a whole is constitutive of each person's welfare. A sustainable community can empower itself by being economically self-reliant, by effectively responding to challenges through community-based decision-making and by making sound environmental decisions (Gahin, Velvena and Hart, 2002: 661). Hammond believes that attachment to place influences the inhabitants' treatment of it, illustrating the link between ideological and material realities. The idea of being attached influences people's desire to have power over what activities take place. In turn, increased independence over decision-making further solidifies the sense of having a bond to the land and creates more sustainable communities (Hammond, 1991: 43; Hammond, 1991: 43).

Natural Resources Canada states that a sustainable community is one that adds value to natural resources and reaps the rewards of this approach in terms of jobs and prosperity that continue for future generations (Natural Resources Canada, 2003: 1). The goal of an economy that focuses on the local level is to equally privilege meaningful and personally satisfying work with providing adequate goods and services (Daly and Cobb, 1989: 165). Using this paradigm, the policy development at a community level will enable citizens to voice their opinions of what is personally satisfying to them. Citizens can participate in local decision-making in order to plan how the community should be governed and how resources should be used.

The difficulty with the government and industry making decisions over local land is that it fails to genuinely engage local citizens (Roberts, 2004: 131). When citizens are not part of the decision-making process it is problematic because the people at the local level are the people most affected by centralized policies. If people at the local level are able to have their say in polices that directly affect them, then the policies should be more successful (World Resources, 2002-2004: 15). Further, because of their sense of place and intimate knowledge about the landscape, stakeholders will be more likely to identify conflicts and potential problems that resource managers may fail to see (World Resources, 2002-2004: 15). First Nations and non-First Nations people living in rural areas must have a say in decisions that directly affect them and the local resources because it is imperative to the sustainability of their communities (Booth, 1998: 351).

I will now examine the concept of sustainability because this term has complex ideological implications for how resources and landscapes are managed. The concept of sustainability is being discussed in the theory chapter because it nicely illustrates how theoretical ideas are used to create policy. Policy is a plan for action that is guided by theory and it is crucial to recognize how theory and action are part of a reflexive process whereby theory influences tangible outcomes and then the outcomes are analysed using theory, which then in turn, leads to more action.

The term sustainability became a household word because of the Report of the World Commission On Environment and Development in 1987 (Salleh, 1997: 34). There has been much dialogue about the concept of sustainability in many disciplines, so a single clear-cut definition is not possible. The definition of sustainable management that I have relied on is: "[s]ustainable forest management can be defined as the management of forests that will not irreversibly reduce the potential of that forest to produce all products in subsequent future harvests" (Salleh, 1997: 34). In other words, the ability to utilize the forest while making sure that its productive capability and ability to regenerate itself are not hindered. The tenure system in British Columbia that gives rights over the forest mainly to large corporations for high-volume, industrial timber production has been called counter-productive to sustainable levels of harvesting (Burda, Curran, Gale and M'Gonigle*,* 1997: vii). However, other researchers point out that it is not safe to assume that community forests are inherently more able to achieve sustainable forest practices (Bradshaw, 2003: 146; Krogman and Beckley, 2002: 124; McCarthy, 2006: 86).

The CFA program may be a way to achieve both ecosystem and socio-economic sustainability, however, because this project is in the beginning stages, the breadth and scope of this new tenure is still unclear (Anderson and Horter, 2002: ix). Shifting the focus of resource management from a solely economic angle to one of ecological stewardship is one possible way to achieve social, financial and ecological sustainability. Stewardship is defined as managing the resources in a responsible way and this is a key concept to the success of managing resources sustainably (Daly and Cobb, 1989: 102).

The concepts of sustainability and stewardship are interconnected; in order for individuals to manage the land in a sustainable way they must take into account, the long term needs of the environment and the organisms who rely on it, rather than aiming for short-term economic gain. International attention has been focused on how to achieve sustainable levels of resource extraction while at the same time, maintaining local quality of life.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002 spurred governments from around the globe to strive for principles of sustainability as outlined in Agenda 21 (Smith, 1998: 327). Agenda 21 set out how ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries can work toward sustainable development (Hessing and Howlett, 1997: 68). Accomplishing this task on a large scale is difficult; therefore, many top-down and expert led sustainability projects are attempting to encourage the development of sustainable communities from the local level (Agyeman and Briony, 2002: 345). Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 was devoted to the issue of “*Recognising and Strengthening the Role of Indigenous People and Their Communities.”* Chapter 26 set out principles and objectives that included recognising traditional knowledge, values and priorities and stressed how important it is for active participation of First Nations peoples in resource management and conservation strategies (Dale and Robinson, 1996: 204).

Similarly, Section 22 of the Rio Declaration advocated that Indigenous and other local communities effectively participate in environmental management in order to promote sustainable development (Smith, 1998: 327). The CFA program in BC fits both of these requirements because it allows for the collaboration between local First Nations and non-First Nations communities. It is important to recognize that by practicing sustainable resource use, local populations will be better equipped to provide for themselves perpetually into the future. However, the objectives outlined by these reports are difficult to meet because Western models of ‘development’ emphasize efficient extraction of resources based on a growth development model (Dale and Robinson, 1996: 205; Drengson and Taylor, 1997: 30).

Growth based development centres on the belief that the economy has to keep growing to survive and this expansion depends ever-increasing resource use (Drengson and Taylor, 1997: 30). Under the growth based development model, clear-cutting is the most efficient way to extract timber off a forest site. After harvesting, the site is turned into a human-made plantation, which only “produces desirable market species” such as Douglas Fir and pine (Wittbecker, 1997: 43). This model is based on an outmoded ideology that continues to have negative environmental impacts on the natural environment. “There is no such thing as sustainable growth; there never has been in the history of this Earth. In fact, it is physically, as well as philosophically, impossible in a finite world” (Drescher, 1997: 57). This is an important fact to ponder when considering the validity of the ideology of the growth based development model and the tangible impacts of this economic philosophy.

The Western ideology of growth, that emphasizes efficient extraction of resources is damaging to local populations throughout the globe (Dale and Robinson, 1996: 205). This model has been coupled with colonization and economic marginalization of First Nations peoples, along with disposition of their lands. However, through shifting the models through projects like the community forest, change has been implemented.

Conclusion to Theory

Ideological and material realities are intimately connected in a multitude of ways. Journeying through the different theories in this chapter, I have illustrated how the investigation into community forestry can be flexible. Issues within the research site can be seen from different angles, using different assumptions and privileging the multiplicity of voices and topics that exist. The topics of research determine what counts as “real” or culturally valuable (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 44). “What makes ideas ‘real’ is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 48). I have used postmodern-feminism during this investigation to view the land and resources as contested terrain.

From this point of view, I, as the situated observer, have been able to use objectivity to privilege “…contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing” (Haraway, 2002: 366). The CFA is a site of contestation because local First Nations and non- First Nations communities are exercising their authority over local land. CFAs are sites of deconstruction because the communities are resisting the industrial status quo that devalues First Nations and other local knowledges. Local citizens are working together to deconstruct the notion that fast paced timber harvesting and centralized government policies are the best way to mange the forest. Through creating their own local policy, these individuals are generating new ways of dealing with each other and with the land. By resisting the model of industrial forestry and advocating local land management, First Nations and non-First Nations communities are exercising their power to define land-use in their own way; incorporating ideals of well-being and sustainability into their resource management plans.

Sustainability and well-being allow insight into issues of belonging and attachment to the land. When individuals have an ideological bond to the land, this influences their treatment of it, which in turn influences the land's ability to perpetually provide resources. Well-being and sustainability are linked because there is a direct relationship between sustainable communities and sustainable land-use practices. Tied into this relationship is the cultural issue of First Nations having the power to incorporate their protocols and land-use ideas about how to manage land and resources. My investigation into the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest will aid in understanding how these theoretical assumptions are being accomplished on the ground.

By using the theoretical position that I have outlined in this chapter, I have been able to construct a methodology that allows community forestry to be seen as shifting the imperial status quo through local action. As the people in the CFA interact, they are producing new ways of being-in-the-world and building a new knowledge base about cross-cultural relations. I will now turn our attention to how I carried out this original research by outlining the specific methods as well as the methodology that I used during the course of this investigation.

Chapter Two: Methods

Introduction to Methods

My aim in this chapter is to discuss the relationship between the methods and methodology that I have used during this research project. The method is the rudimentary tool (i.e. interviews, field notes, participant-observation) that guides what questions are asked, what observations are recorded and what topics are explored more deeply. The methodology also is part of the broader intellectual framework that includes the theory and reasons for choosing the specific methods.

I choose to interview the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors for two reasons. Firstly, they represent the populations of each of their communities. These two communities choose to get involved with each other in order to gain access to a CFA and the three members from each side of the board are the representatives for the community at large. Secondly, I choose to interview individuals who are actively participating in cross-cultural land management at the local level because they represent a larger population in BC (and around the world) who are the ones involved in the day-to-day, face-to-face challenges of cross-cultural work.

Thus, the sample for my study is the six board of directors because they are the people directly involved in cross-cultural relations; they are the decision-makers in the operation of the CFA. In addition, I interviewed the business manager and one member that was part of setting-up the community forest initially, but who is no longer on the board. In total, I carried out eight interviews. All of the interviewees are male, ranging in age from 30 to 65. The person that is not on the board was identified using "chain referral selection", which was done by asking the participants to identify people who possess the characteristics being studied (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 241). In the last question of the interview, I asked the board members to identify members of their community who have played an active role in the project, but who are not currently on the board. To protect the research participants' anonymity, I have not included their names or any information in direct quotes that can be linked back to them.

The board of directors meetings were my primary research site because this is where the cross-cultural work is conducted through face-to-face interactions. The board meetings are held once a month for the members to discuss business plans, resource management goals, distribution of funds and environmental and community concerns. In 2005, I attended three board meeting over the course of six months. At these meetings, I relied on participant-observation for discovering *how* the members work together. Locally specific meanings and behaviours were recorded through attending the meetings, observing, making notes and then typing up these written notes. I also relied on writing field notes about other relevant information that came from the literature review, conversations and emails with study participants.

Semi-structured interviews allowed me to use preset questions that focused on the domains that I observed during participant-observation and wrote about in my field notes as well as read about in the literature review for this researcI am frh. I choose to use this particular interview style because it allowed for open-ended answers that confirmed relevance of the study domains. Semi-structured interviews allowed the research participants to play a pivotal role in identifying other potentially important factors and issues unforeseeable to me at the time that I developed the questions.

During the methodology section of this chapter, I will describe my creation of a situated knowledge in order to lay out the boundaries of this work. I will then move to the topic of researching from the margins, which is relevant to this project because it goes against the notions of large-scale industrial forestry and advocates for local control. Because my research is privileging voices of local people and cultural experts, and not industry experts, this work is more in line with the margins than the status quo. All of these facts contribute to and enrich the methods chapter because they attest to the unique circumstances of this research project.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a scientific tool used for investigating social and cultural patterns where the researcher is the primary data collection tool (Bernard, 1994: 16; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999: 9). Ethnography is used in the research setting to gather primary data from face-to-face interactions in order to observe behaviours and attempt to grasp people's perceptions of their actions (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 1; Mihesuah, 2005: 48). Through my ethnographic research, I have been able to gather qualitative data in order to understand the issue of cross-cultural cooperation within the Likely/Xats'ull CFA project.

Using an ethnographic approach allows for close attention to be paid to who is doing what in the research setting and why those who are engaged are doing what they are doing (Agar, 1986: 12; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999: 9). Further, ethnography is meant to demonstrate how social action in one world makes sense from the point of view from another and then describe this in text (Agar, 1986: 12; Marcus, 1999: 22). In other words, what I learned in the context of the case study is described to my audience through this text. As I made links in the information between the theory and literature, I have built an ethnographic record (Agar, 1986: 19). As a noun, ethnography is the description of a culture or a part of a culture; as a verb, doing ethnography means the collection of data that describe a culture (Bernard, 1994: 16). It is important to note that ethnography is more than just a method of data collection; it includes the broader intellectual framework of theory building and the production of cultural knowledge (Coffee and Atkinson, 1996: 13).

During the conceptual phase of this project, before the research design, I did not want to assume that either community would be accepting of this research project. To avoid this, I brought up my idea in an informal way to the Likely members of the board and they passed the idea by the First Nation board members at the next scheduled board meeting. All of the individual board members were receptive to my research and I was invited to attend my first board meeting.

At the first meeting, I ensured that all of the participants were well informed about what I wanted to do, as well as their expected role in the proposed project. I explained that I wanted to study the cross-cultural cooperation that was taking place through the CFA program in BC using the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest as a case study. I discussed how I thought that the populations of Xats'ull and Likely were appropriate case selections for this cultural study on community forestry because they had no prior relationship before the inception of the CFA program. Having no prior partnership is an important factor because it demonstrates how new cross-cultural partnerships are being formed through local land management.

All six board members were receptive to the idea and I wrote a letter seeking formal permission from the Likely Chamber of Commerce and the Soda Creek Chief and Council (See appendix two for letters). Participants must be informed about the research in which they are taking part to ensure that the research is done with and for participants rather than on them (McKenna and Kirby, 1989: 6). Likely's letter was sent to the Likely Chamber of Commerce and the Xats'ull's letter was sent to Chief and Council. The letter explained who I am, how I wanted to conduct the interviews with the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors, the purpose of the research and it asked permission to go ahead with the research project. The letter also discussed how I planned to conduct a survey with the community at large to determine the effects of the community forest on the entire communities. However, after sharpening my focus of what I was attempting to achieve with this research project, I decided to remove the survey portion and focus solely on the board member's perspectives.

With my investigation, I wanted to find out what the individuals who were actively performing cross-cultural work were doing to make it happen. I wondered what issues is this project forcing them to wrestle with? I was curious about how two different groups of people could come together and manage an entirely new type of project as equal partners with so many unknown factors at play. By making this important decision, I was able to narrow the focus of my project by only being involved with those individuals that were *directly* involved in the cross-cultural cooperation. I gained an insider's knowledge of how the project is organized and how the directors make decisions by being immersed in the research setting.

After conducting the literature review, attending board meetings and having informal interviews, I developed questions to be asked during the semi-structured interviews (see appendix three for questions). Five months after this first meeting, I attended the second meeting to watch for themes I had identified after reading the literature and conducting the informal interviews. After this second meeting, I finalized my semi-structured interview questions and began interviewing. I conducted all eight interviews over the course of two weeks and spend two weeks transcribing the data. I felt it was important to finish transcribing the data before attending my last meeting so that I could clarify the themes discussed by the interviewees and then watch for these themes at the final meeting.

One month after the second meeting and after all the interviews were over, I attended my third meeting. This final meeting provided me with the opportunity to see the themes that were identified by the participants 'in action' within the research setting. During this meeting, I felt that I had reached saturation of data because I could see the same themes at this meeting that I had observed at the last two meetings.

The structure of the meeting was informal and members openly discussed issues. At all of the meetings, the business manager handed out an agenda of topics with which the board needed to address. I observed that the members all had equal say in the topics on the agenda and each member was concerned with hearing what every other member had to say. Each member listened intently to what the speaker was saying, and every person who wanted to address what the speaker had said was able to contribute. The meetings were not timed however each meeting lasted just under two hours. The meetings were held in restaurants, and the act of eating and discussing issues over lunch added to the casual and relaxed atmosphere. During an interview one of the board members referred to having more local political independence as “kitchen table forestry.” I could see this idea in action at the meetings because the directors were relaxed, comfortable and openly discussing plans for the future of their CFA over food. Throughout the meetings I recorded my observations as field notes.

The transformation of observation into field notes constitutes a scientific record of the experience, for future reference and analysis (Barrett, 1996: 113; LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 114). The more complete and accurate the notes are, the easier it is for the person doing research to use them as data. Through recording information in field notes, patterns may be brought to the attention of the researcher, which are not readily obvious during the episodic event (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 114). Included in my field notes are interactions between the individual board members in chronological order, behaviours and body language by individuals, topics that were discussed, questions that were asked and a description of the people that were there during the meeting and the setting of the meeting (the physical space).

When I had thoughts about my personal inferences, and emotions about events I used square brackets to keep this personal text separate from the descriptive text. Bracketing comes from phenomenology and it is defined as, “the act of suspending one’s various beliefs in the reality of the natural world in order to study the essential structures of the world” (Brown and Strega, 2005: 93). Bracketing helped to me practice self-reflection in identifying my commitments to particular research topics. Further, it helped me to see my biases and personal viewpoints that could potentially stop me from obtaining a well-rounded set of data for analysis (LeCompte, Schensul, Weeks and Singer: 1999: 67).

Participant-observation

Participant-observation is a data collection technique that requires the person doing research to be present, involved in and recording the daily activities of the people in the field setting (Bernard, 1994: 136). Participant-observation at the initial board meeting gave me access to the members from both communities that I relied on as gatekeepers. A gatekeeper is a person who controls access to information, other individuals and settings in the research site (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 77). I had one gatekeeper from each community, the Likely member I have known for 15 years; I relied on him for information about how the community forest works, how the operations are carried out and he introduced me to the Xats'ull board members. My gatekeeper from the Xats'ull community provided me with information about the First Nation protocols. He brought the letter explaining my research to Chief and Council and he introduced me to the people at the Band office. He also helped me to set up interview times with the Xats'ull members and gave me a space to use in the band office to carry out the interviews.

Participant-observation allowed me to become familiarized with the operations of the project and build rapport with the participants (Bernard, 1994: 136). Through my continued observation, the actions, behaviours and interactions between board members showed how the members work together to make decisions about the CFA. During my observation time, I watched for cooperation or non-cooperation in decision-making. I also wanted to see how each side dealt with potential disagreements over how to manage the land and resources. This information was used to ground the research in order to identify what these communities need to make local land management successful.

Furthermore, I choose to use participant-observation because it allowed me to have a presence in the communities and it provided me with cultural experiences that I could talk about with the informants and use as data (Bernard, 1994: 137; LeCompte and Schensul: 1999: 91). For example, during the literature review I read about community well-being and environmental sustainability being connected to each other. At the meetings, I watched for examples of how the board dealt with these issues. When the board members were discussing well-being or sustainability I observed how they ascribed meaning to these ideological constructs and how, in turn, this affected their plan for the land-base. Meaning is created through action, it is important for the researcher to participate in the lives of the research participants in order to observe social dialogue and behaviour *as it occurs* (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999: 50). I asked about well-being and sustainability during the interviews in order to see if what people said matched the literature and their actions during the meetings.

Informal and Semi-structured Interviews

When I first thought about doing this research topic for my master's thesis, I had informal conversations with board members with regard to how the project operates and what role each individual plays. These initial conversations were important for me to gauge the board member's receptivity to me doing this project and to start to define what direction that I wanted to take with my research design. This was an important first step to participant-observation to 'get my foot in the door' to the research site (Bernard, 1994: 210).

I choose to use the semi-structured interview because it allowed for the flexibility of an unstructured, open-ended interview however the questions were preformulated.

The value of the semi-structured interview is that it allows for predetermined questions that focus on those domains that are relevant to the study, while the open-ended answers will confirm relevance of the study domains and identify other potentially important factors and issues (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 149).

I ordered my questions from the most technical to more theoretical topics. I also ordered the questions from the easiest to the most difficult to ease the interviewee into the process and make them feel more comfortable (LeCompte, Schensul and Schensul, 1999: 149). I reworked the questions several times to make sure each question was clear. I relied on both of my gatekeepers to look at a possible list of questions and make suggestions about what was unclear to them. When I had the final questions narrowed down, I tested them on two people not involved in the study (one First Nation and one non-First Nation) and reworked the questions for the final time.

Consistency was achieved in the interview portion of the research by having all the interviews follow the same methodology in a uniform manner; this adds to reliability because each respondent is guided through the same questioning format (Tobias, 2000: 42). I digitally recorded all but one of the interviews and then transcribed the data verbatim to minimize the threats to validity. Threats to validity are ways that the research may be compromised through the actions of the researcher (Maxwell, 1996: 86). For example, interviews that are not transcribed verbatim could be considered inaccurate because the person doing the research can privilege certain topics while they are taking notes and choose, either consciously or unconsciously, to not record issues that are unfavourable to their research goals (Maxwell, 1996: 86). For the participant-observation, digital recording was not done, so I made observational notes that were as detailed, concrete and chronological as possible.

After the interviews were transcribed, I created an "interview compilation." This contained all of the interview responses compiled in one document. Each community's responses were kept separate, but every person's responses were complied to form a paragraph about the responses to each question. I made this document to give to each of the interviewees so that they could read it, and make changes or add to what was written. I approached this in a strategic manner by giving the Xats'ull members their interview compilation first; they made the changes and additions that they wanted. I made the revisions, and then gave the compilation to the Likely community members to follow through the same process. This method was an important step for me to ensure that the research participants were able to provide feedback and be actively involved in the different stages of the research project.

The Analysis Strategy

To analyse the information from the eight interviews and three board meetings I relied on the processes of categorizing and contextualizing data. Categorizing was carried out through a process of thematic analysis and coding of the dominant themes found within the interview transcripts and field notes. I developed the codes through reading the data and finding common themes, which were turned into codes. For example, code 1 was "identity tied to the landscape", code 2 was "open communication" and code 12 was "cross-cultural cooperation." The key factor of qualitative coding is that it is grounded in the data rather than a preestablished set of categories used to generate frequency counts, as in quantitative data analysis (Maxwell, 1996: 79). Coding is a process of producing fractured bits of data or “bibbits”, which can be passages from a transcript, a piece of information from field notes, a part of a document or a snippet of a conversation recorded on a piece of paper (McKenna and Kirby, 1989: 135, Atkinson and Coffey: 1996: 30).

Bibbits are manageable portions of data that can stand on their own, but when necessary can be relocated in their original context (McKenna and Kirby, 1989: 135). The ability to reintegrate the bibbits is very important because they must be able to be linked back to the data that gave rise to them (McKenna and Kirby, 1989: 135). If these sections of data are separated from their original context permanently, this is called context stripping (Maxwell, 1996: 79). To avoid this I kept three separate files, the first with the original transcript (original file), the second with a coded version of the transcript using different coloured text for each interviewee’s information (coded file) and the third file contained all bibbits with the same code in their own individual section (topic file). This process allowed me to use the data in a more manageable way, without losing the ability to trace where the specific bits of information originated.

The contextualizing strategy operates differently from coding. Rather than fracturing the initial text into distinct sections and re-sorting into categories, contextualizing analysis attempts to understand the data in context. By closely reading the interview transcripts and going through the coding process and then revisiting the original transcripts, I was able to look for the relationships between the statements and connect information into a coherent whole. The identification of connections between categories and themes works to build theory through the process of analysis (Maxwell, 1996: 79). Relying solely on a contextualizing analysis however limits the ability to develop a more general theory of what is going on in the research setting. Only particular individuals or situations can be analysed in isolation in contextual analysis. This is why the two strategies are needed to provide a well-rounded account of the data (Maxwell, 1996: 79). The discussion of the analysis strategy brings me to the end of the methods portion of this chapter. I will now discuss the methodology that I have used to carry out this research.

Situating Myself in the Research

My examination into the community forest produces an ethnographic account of reality that specifically delineates who is doing the research, who is taking part in the project as well as historical and geographical specificity. These particularities allow the work to be open to dialogue in a way that less specific methodologies cannot. I perceive my research participants as colleagues, teachers and friends rather than research 'subjects'. This perception allows for a power dynamic that is always shifting and flexible, rather than having a set power relation where I am the researcher with power, and the research "subjects" are rendered less powerful. My research is a situated knowledge that will allow for the continuation of this research topic after the completion of this particular project.

In order to carry out my research in a manner that affirms indigenous methodology I had to "situate myself" within the research setting so that my research intentions were transparent to both communities (Abu-Lughod, 1986: xv). To position myself in the context of this research project is to make claims about who I am and where I come from (Brown and Strega, 2005: 112). When the community knows who you are and what you plan on doing, the obscure, neutral and "objective" voice of the researcher is overcome (Brown and Strega, 2005: 119). I was able to discuss the Likely/Xats'ull project as a member of the Likely community and as an anthropology student from UNBC who wants to investigate the project from a cross-cultural angle. Situating oneself in relation to the people involved in this research helped me to gain their trust. I already knew the board members from Likely but did not know the Xats'ull members; it was very important for me to earn the trust of the First Nation board members.

After my Likely gatekeeper introduced me to Xats'ull board members, we got to know each other through informal interviews. Having these initial conversations allowed me to build rapport with the Xats'ull members and it also helped me gain a sense of what they feel is important for their First Nation community within the context of the project. I understand the value of positioning my methodology with indigenous values, protocols, history and experiences as pivotal to this research design. Although the communities did not help design this research project, I relied on them for input during every stage of the research.

I choose to research the community forest program using the Likely/Xats'ull community as a case study for two reasons. The first reason is that I saw the unique circumstances of having two communities from two different cultures working collaboratively on a local land-management project. Further, I think that it is important that First Nations and non-First Nations are working together as equal partners. Through the CFA, these communities are beginning to address the prevalence of First Nations unequal access to resources and services. The second reason for researching this topic is that I am intimately aware of the boom and bust economy that is sustained by living in a resource extracting community. I have worked in the forest sector for over a decade and

I have witnessed first-hand how some industrial forest managers do not address community issues. The fact that Likely and Xats'ull are participating in greater self-determination allows them to address community issues, while at the same time, it allows them to carry out important cross-cultural knowledge building.

Homi Bhabha defines research about two cultures coming together as "borderline research" because it is "in between" the two cultures; however, because of the past, the two sides are connected to one other (Bhabha, 1994: 7). The past can be looked at as an in-between space, not as a fixed or static truth. Through methodology that includes postcolonialism and postmodernism, we can renew the past through rewriting or adding history or perspectives that have been neglected. In this light, the past can be used to innovate and interpret performance in the present (Bhabha, 1994: 7). The fact that First Nations and non-First Nations are managing the local land-base through cross-cultural cooperation is recognition of the accommodation of First Nations rights and ownership of resources (Woolford, 2005: 2).

Research into Postcolonial Histories

There is a gap in the history books where First Nations' history is concerned. In the most recent book on the Likely area, *Gold and Grand Dreams* (2000) First Nations people are mentioned in the preface and the author says that First Nations played a more significant role in the Cariboo Gold Rush than is acknowledged but their story is not told in this text (Elliott, 2000: xxiv). This is an example of where "writing back" or "researching back" as talked about by Tuhiwai Smith could be carried out. Writing back is analogous to talking back in order to reclaim and renew past interpretations of First Nations cultures and peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 59). History is not a main topic in this project. However, I want to bring attention to the need for more historical work that reclaims the past for groups of individuals that have been silenced. “The greatest ally of Indigenous research will be those non-Indigenous methodologies from the margins that do not hide from but embrace the political nature of research” (Brown and Strega, 2005: 33). This project is part of this new tradition of researching from the margins.

Research must be able to take into account *difference* and challenge the status quo by dealing with the messy and incongruent “histories” that are part of the colonial past. Research must position itself within an epistemology of “truths” rather than “Truth” because the latter has failed to account for the racialized epistemologies, women’s ways of knowing, and other subjugated knowledges (Brown and Strega, 2005: 211). From the outset of this project, I have been very intent on not using any one board member’s ideas and perspectives as a “cultural voice” that resonates with all other members of their culture. In all communities, no one person can be said to be the voice and expert for all citizens. In this same light, a First Nation individual cannot be a cultural authority for their whole culture (Mihesuah, 2005: 5). “The problem with cultural relative research in Canada’s minority communities has been that [the minorities] have often been conceptualized in the one-dimensional terms of their ethnic status so emphasizing their cultural bonding and obscuring the complexity of their lived experience” (Anderson, 1991: 251). It is also important not to deny people their cultural attachment to traditions, but to essentialize or accredit all First Nations behaviour as having a “First Nationess” is oversimplified. To believe that anyone can be a spokesperson for their whole culture is to oversimplify and stereotypes the individual and the culture. Politics of difference are inherent within a single culture.

Conclusion to Methods

During this chapter, I have outlined the intricate web made of theory, methods and methodology. Further, I discussed how I have personally navigated this web to study the cultural phenomena of the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest. I have been able to create a transparent research design by building relationships, locating myself within the research by explaining who I am and where I plan on going with this project. The people in the research setting were able to see how I am located along side them within the research.

Using different ethnographic methods has allowed my investigation to move from the experiential realm of events, behaviours and interactions between people to the more theoretical realm of questions about *why* people act in specific ways and the meanings that *they* ascribe to these actions. I can represent the many stories, histories and truths inherent as people interact with each other in this specific social setting.

During Chapter Three: Context, I will position community forestry in its larger historical and contemporary contexts. I collected the information for the context through carrying out a literature review on community forestry in BC. Natural resource management perspectives have informed the context, to understand the "forestry" angle of the program. I have used this information in conjunction with the theoretical and methodological foundation that I laid down in the first two chapters, in order to ground my research. Through combining theoretical ideals with the tangible circumstances of forestry found "on the ground", I will demonstrate how the ideological and material realties are indivisible.

Chapter Three: Context

Introduction to Context

I will begin this chapter by discussing the historical ideology that BC's forests were inexhaustibly able to supply timber. The settlers of BC built an ideological perspective that was influenced by the immense tracks of forests, and in turn, this influenced their treatment of the landscape. During the 1940s, at the same time-period that the government adopted industrial forest tenures, some people were advocating the concept of community forestry. However, for several reasons that I will outline, the government did not implement community forestry as a type of forest tenure until 1998.

By using different contemporary case studies from around the province, I will show the diverse experiences from community forest projects. The challenges that arise from government forest policy, as well as the internal challenges related to managing resources from the local level will also be outlined. These challenges illustrate the tensions and contestations inherent in this localized land-management tenure.

I will describe the way in which First Nations involvement in the treaty process and community forestry relate to each other to reveal how these different political objectives are interlinked. I will then move on to discuss the histories of the settlements of Likely and Soda Creek to reveal how specific factors have afforded these places a chance to participate in local cross-cultural resource management. Linking the needs and perspectives of First Nations and non-First Nations forest dependent communities together is an interesting topic to explore because it allows for collaboration among communities who are stakeholders in the land.

History of BC's Forest –Setting the Stage for Community Forests

During the Royal Commission on the Forest Resources of British Columbia in 1945, Royal Commissioner, Gordon Sloan recommended that municipalities should manage their own forests by advocating the concept of community forestry (Ministry of Forests and Range, 1945: 146). Sloan discussed the value in community forests for local communities to manage for multiple-forest uses and watershed protection (Ministry of Forests and Range, 1945: 146). During the 1940s, contrary to the commissioner's recommendation, the provincial government set the price of timber, decided who had cutting rights and dictated where timber was to be processed and what products could be made with it (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 89). The large-scale corporate system was developed to grant tenures to a few multinational forest companies so that the forest resource could be "closely regulated" (Gale, 2001: 106). Although the government implemented these forest policies decades ago, they are still greatly influencing contemporary forest practices.

Three reasons can be attributed to the adoption of industrial tenures, when Sloan's recommendation was to move toward community forestry. The first reason is, by granting forest tenure to large companies, the province could facilitate and speed the process of converting natural forests to tree farms (Howlett, 2001: 27). The government wanted to use plantations to sustain the long-term fibre needs of the forest industry. Using this management plan, the only *value* of the forest is seen in terms of wood fibre, disregarding the values of biodiversity, recreation, spirituality and cultural concerns (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 87; Peel, 1991: 6). By granting tenure to a few companies and then regulating these companies' harvesting practices, the government could ensure that timber supplies were "being used correctly" through harvesting activities (Howlett, 2001: 28).

The second reason for the adoption of industrial forestry is, in exchange for harvesting rights the licensees pay rent for the land-base, as well as stumpage, which is a fee charged for the timber that is harvested (Gunter, 2004: 82). Community forests require some revenue sharing and generally operate at reduced levels of logging, so they produce less revenue for the government (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 46). The third factor for the adoption of industrial forestry results from the fact that the province has such vast amounts of primary forests intact (McCarthy, 2006: 91; Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 86). This abundance of wood over an area so large that it is difficult to survey has resulted in the state implementing policies such as the "social contract" and the "volume-based" tenure (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 87).

These policies became entrenched in the 1940s, and currently large companies harvest about 75 percent of the timber from provincial land (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 89). During the era when Crown forests were perceived as inexhaustibly able to provide timber for current and future use, companies were granted rights to a "social contract." This contract allowed them to harvest enough timber on public lands to facilitate the construction of mills, on the contingency that the companies would continually employ workers through the economic cycle of boom and bust. Even when the milled wood was sold at a loss, companies were obliged to keep people employed. The minimum rates are set at a specific amount in order to maintain logging rates in times of economic downturns (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 50). The volume-based tenure was also implemented because of BC's abundance of timber. In a volume-based arrangement, wood is harvested up to a certain volume *somewhere* within a larger area. Harvesting wood fibre in an unspecified area makes it difficult to manage the land-base for different values (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 87). Concentrated control over timber on Crown land makes it difficult for new operators, such as community forests, to get involved in the forest sector.

"Touch and Go"- Community Forestry in BC

In 1976, another Royal Commission, this time lead by Peter Pearse, supported the expansion of community forests. Pearse commented on the "…conspicuous trend toward larger and fewer enterprises in the forest industry, which has proceeded to the point where the very small operators, who were formerly an important component in the industrial and social structure of the province, have largely disappeared" (Ministry of Forests and Range, 1976: 193). Between the time of the Pearse Commission and the 1990s, only a few community forests were established, each one holding an industrial form of tenure (Gunter, 2004: 3). As Haley has suggested, more communities may have decided not to pursue local management before the 1990s because the industrial form of tenure they could acquire was not considered a "suitable vehicle for community forestry" (Haley, 2002: 57). The concentrated corporate control over the forest resource resulted in small independent loggers and mills not being able to compete. The industrial model set up by the government favoured the development of large-scale integrated forest product manufacturers (Haley, 2002: 57).

Public support for community forestry grew during the 1990s in rural communities throughout BC (Haley, 2002: 57). The public's growing interest was a response to the fact that local communities had little or no say in how local resources were used, even though these resources play such major roles in providing the livelihoods, living space, access to water, country food supplies and sources of recreation (Haley, 2002: 57). Public opinion in BC was fuelled by the fact that forestry related jobs were declining. Further, environmental degradation and the seeming un-sustainability of industrial forest practices caused alarm in communities throughout the province and in the international community as well (McCarthy, 2006: 91; Haley, 2002: 57). Community forestry was perceived to address these concerns because the preservation of a wide variety of values was seen as pivotal to the initiative (Beckley, 1998: 742; Peel, 1991: 11).

During the early 1990s, several communities conducted feasibility studies at the grassroots level and public discourse was fuelled by academic reports (McCarthy, 2006: 91; Haley, 2002: 57; Peel, 1991: 6). This support for community forests created fertile ground for the movement (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 10). Increasing recognition of rights for local First Nations and non-First Nations resource dependent communities signifies the convergence of economic, social and environmental agendas. Resource dependent communities and academics alike perceived increased local control as a possible answer to improving the livelihoods of communities that depend on the forest, while improving environmental protection (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 12). However, during the 1990s despite the political rhetoric and media coverage that alluded to lower rates of logging throughout the province, the rate stayed almost fixed (McCarthy, 2006: 92).

The government reduced logging in highly contentious areas of the province while increasing it in other areas. Although the overall rate of logging did not decrease throughout the 1990s, the continuous and highly publicized conflicts between different stakeholders in the forest pressured the provincial government to establish new reforms and create the CFA program (McCarthy, 2006: 92). Conflict between stakeholders demonstrates how power and resistance from the public has influenced the direction of policy. Citizens resisted the government and big business holding all of the power over the land and resources. This resistance lead to changes in the tenure structure to allow community forests to operate. I will now outline the forest tenure in BC to show how community forestry fits into the existing tenure structure.

Forest Tenure and the Community Forest Program

In BC, the forest is harvested by using a management tool called the allowable annual cut (AAC). The AAC is distributed between 5 main types of Crown Forest tenure, which include the: tree farm license (TFL), forest license (FL), timber sale license (TSL), woodlot license (WL) and, as of 1998, the community forest agreement (CFA). Although there are several different types of tenure, the majority of the AAC is held by a relatively small number of large corporations that own and operate the wood processing facilities. These large corporations operate under the volume and area based tenures previously mentioned. Concern over this concentrated control of timber has initiated movement toward a more diverse forest tenure system, where values beyond fibre production can be recognized and managed (Peel, 1991: 6).

Before 1998, there were only five “community-based” forestry operators in BC. The North Cowichan municipality have successfully managed 5000 hectares of forest for several decades. Mission’s municipal tree farm licence dates back to 1958 and the City of Revelstoke’s Community Forest Cooperation’s tree farm licence was purchased in

1993 (Ministry of Forests, 2000-2001: 3). During the 1990s, Creston and Kaslo were awarded 15-year non-renewable forest licences (Gunter, 2004: 3). Although all of these communities are participating in “community-managed-forests”, all but the North Cowichan Community Forest are required to follow an industrial forest management model (Ministry of Forests, 2002-2004: 1), thus limiting and confining the actual ability of the communities to manage the landscape in new or innovative ways. The continued public anxiety over the allocation of Crown land created an upsurge of public support throughout rural communities in the 1990s.

In December of 1997, the provincial government appointed a “multi-stakeholder” Community Forest Advisory Committee (CFAC) (Ministry of Forests, 2000-2001: 3). Eight people comprise the CFAC, including: two academics, an environmental advocate, two First Nation representatives, two community advocates and a forest industry representative (Ministry of Forests, 2002-2004: 5). The role of the CFAC is to advise the Ministry of Forests on the form and content of community forest tenure.

In September of 1998, the Community Forest Pilot Project was created and with it a new tenure called The Community Forest Agreement (CFA). The stated purpose of this new tenure type was to “…create sustainable jobs, facilitate forestry related education and to promote environmental stewardship of resources” (Government of British Columbia, 2002). In order to test the efficiency of this new tenure, the government issued a special form of the tenure called the Community Forest Pilot Agreement (CFPA) (Ministry of Forests, 2001-2002: 2). Although more than 100 communities expressed interest, only 11 were awarded CFPAs by 2002 (BCCFA, 2006). In order to apply, the community must find land in their area that is not already under existing industrial forest tenure, which poses a major challenge for many communities. In response to this limitation, the government has announced that it will double the amount of small tenures in the province by reallocating land from industrial licensees to local communities; facilitating a general transition of capital from large companies to small local operators.

The government refocused forest policy due to external pressure from environmental groups and European markets for more environmentally friendly logging practices. External pressure coupled with the current political climate in BC over the First Nations land claims has forced the government to encourage communities to become directly involved in local forest management (Penikett, 2006: 209). The CFA will aid in the development of a forest management workforce including: silviculture crews, contracting for forest management services and other forest related activities (Penikett, 2006: 213). The large licensees will be financially compensated for returning some of the rented land to the state (Government of British Columbia, 2002).

Effective July 23, 2004 the government made changes to the *Forest Act* and replaced the Community Forest Pilot Agreement with the Community Forest Agreement (The Government of British Columbia, 2004). Change in the regulations replaced the pilot program with a 5-year probationary term, and allowed for direct awarding of a CFA to communities (BCCFA, 2006). After the 5 year probationary term, a long term CFA can be awarded. As of October 2006, there are 13 communities with Community Forest Agreements (CFA), five with a long term CFA and eight with a probationary CFA (BCCFA, 2006). Twenty-two communities have been invited to apply for a CFA, exemplifying a significant expansion of the program, however, community forestry still accounts for less that one percent of the AAC in BC (Haley, 2002:56).

If the current 300,000 ha that comprises community forest land in the province was doubled, it would still amount to about one percent of the province's AAC (McCarthy, 2006: 95). However, one percent of the province's forest industry is a substantial amount of land and resources to experiment with alternative forestry (McCarthy, 2006: 100). According to Gibson-Graham (1996), it would be unjust to disregard alternatives to the status-quo simply because they are comparatively small (Gibson-Graham, 1996: 263). From this point of view, what is important to recognize are the changes being created in the lived experiences of people in specific locales. McCarthy points out that it may be "short-sighted" to disregard community forests as insignificant because the program has doubled in size since 1998. Further, since the announcement of expanding the program, over ninety communities have expressed interest (McCarthy, 2006: 100). These communities' interest demonstrates how there is wide spread awareness of the community forest tenure, however there are many external and internal challenges inherent in this new tenure type.

External Challenges to Community Forestry

The main challenge for legislators to develop a local tenure is finding a system that can deal with both the wide range of public opinion and differing perspectives that are part of forest management (Booth, 1998: 378). The government must consider the needs of all stakeholders that have a vested interest in the land-base, including the rural First Nations and non-First Nations communities, as well as the industrial forest companies. The CFA is the first real prospect for rural forest dependent First Nations and non-First Nations communities to have access to a land tenure that addresses their needs (Booth, 1998: 378). Although the program is a step in the right direction, it is only a nominal step towards real reform (Anderson and Horter, 2002: x). Communities that are granted CFAs under the existing tenure system must extract a *minimum* amount of timber every year. This makes it difficult for community organisations to have control over their community forest. The province sets the logging rate at a specific amount and communities must meet this rate, sometimes at an economic loss (Anderson and Horter, 2002: xi).

Another challenge is that CFAs exist within an outmoded tenure structure that perpetuates a biased stumpage system designed for industrial forestry (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 50). The stumpage regime does not account for the increased labour and associated costs of community forestry. Selective logging methods incur more costs because it is more labour intensive to select specific trees rather than clear-cut, in which the entire stand of trees is removed at once. There are also increased labour costs if the local mill cannot purchase the wood because it has to be trucked farther away; this is not taken into account under the current system. Stumpage calculations under the current system also do not allow for the higher costs associated with increased public consultation that is practiced in order to have a public that is more informed about the project (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 48).

Woven into the fabric of this blanket of challenges, is the fact that wood fibre is the main resource utilized under the industrial model, contributing to the unsustainable volume of timber extraction. BC has been slow to shift focus from the industrial ideology in which it has been ensconced for decades, to one that encompasses multi-use forestry and holistic values. However, the CFA has been designed to work towards forest management goals that assist communities to contribute to their collective health, prosperity and survival over the long term by enabling them to have more autonomy over the land-base (Haley, 2002: 12).

Diversification into different areas of revenue besides logging is an important aspect to community forestry. Communities can anticipate a more stable economy when there is an array of opportunities to bring in revenue and strengthen local employment. For example, profits from the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest are used to create employment opportunities in areas beyond forestry, such as fisheries enhancement, recreation and tourism. Other areas that can be explored are research, education and making products from non-timber forest resources. Diversifying is becoming increasingly important because of the recent mountain pine beetle infestation, which is forecast to cause significant financial losses for forestry-based communities, as their timber supplies decrease over time (BC First Nations Interim Working Group, 2005: 1). Long-term community stability and viability is going to be drastically affected, however to what extent is not yet known.

Although the community forest movement is trying to achieve independence from the industrial system, advocates of community control cannot be too vocal against the industrial licensees because they depend on cooperation from the large companies (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 86). One reason is confronted when the proposed community forest is situated in the large licensee's tenure area and there is a need for the large company to relinquish control over some of the land-base (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 3). A second reason that community forest operators need the large forest companies is to purchase their round-wood for processing at the large companies' mills. If advocates are too vocal against the big operators, the small tenure holders can compromise their success. For example, one large local mill unofficially boycotted an operational community forest (which town was not specified in the literature) for being too vocal against industrial harvesting. The community forest was forced to truck their round-wood to a mill farther away, and this cut into their already limited profits (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 84).

In some situations, communities also need the cooperation from the large industrial licensees to help with the start-up phase of the projects. For example, the Likely/Xats'ull organizers had to work with a representative from Weldwood of Canada Ltd. to set up the operation and gradually shift responsibilities over to the Likely/Xats'ull team (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 3). The land-base that the community forest is situated on is part of Weldwood's volume-based tenure area. The company of Weldwood has agreed to exclude this parcel of land from future operations (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 3).

As demonstrated above, communities applying for a CFA must learn to navigate political issues related to interacting with the large licensees. Communities must also deal with the government's political considerations for awarding a CFA. The government privileges proposals for one of two reasons. The first has to do with the government privileging certain types of proposals that come from land-bases with inherent social constraints. These are areas of land that are inaccessible or undesirable to industry due to social reasons such as community watersheds or areas that are contentious because of their visual quality (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 34). Local communities have been awarded a CFA in areas that have met with opposition to industrial logging. This is interesting because the CFA program is facilitating logging in areas that would otherwise be protested by the community itself. The government benefits from this timber extraction because they are receiving stumpage on timber that would not otherwise be cut (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 34).

The second factor that influences government consideration of awarding a CFA proposal is support from First Nations (Ministry of Forests and Range, 2004: 2). Some CFAs are being delayed due to conflicts between First Nations and non-First Nations over lands that are part of the ongoing treaty negotiations (Bradshaw, 2003: 146). First Nations involvement greatly enhances the chance of acquiring local control (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 70). Eight of the eleven CFPA that were awarded by 2006 were led exclusively by First Nations or in partnerships with them. The provincial government has explicitly stated that First Nations proposals and meaningful partnerships between First Nations and non-First Nations will be given priority in securing community forest tenure (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 72).

Internal Challenges of Community Forestry

Implementing a CFA involves starting a business and a community organisation at the same time, which can prove to be demanding for communities (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 8). Two internal challenges facing communities vying for local control are, firstly, the relationship between the lack of human and financial capacity and secondly, the lack of volunteers leading to volunteer burnout.

The limited availability of financial capacity at the local level is interlinked to the challenge of limited human capacity (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 32). Communities have a limited ability to provide financial and technical support to train, mentor, advise and pay for the skills needed to make local control a success (Gunter, 2004: 16).

Volunteer burnout is reportedly high in community forest endeavours because of the lack of highly skilled people required to initiate and complete the steps needed to secure local control (Bradshaw, 2003: 146). Salaried staff are not necessarily critical; some community forests have relied solely on volunteers and have been successful. For example, volunteers ran the Bamfield/Huu-ay-aht Community Forest until 2002 when they hired their first staff (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 30). The Harrop/Procter Community Forest was one of the most volunteer-based projects, with over 350 hours a month coming from volunteers. Communities that have kept records of the volunteer time have estimated that over 100,000 dollars worth of volunteer time and services is required to develop a community forest proposal alone (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 74).

To get started, communities need to research how they want to manage their CFA. Research involves conducting a feasibility study, visiting other community forests to gather ideas and holding initial community meetings to gather information about public opinion (Gunter, 2004: 52). After the proposal stage, a business plan and a forest management plan will need to be developed in order to decide management objectives. Volunteers are relied on to write-up the proposal and work on the board once the community forest is operating.

In order for community-based resource management to be successful, government assistance in community capacity building and maintenance is needed (Bradshaw, 2003: 147). Advocates of the CFA policy maintain that the provincial government should identify limitations in community capacity and help with capacity building until a CFA can be self-sufficient (Bradshaw, 2003: 147). Some argue that the state should help communities build capacity with the goal of eventually having self-sufficient local governing bodies (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 42). Further, environmental groups, funders and concerned individuals should provide resources and support for local initiatives and co-ordinate their efforts to insist that the government support local control (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 33).

Ben Bradshaw is an advocate for localized resource management providing that community credibility and capacity are proven through investigation and not assumed. In a recent article, Bradshaw critiques the CFA program by pointing out that this project was created on the "…blind assumption that communities would have or create the capacity to successfully achieve many of the ends that the British Columbian forest sector has seldom achieved: namely stable revenues and communities and healthy well-managed forests" (Bradshaw, 2003: 147). This quote illustrates the importance of not assuming local control will *inherently* be better than industrial forestry because local groups may not have the capacity to do better without the help of the government. Government policy needs to support community-based resource management initiatives, devolving authority over the resource base while helping to create a political-economic climate that supports local projects.

The CFA is a new tenure that is seen by some as antithetical to industrial forestry with regard to the fact that in a standard corporation, profits to shareholders are the primary objective (Beckley, 1998: 736). In the community forest model, the community body can decide that profits are not as important as having people employed (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 77). For example, the community forest in Burns Lake makes little profit, but keeps some people in the community employed. A community can manage the land-base in a way that privileges community well-being (measured in keeping people employed in the community) rather than in ways that operate solely on a profit margin.

Burns Lake is an example of how a CFA can be managed using values that are different from industrial forestry while, at the same time, using harvesting practices in line with industrial forest management. Although Burns Lake is harvesting using the goals, practices and metrics of industrial management, they are struggling to make money due to the beetle epidemic (McCarthy, 2006: 94). Burns Lake provides a good illustration of the complexities faced by a community with a CFA. They manage their CFA using some goals that are compatible with industrial forestry and explore new innovative local land management objectives, while reacting to the environmental impacts of the epidemic. Local groups are simultaneously living within the industrial forest regime while forging new ground by developing local policy and at the same time responding to the unique challenges that the landscape dictates.

It is important for communities to have the support of the government to ensure that once a CFA is operating, the community has access to resources to build capacity where it is lacking. CFA holders are responsible for not only dealing with environmental and economic goals but are also being relied on to deal with difficult cultural and social issues. The government is relying on the community forest program to facilitate a good working relationship between First Nations and non-First Nations involved in a CFA (Penikett, 2006: 210). By encouraging First Nations and non-First Nations direct involvement in forestry at the local level, the government hopes to maintain forestry jobs, provincial revenue and economic stability (Penikett, 2006: 210). This demonstrates how the community forest program is directly linked to the treaty process in BC.

Treaty Issues and Community Forests

First Nations ownership of the land is an integral part of their identity and survival as distinct nations (Woolford, 2005: 3). Land not only has economic and political, but also spiritual significance for First Nations peoples (BC Treaty Commission, 2004: 16). The First Nations' right to land was denied by racist policies such as the Indian Act, which defines First Nations peoples as wards of the federal government. Land allocated to First Nations is defined as "reserve lands" which do not belong to the individuals that occupy them. Reserves comprise 4% of BC's total land-base.

To initiate the first stage of the treaty process, First Nations must submit a "statement of interest" which outlines their territory. This statement of interest defines the parameters for land to be included in the final treaty (BC Treaty Commission, 2003: 16). These treaty settlement lands are expected to comprise only a percentage of the territory originally owned before colonization.

The expectation that only a small percentage of First Nations' territory will be included in the settlements of the land-claims is why it is important for the government to develop policy that recognizes First Nations' rights to the land-base. With the trend in the CFA program favouring First Nations initiatives and partnerships with them, the government is creating new avenues for First Nations' development and for settling local land management issues (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 35). The CFA tenure is generating stability for rural communities by giving them more control over their land-base, which allows them to have more power over the way that the land is used (BC Treaty Commission, 2003: 14).

The Supreme Court of Canada has stated that Aboriginal rights do exist in Canada, however it maintains that the cases for treaties must be considered on a case-by-case basis and not on a general basis (The Supreme Court of Canada, 1998). Further, First Nations rights are protected under Section 35 of the Constitution Act of 1982, which states, "…the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed" (The Constitution Act, 1982).

A recent Supreme Court of Canada decision in the Haida and Taku cases requires the Crown to act and negotiate honourably with First Nations and "…to negotiate in good faith and avoid even the appearance of sharp dealing" (BC Treaty Commission, January 2005: 1). There is a legal obligation for the First Nations to negotiate in a spirit of good faith as well and not thwart the government's attempts at reconciliation. The court ruling is being interpreted as a legal requirement to negotiate treaties, making it no longer a voluntary political process (BC Treaty Commission, 2003: 3).

There is public perception by some people in Canada that self-government and land-claims processes are founded upon *new special* rights that are not enjoyed by other segments of the Canadian society (BC Treaty Commission, 2005: 8). The treaty process is not "granting" rights to First Nations, but is recognising and protecting continuing rights based on the prior possession of the land (BC Treaty Commission, 2005: 8; Woolford, 2005: 6). Through political negotiations, the parties are "…attempting to establish a new relationship based on trust and understanding" (BC Treaty Commission, 2003: 7). The treaty process is aimed at recognising and maintaining the coexistence of rights rather than aiming for final settlement or surrender of First Nations rights. Recognizing First Nations rights will provide them with the ability to realize self-determination and manage the land and resources on their territory using their own cultural values and concerns. In the following section, I will present historical and contemporary overviews of the Xats'ull people who are members of the Secwepemc First Nation.

History of Secwepemc

The term 'Shuswap' refers to all First Nation people who speak the Shuswap language and live in south central BC; the Shuswap refer to themselves as "Secwepemc." The territory of the Secwepemc peoples lies within the following boundaries: McBride to the north, the Rocky Mountains and Columbia River to the southeast, Armstrong to the southwest and to the northwest is the Fraser River area (about 30km north of Lillooet), the western side of the Fraser River to the west and on the northeast the area immediately north of Williams Lake (Bouchard and Kennedy, 1979: xi). Secwepemc territory covers approximately 145,000 square kilometres.

The Secwepemc Nation has 17 autonomous bands that are united by a common language and cultural belief system (Ignace, 2004: 1). The Xats'ull First Nation is one of the four northern autonomous Secwepemc Nation bands and these four bands comprise the Cariboo Tribal Council. The word Xats'ull means "on the cliff where bubbling water comes out" (CaribooLINKS: 2003: 1).

Historically, the Secwepemc lived in groups of villages located on benches of land alongside rivers, streams and lakes where the climate was milder than in the surrounding forest area and where fresh water was readily available (Bouchard and Kennedy, 1979: preface). Xats'ull was originally made up of 2 groups of Secwepemc peoples, but small pox destroyed most of the population (Xats'ull First Nation, 2003).

Before the small pox epidemic, there was a large Secwepemc community west of the Fraser River known now only as the "buckskin." The few survivors left from this group moved to Xats'ull and the territory west of the Fraser was from then on considered taboo (Xats'ull First Nation, 2003).

Before the 1800s, the Secwepemc economy was based on fishing, hunting, trapping and gathering (Xats'ull First Nation, 2003). It was a semi-nomadic society during food-harvesting times and the majority of hunting was done in the late fall. Groups of families would move into the hills, where temporary hunting camps were stationed. The group would remain in the hunting camp until sufficient meat was smoke-dried for winter storage. Even though the hunters utilized the same area each year, there was no explicit individual ownership of the hunting territory (Bouchard and Kennedy, 1979: preface). Land is communal and not able to be owned by any one person; the community forest concept is more in line with this philosophy.

Traditionally, fishing sites were located close to villages where large fishing weirs were used by groups of men in order to catch spawning salmon. The catch was distributed to all members of the village. Beyond group fishing with the large weirs, individual men used spears and dip nets to catch salmon for their own families' needs. When winter came, the people would return to their permanent villages where they would live in underground pit houses until spring (McFarlane, 1993: 21).

The colonizers altered land-use patterns using it for agriculture, mining and livestock husbandry, which were foreign patterns for First Nations (Xats'ull First Nation, 2003). In 1871, BC became a province of Canada and the federal Department of Indian Affairs began to appropriate all facets of First Nations' life, including political, social and economic aspects, as well as the land itself (Ignace, 2004: 1). This, coupled with the Christianizing movements, lead to a loss of cultural autonomy for the First Nations peoples of BC (McFarlane, 1993: 24). The dramatic shift between the populations of Natives and colonizers, due to immigration and disease, meant that the power and control were in the hands of the newcomers (Ignace, 2004: 1). In the late 19th century, the Xats'ull population was estimated at about 7,200 people (it is now less than 300). The contemporary living situation of the Xats'ull will now be outlined to illustrate the change from the pre-colonization and colonization time-periods.

Xats'ull Living in Soda Creek and Deep Creek

The Xats'ull population of "status Indians" consists of 281 people living both on and off reserve (Cheevers, Jolly and Griffith, 2001: 1). There are two reserves of the Xats'ull. Deep Creek No. 2, which is located 15km north of Williams Lake and is 4105.8 acres (Xats'ull First Nation). The second reserve is Soda Creek No. 1, which is 1065.2 acres and is located 30km northwest of Williams Lake (Cheevers et.al., 2001: 1).

The Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest is located in the area surrounding Quesnel Lake, which is hunting and fishing grounds for the Xats'ull Nation (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 5). Current First Nations' land-claims cover the area of the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest, however, the community forest's area-based tenure will have no effect on the status of these, or future claims (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 5). The practice of collaboratively managing, rather than competing over resources, can be seen to bridge the gap between the First Nations' and the colonial culture's land-use patterns. Turning to the second community in the case study, an historical and contemporary overview of the Likely community will now be discussed.

History of Likely

The settlement of Likely is a small resource-dependent community of approximately 300 people that is located on Quesnel Lake and Quesnel River. Likely is situated in the centre of the East Cariboo region, which is bounded by the Cariboo Mountains to the east and the Fraser River to the west. Quesnel Lake is the deepest fjord lake in the world and it feeds into the Quesnel River, which, in turn, drains into the Fraser River (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 2).

Likely was originally settled during the Cariboo gold rush that started in 1859 and this settlement is named after John Plato Likely, a gold miner from New Brunswick. The community of Likely has had a resource-based economy since the gold rush, but it has gradually shifted from a mining community in the early colonial period, to an economy based mainly on wood-fibre in contemporary times. By road, Likely is 100km northeast of Williams Lake and it is part of the Horsefly Forest District and Cariboo Forest Region.

The area around Quesnel Lake is classified as Interior Cedar Hemlock biogeoclimatic zone (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd, 1999: 5). This zone has a great variety of coniferous tree species, including: western hemlock, red cedar, engleman spruce, sub alpine fir, Douglas fir and lodgepole pine. The wealth of trees has helped to shape the history of Likely during the Cariboo Gold Rush by providing lumber for buildings and infrastructure (Elliot, xiii: 2000). In contemporary times, this abundance of wood plays a major role in Likely's local economy and the economy of BC. In the 1950s the lumber industry came to Likely and, at its peak of economic prosperity, Likely had three sawmills; however, by 1965 the sawmills had closed and to this day timber harvested in the area is trucked to distant saw mills (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 55).

The community forest extends up the east arm of Quesnel Lake and includes sections of both the Quesnel and Cariboo Rivers. Since the advent of the project, dialogue over management of the community forest has generated community awareness about their "own back yard" (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 1).

The Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd. defines residents of Likely as people who are served by the Likely Post Office (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 28). The community forest members include the people who are residents or landowners who live in between the area of Morehead Lake to Keithley Creek. The membership includes those residents on or near these geographical boundaries who hold a sense of belonging to the community of Likely (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 28). The Xats'ull settlement is not within the boundaries of the community forest, however the land-base of the community forest lies within the territory of the Xats'ull band and all Xats'ull band members are members of the community forest.

Joint History of Likely and Xats'ull

Before colonization, the Secwepemc people forged a sense of connection through their ownership of the area now known as the Cariboo by using resources and having an intimate knowledge of the landscape. When the Gold Rush began in 1859, the Secwepemc way of life was sent into upheaval. "We are only now beginning to appreciate gold rush history from their [First Nations'] perspective and to note their adaptations and contributions to it" (Elliot, 2000: xviii). This is a key quote to recognising how First Nations people have been left out of the history books and how we now have to acknowledge their part in post-contact history.

Although many Secwepemc men and women were armed with guns by the time the gold miners made their way to the Cariboo in 1859, they did not carry out guerrilla attacks on the newcomers as had happened in north-western California and Queensland Australia during the same time period (Elliot, 2000: xviii). There were altercations between the First Nations people and the newcomers in the first years of the Cariboo gold rush, however these conflicts never reached the point where armed miners threatened to destroy First Nations' villages, as happened during the Fraser River gold rush in 1858.

Mutual dependence helped to maintain some sort of equilibrium between the Secwepemc and the gold miners in the Cariboo. Secwepemc men and women gained paid employment packing supplies for merchants. Women earned extra income making moccasins and snowshoes (Elliot, 2000: xvii). Even though much of the history of the Cariboo Gold Rush is based on immigrant men and women who formed the mining communities, Secwepemc men and women were key players in this historical period. They provided the invaluable guides, interpreters, companions and labourers for the gold rush and settlement periods of colonial history. "Native generosity kept many starving miners alive, as they returned empty handed from the goldfields- a fact not widely publicized" (Elliot, 2000: xxii). It is important for all authors working on history to take into account the role that First Nations people have played in history because there is a gap in the historical literature (Elliot, 2000: xxii).

Beset with disease brought from Europe, confronted with violence and introduced to new trade goods such as guns and alcohol, the First Nations' way of life was drastically altered. However, the First Nations' cultures and distinct ways of life were not extinguished. Historically, the multitude of conflicting and dynamic cross-cultural interactions between First Nations and non-First Nations have not been well documented. In this thesis, I am recording the cross-cultural interactions during the start-up and beginning phases (from 1999 to 2006) of the Likely/Xats'ull CFA project to capture the importance of this project at a specific point in time.

Case Study of Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest

The company of Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd. was incorporated in December 1998. This company was formed to carry out non-profit economic activity in the forest resource sector for the benefit of the communities of Likely and the Soda Creek Indian Band (The Society Act Form 2: Constitution, 2004: 2-3). The mission statement of the company is: "Through the collaboration of community members both in Likely and Soda Creek, we intend to create a model multi-use forest that ensures environmental quality, while creating economic opportunities. This forest will become the focal point of community pride" (Gunter, 2004: 79). Their mission statement reveals the ideological goals of the community forest operators and demonstrates how the CFA is to be managed for a range of values.

Input about how to manage the CFA for the interest of the Likely community comes from the Likely Community Forest Society, comprised of seven Likely community members. The society acts in an advisory capacity to three Likely directors appointed to the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors (The Society Act Form 2: Constitution, 2004: 1). The society administers funds for community projects and to community groups. The Likely Community Forest Society holds one class "A" share and the Soda Creek Indian Band holds one class "A" share in the non-profit company of Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd (The Society Act Form 2: Constitution, 2004: 1).

Input from the Xats'ull Band comes from the three Xats'ull members that sit on the board. These three members represent the interests of the Xats'ull community and listen to recommendations from Chief and Council and the community at large. However, the three Xats'ull board members have the final say in all decisions regarding Xats'ull's input in the community forest project; they rely on feasibility studies with regard to potential projects. The three Xats'ull board members distribute CFA funds to community groups and for projects within the community.

The board uses consensus decision-making to balance the different values of the community members (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Society, 2004: 7). In practice, consensus decision-making produces a decision that everyone involved can live with and does not necessarily mean that everyone involved likes the decision (Gunter, 2004: 28). Consensus decision-making is a mechanism that allows for agreements that are more durable because it meets the main interests of the parties involved and further, the participants agree that they can accept the terms (Gunter, 2004: 28). Compared to majority rule decision-making, whereby some parties win and others lose, consensus is seen as more pro-active because an agreement can be made where all parties are accepting the terms. The losing parties in majority rule may try to undermine the outcome or block implementation of the decision and, the board believes that this should not happen with the consensus mechanism (Gunter, 2004: 28). The board works under a policy that emphasizes cooperation and open-communication in all facets of the company's operation.

The community forest proposal was completely compiled through volunteer efforts and the board are volunteering their time to help operate this project (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 1). Before the inception of the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest, the Ministry of Forests representatives came to Likely to assess the level of local interest in the community forest proposal and one third of the Likely community and several Xats'ull members attended the meeting in support of the project (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 62). The start-up funds for Likely came from logging two 500m3 small-scale salvage blocks. A local woodlot licensee wrote the management plan for free and the local mill, Weldwood, did the mapping for free. The Xats'ull Band made a contribution of $5000 (Gunter, 2004: 53). This specific community forest was able to materialize because the different stakeholders in the project came together and cooperated to make the proposal a success.

Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd. submitted a proposal for a CFPA in 1999 asking for an AAC of 22,000 cubic meters a year (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 2). On October 25, 2000, the government accepted the application but could only offer an AAC of 13,000 cubic meters because of an insufficient amount of uncommitted AAC in the in the Horsefly Forest District (letter to Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd. from Forest Minister Wilson, January 9, 2001). For two years, between 2000 and 2002 project organizers negotiated with government and finalized the arrangements for the CFPA. In March 2002, public information sessions were held for the public to view the proposal and learn more about the proposed community forest. These public sessions were successful and the CFPA was issued on March 21, 2003.

As of September 2006, the Likely/Xats'ull board was offered a finalised 25 year CFA of 14,000 hectares of land with a volume of AAC set at 12,000 cubic meters (Ministry of Forests 2002-2004: 2). The original 5 years CFPA is still in effect, and will expire (March of 2008) before the CFA comes into effect. The Likely/Xats'ull general manager is currently negotiating with the Ministry of Forests for an increase to their AAC. Therefore, the final parameters and details of the long-term CFA are not yet known. The process of initiating and implementing a community forest is an extremely time consuming process due to the time it takes for negotiating and finalizing agreements with the provincial government.

The two communities are working together to manage some of the most productive forest in the interior of the province (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 2). However, the community forest has inherited a land-base that was heavily logged in the past through the industrial forest tenure system (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 60). Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest members believe that they can log the remaining forest using different values than industry, "…and in doing so can control their own destiny and maintain a better environment" (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 66). Since there was little or no replanting done by major licensees in the 1960s and 1970s, in a few decades there will not be sufficient standing timber to support the current volume of logging (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 60).

The current beetle infestation in BC is severely affecting the forest industry, which is compounding the problem of not having enough standing timber to support the rate of logging over time. The infestation will have unknown influences on the entire forest sector, but it has been forecast to result in the destruction of 80% of the Lodgepole pine by 2014 (BC First Nations Interim Working Group, 2005: 1). The reduction in available timber will affect the number of jobs available in the forest sector. It is important for communities to be able to diversify into other areas of potential income such as tourism or non-timber forest products.

Likely and Xats'ull have had a history of economic and social instability and the CFA is seen as a welcome opportunity to arrest this trend (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 2). The unemployment rate on the reserve is about 34% while the unemployment rate in Likely is approximately 12% (Statistics Canada, 2001). Members of the board believe that the CFA is helping to stabilize the economy of both communities, while providing more jobs in the area (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest Ltd., 1999: 2). The ability to keep local people employed is seen to increase both communities' sense of well-being and fulfillment (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forests Ltd. 1999: 21). Further, where expertise is lacking in certain areas, outside help is contracted out with the intention of training local people to do the job in the future (Likely/Xats'ull Community Forests Ltd. 1999: 21). Training is an important aspect to help the communities build capacity through work experience.

Conclusion of Context

Community forestry is an avenue for First Nations and non-First Nations forest dependent communities to unite their political agendas with the intention of managing the resource-base over the long-term. The CFA program is highly political and has generated a lot of public and academic dialogue. The cross-cultural aspect of the CFA program demonstrates a paradigm shift from large-scale industrial forestry to small-scale local management. I have demonstrated throughout this chapter that it is not safe to assume that community control will inherently provide more stable communities and more sustainable land-use practices. Communities must be able to respond to both the internal and external challenges met during the start-up and operating phases of a CFA.

There is a complex process happening where each CFA is experiencing a different perspective because of their location and unique circumstances. It is too over-simplified to say that community forestry is the opposite of industrial forestry because this obscures many of the overlapping ways that community forestry is operating within the industrial system. Furthermore, it is not productive to maintain that community forests are part of the existing industrial tenure structure and not explore them because they account for a fraction of the provinces AAC. Alternatives to the status-quo should not be disregarded simply because they are comparatively small. The CFA program has doubled in size since it was introduced in 1998. It is important to recognize there are changes being created in the lived experiences of people in specific locales through this program. The communities of Likely and Xats'ull hope to stabilize their economic, environmental, cultural and political future through the CFA.

The collaborative effort between these places is charting new territory because the CFA has created new social relationships including: a new company, two new community groups that manage the CFA and a new cross-cultural partnership that has never happened before. These relationships are important because the communities have responded in innovative ways to this new policy landscape.

I have demonstrated throughout this chapter that there is an intricate web between, First Nations' political issues, local communities' economic stability as well as concerns over environmental and cultural sustainability. In the next chapter, I will present my original data. I will reveal how a group of individuals from two different cultures, have created their own policies at the local level to navigate this intricate web of political, economic, environmental and social issues. The Likely/Xats'ull CFA members rely on these policies to respond to the unique challenges facing them in their particular locale.

Chapter Four: Analysis

Introduction to Analysis

By investigating the cross-cultural interactions in the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest, I examine how ideological and material realities are intertwined in intricate and sometimes conflicting ways. It is important to understand the complex ways that land is conceptualized and explore how this relates to the "on the ground treatment" of it. My intention during participant-observation and interviewing was to explore how the board members manage the CFA in cross-cultural conditions. I designed the interview questions to explore the perspectives and opinions of the project organizers in order to learn about collaboration strategies and local resource management goals. I learned about the policies that have been developed by the board and relied upon for continued success of the CFA.

To provide a critical evaluation of the methods that allowed me to carry out this original investigation I had to consider the accuracy of information that people provided. To ensure validity, I triangulated the data that I observed during participant-observation with information that I was told during the interviews. I observed the information "in action' that was talked about during the one-on-one interviews. Another fact that attests to the accuracy of the information is that the interviewees read the interview compilations. This gave all members a chance to review what had been said during the entirety of all interviews.

As I analysed the original information gathered at the meetings and during the interviews, I kept asking, how do the two sides deal with and explain difference and how is this project cross-cultural? By continually referring back to these ideas of difference and cross-cultural themes, I was able to keep my focus centred on my research question: How can First Nations and non-First Nations communities work together to manage local land in a way that fosters meaningful cross-cultural partnerships and builds sustainable communities?

In my analysis I have drawn ten themes that the interviewees presented as necessary for making the CFA operational and keeping it going over the long term. These ten themes from my original data, combined with the theoretical ideas that I have used to inform my research, are the information needed to address my research question.

Topics one and two are themes that the research participants have perceived as *precursors* to making the community forest a success. The first topic deals with the board member's sense of connection to the community forest land. I asked about connection because I wanted to know if people felt a relationship to the land and if so, how this was formed. Further, I wanted to know why individuals in the project would volunteer if they did not feel a sense of belonging to the land. The second topic that the interviewees raised as a precursor to the CFA was open communication and how this helped them during the proposal stage. Talking openly allowed the two sides to build trust, enabling them to write a proposal for a CFA and submit it to the government.

The remaining eight themes deal with the topics that were identified by the board members for the successful *continuation* of the project. Topic three is open communication, which the interviewees identified as playing a pivotal role in maintaining trust in the everyday operations of the project. Not only was open communication needed to build the initial rapport before the project was going, it is also relied on to keep the CFA in operation. The fourth topic is difference in cultural perspectives and includes how the board members run the project using different cultural viewpoints. Topic five explains how the board is carrying out cross-cultural knowledge building through exploring differences in cultural perspectives. The sixth topic is how the board relies on running the CFA as a business to keep the project operating. The seventh topic discusses capacity building and diversifying the economy beyond timber harvesting as two key challenges being dealt with by the board. Topic eight examines the benefits that the CFA has provided within each community. These benefits are perceived by the board members as a way to measure the success of the project. Topic nine covers how the board deals with environmental sustainability at the grassroots level, and will be looked at through a cultural lens because it is important to see how cultural perspectives shape ideas about sustainability. The tenth and final topic is well-being, which I first read about in the communities' proposal for this project. If the project was perceived to contribute to community well-being, I wanted a clear explanation of what this meant.

1) A Sense of Connection to the Community Forest Land

Each of the four Xats'ull interviewees live on the reserve at Soda Creek and all of the four Likely interviewees live in the community of Likely. All of the eight people interviewed consider themselves members of their community and they all feel a sense of connection to the community forest land. However, ties to the land are maintained in different ways for members from each community.

For Likely members, the sense of connection comes from living within the boundaries of the community forest and having a sense of belonging in it. One Likely member stated "I look across the lake from my house and there it [the community forest land] is. It is my place of residence and it is part of our community and the land that we live on. I also work in the forest, pick berries, fish, hunt and recreate here." This individual feels concerned about what happens to the land because this directly affects their home, livelihood and ability to use the land for a variety of tasks.

Attachment to a place creates social, material and ideological dimensions as people develop ties to kin and neighbours, buy or rent land and participate in public life as residents of a specific community (Hayden, 1998: 112). The Likely board members expressed their concern for the land resulting from living and recreating, and from having paid employment on the land. Another Likely member said, "I feel a sense of connection to the community forest land because we derive a certain amount of work and have historically, from the land-base."

In comparison, the Xats'ull board members discussed their ties to the community forest through land-use rather than living within the boundaries. Xats'ull members feel a relationship to the land because it is part of their territory. The Xats'ull members expressed feeling connected to the land beyond timber harvesting and its potential to provide paid employment. These members reported being attached to the land by what they leave on the land for future and perpetual use. A Xats'ull member stated:

> "First Nations don't think of harvesting as the only activity in the forest and they manage for cultural aspects. The First Nation's view is that nature manages the forest not, humans. Historically, the forest was seen to have cultural value that was of benefit to all community members."

The Xats'ull want to work on the land in a way that is compatible with their worldview. The Xats'ull Nation maintains that balance will ensure development that is sustainable and in harmony with social, cultural and environmental values (Xats'ull, 2005: 1). For example, the Xats'ull have developed the Xats'ull Land-Use Plan based on traditional-use studies. The goal of this plan is to manage the Xats'ull territory in accordance with the Nations' "…vision of balance between human activity and environmental stewardship, to ensure development that is sustainable and in harmony with social, cultural and environmental values, in perpetuity" (Xats'ull, 2005: 1). Xats'ull's plan for the land and resources demonstrates how they are exerting power to redefine the imperial status quo. Land can be conceptualized as a continually shifting theoretical ground; the power to define what land is and what can be done with it is influenced by who has power to make these decisions. By working together as partners, the two communities are creating new connections to each other and to the land and resources.

2) Open Communication and Building Trust

The second topic for discussion is open communication and how this allowed trust to be built between the two communities. Board members from each community mentioned open communication being associated with the initial stages of deciding whether or not a partnership was possible. Board members discussed how open communication has been the major contributing factor to the successful proposal, start-up and operating phases of the CFA over past seven years (1999-2006). Initially, the people from Likely who were interested in submitting a proposal for a CFPA approached the Xats'ull Nation and asked them if they wanted to partner in order to apply. The Chief and Council agreed and, in 1998, the project organizers from both communities held a meeting in order to get feedback from both communities to the proposed project. Each of the interviewees who were at this initial community meeting talked about it when interviewed. This meeting was the foundational moment when the two communities from different cultures attempted to create a new partnership. The mood of the meeting was described as “awkward” and one interviewee said, “That you could have cut the tension with a knife.” This tension came from the fact that these communities had not worked together before and did not know what to expect from each other.

At the first meeting, some members of the Xats’ull community questioned why they would want to collaborate with Likely because their land-claims covered the area of the community forest. The Xats’ull community project organizers explained that they wanted to share in the benefits that the land provides in terms of jobs, goods and services. Without collaborating with Likely, there was little chance Xats’ull could respond to the demands of drawing up a proposal because many of their community members were already busy with treaty negotiations and developing the Xats’ull Land-Use Plan. Further, the demands of starting up a new business and community organisation and finding trained personnel to work in the forest sector would provide added challenges. All of these factors contributed to Xats’ull and Likely needing to collaborate in order to be granted a CFPA.

The Likely board members talked about their community’s initial uncertainties about collaborating. Some questioned working together with Xats’ull because they did not know them and had never been involved with them before. Others voiced concern because they worried about what the land-claims process meant for landowners in Likely. Project organizers from each community had to explain that the proposed community forest land is Xats’ull territory, which made collaborating the only equitable option. Since colonization, the non-First Nation population has used the land that the Xats’ull own and governed pre-contact to the exclusion of the First Nation. Organizers explained that the land-claims would not affect private land and that the only opportunity that Likely had to govern the land was through this partnership with Xats'ull. The provincial government only considers applications with meaningful First Nations consultation (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 72). By applying for a CFA, these two communities were agreeing to wrestle with large political issues and the lack of human skills needed to participate in local land management. Local communities have traditionally been relegated to the margins of the forest industry as workers, not allowing them to build resource management skills.

One Xats'ull elder talked about how he perceived the Likely community as "afraid" of the land-claims process during this initial meeting. He explained Xats'ull's position in the following excerpt during an interview:

> "I am not here to take your land, I am here to share the land, which you people haven't done before. It was all shut out to us. We weren't allowed in the logging, we weren't allowed in the joint-ventures. I don't care where you want to live, but come to the realization that we were here first. My ancestors were here and give us the recognition of that. I don't want your back-yard, I don't want your house. You can have all of that - just give me the economic tools to develop my community and to help our people to strive forward. Not from government handouts, but from something that we earned as a people."

Similar statements were reportedly made at the first meeting that reassured Likely members that the Xats'ull members were not making land-claims over their private property. This dialogue demonstrates how individuals are negotiating cross-cultural understandings of land, forestry and culture at the local level. The individual who said this is exercising resistance to the status quo, through openly communicating what he wants for his people. An example like this shows how postcolonialism is a continuous process of resistance and reconstruction that is carried out as individuals act. Xats'ull want to share in the economic wealth that the Likely community have benefited from, while the Likely community wants to have more autonomy over the local land-base that has been managed by large corporations.

After the initial meeting, both communities had a greater appreciation of what the other community wanted. One Likely member stated:

> "The Soda Creek Band want the land issue settled, but they don't come across really aggressively with it. They told us, that they are the same as we are with regard to wanting a localized business venture and they said that the two sides should not get hung up on all the big political issues."

The initial meeting helped to set the stage for the proposal writing and submission to the government. With the support of the communities at large, the volunteers who were working on the proposal and trying to get the CFA established could move forward. Open communication helped at the initial phase of the community forest proposal and it has been the main strategy for maintaining trust between the two sides ever since. By speaking openly and honestly, conflict and misunderstanding has been kept to a minimum.

3) Open Communication and Maintaining Trust

Open communication played a large role in the initial proposal stage of the project and it continues to play a part in maintaining the relationship of trust that allows the project to continue. An illustrative example from the interviews shows how problems were solved through open dialogue. After the CFPA was awarded in 1999, initially some Xats'ull members felt that too many of the decisions were being made "out there" in Likely, and they felt that they needed to be equally involved in decision-making. They perceived this problem as resulting from a lack of communication. They brought this issue up at a board meeting and insisted that Xats'ull be equally involved in the decision-making.

Likely members did not realize that the Xats'ull members felt this way or that the decision-making was perceived as unequal. They did not intend this to happen and assured them that in the future Xats'ull would be involved in every detail of the project. From this point forward, the policy was that Likely and Xats'ull board members made all decisions together equally. One Xats'ull member perceived the relationship between the two sides after this problem as "more developed" because of the time taken to talk about the concerns and the solution of making sure everyone was involved in decision-making. Board members used the phrase "keeping everything on the table" to describe how they manage the forest cooperatively through openly communicating.

The community forest is providing a context in which individuals from each community are building new relationships between the cultures, communities and individuals. A member from Likely said, "problems would have caused it [the project] to fold by now, and everyone wants this to succeed." This demonstrates how the policy of responding to conflicts as they arise through a system of continual open dialogue is an effective way to deal with differences in opinion. The board members are creating new realities and resisting outdated notions of race and culture by actively participating in the project.

In the next section, I will discuss how the board members deal with the reality of cultural difference. At this point, I would like to reiterate that I designed my research project with the intention of finding out first, *how* the community forest is cross-cultural.

Second, I wanted to discover *if* the First Nations and non-First Nations have different perspectives, and if so, *how* these perspectives differ and *how* the two sides negotiate the collaborative project with differences.

4) Dealing with Different Cultural Perspectives

Cross-cultural management of the forest allows for different meanings about "land" and "ownership" of resources to be explored and negotiated. When questioned about cultural perspectives all the non-First Nations that I interviewed perceived that First Nations peoples have different perspectives on issues such as land and ownership. Difference is seen in terms of First Nations having a more communal view of the land and ownership of it. One Xats'ull member stated "First Nations look at things more holistically. You can't take everything out…you can't cut all the trees down. We are more tied to the land with our cultural values." Another member discussed the ownership issue by saying:

> "We want a share in the land. You guys are logging it, you got the jobs, you pay the taxes so that the government can be rich and we are losing out on it. All we want is a share in it. The white community, they have the security. They can walk into a bank and ask for a bank loan, whereas, I have to get a ministerial guarantee before I can get a bank loan. This frustrates people, because people have been struggling for years and years. I don't own my house, I can't use it for collateral. Indian affairs owns it, I don't own this land [on the reserve], I can't use it for collateral. I am just borrowing it from the federal government."

This quote speaks to the complex dynamic where non-First Nations culture is perceived as over-harvesting the land and benefiting from it, while the First Nation is seen as wanting to preserve the land, but still to benefit economically from it. A balancing is taking place where both sides are creating a common ground so that they can both benefit from the resources economically, but also preserve the land and steward it better than industry and the government have in the past. However to achieve this, both sides need to expand their ability to respond to the challenges of operating and managing a CFA using cross-cultural local values, while at the same time making enough money to keep the business operating.

When asked about sustainability, the First Nation approach was seen to be on a "slower timescale" than non-First Nations because they want to leave resources on the land for perpetual use. Perceived differences between First Nations and non-First Nations were talked about by each side as being in tune with the community forest objectives of providing resources beyond timber and for many years in perpetuity. Wanting to provide economically for community sustainability, while also ensuring environmental sustainability shows how culture is created through a process as individuals share and negotiate multiple and overlapping socially based interpretations. This cross-cultural construction will be discussed further in the next section on cross-cultural knowledge building.

It is too simplistic to say First Nations want to preserve the land and non-First Nations want to harvest all of the resources. The Xats'ull members explained how they are bridging the gap between two cultural perspectives by maintaining their cultural values in the modern economic context. Using postmodern-feminism we can look at this as an ideological contestation because of conflicting ideals of making money and providing economic needs, while also wanting to preserve the land for ecological considerations. The result of merging traditional and modern ways of being is a forever shifting theoretical landscape. As individuals act and speak out in different ways, it challenges the status quo and produces new knowledges that sometimes position ancient knowledge within the contemporary context (Ashcroft et.al., 1995: 213).

Xats'ull members are synthesizing their First Nation's knowledge about the land into mainstream industrial resource management in two important ways. The first involves the knowledge that elders have about the area. The community forest is seen as a welcome opportunity for elders to pass on traditional knowledge. However, the First Nation's perspective is not to be interpreted as a relic from the past; the knowledge that the elders have about land-use has historical roots and contemporary applications. Xats'ull elders educate youth about traditional ecological knowledge in the Likely area. For example, Spanish Mountain is a site for berry picking and Quesnel Lake is a fishing site. A Xats'ull member pointed out, some of the elders "do not get around so easily anymore." Because of this, students are given the opportunity to learn from the elders in the classroom and at home. The students can then go to the community forest and apply what they learned from the elders. By taking part in the CFA, the Xats'ull citizens are learning skills related to traditional use, building a bridge between past and present.

The second way the First Nation's knowledge is being synthesized into the status quo is with the Xats'ull Land-Use Plan, which regulates the multiple-uses that take place in the forest. These multiple uses include: industrial and small-scale silviculture, eco-tourism, skiing, mining, ranching and use of the waterways for recreation. One Xats'ull member perceives retaining the First Nation's cultural values as a challenge in the face of so many competing interests in the forest.

> "The need for cultural value is hard to retain because of the many different people with the many different uses for the forest. There is eco-tourism, skiing, mining, ranching etc. so with these varying

> uses and activities it is becoming a struggle to maintain First Nation cultural value when economic value plays such a key role."

There is a complicated dynamic where, on one hand, diversity in the forest is seen as a threat to the First Nation's cultural values, as discussed in the quote above. On the other hand, the board is striving for diversification because it allows the forest to be seen as valuable beyond its ability to produce wood fibre.

There is a perception in the Xats'ull community that the CFA is only contributing to a select few people who are able to benefit from the project because they have logging equipment or forestry related skills. The fact that major economic benefits are perceived as only happening to those members on the reserve with forestry experience demonstrates the complicated process of trying to diversify beyond logging while, at the same time, getting more Xats'ull members trained in forestry related positions.

Diversifying allows employment opportunities to be created in fields other than silviculture, which will strengthen local employment. To address this struggle of retaining Xats'ull's cultural values in the face of economic necessity, the profits from the CFA are used to create employment opportunities in areas that are attuned with the First Nation's goals, as well as community-based local initiatives. These include, fisheries enhancement, recreation, tourism, non-timber forest products, research and education.

In 2004, each community was allocated one thousand dollars to advertise their communities in tourist magazines. Also in 2004, a two-day workshop called "Seeing the Forest Beneath the Trees" was held to educate community members in how to utilize non-timber forest products for business opportunities. In 2006, a survey was carried out over the course of three months where anglers in the area were interviewed about how many fish they caught, their size, weight and species. This data was collected for presenting to the Ministry of Environment about fish stocks in the Quesnel River. These three examples demonstrate how the board is developing strategies to create employment, while at the same time addressing cultural concerns. The board is developing policy that addresses local economic needs as well as local cultural concerns; cross-cultural knowledge building is taking place through this local policy development.

5) Cross-Cultural Knowledge Building

The Likely board members discussed how they have been able to develop more of an understanding about how the Xats'ull members experience the world. Xats'ull's participation in the land-claims process and the dynamics of living on the reserve are two areas with which the non-First Nations community have become more familiar. Likely members also discussed the unique set of challenges that the First Nation members experience. For example, citizens on the reserve do not have the same access to gaining employment as the citizens in the Likely community because of living on the reserve. For Xats'ull members, the issue of gaining access to employment from the CFA is compounded by the fact that not everyone has a vehicle or a driver's licence. These challenges have a cultural side because they are unique to the First Nations due to their particular historical and contemporary experiences of colonization.

Members from each community discussed sharing knowledge and building knowledge as a benefit of the CFA. One First Nations elder described using Xats'ull knowledge about the landscape as a way of "…catching our culture by believing something from our culture. And we can learn something from your community like teaching our younger band members how to operate machinery…it's a trade off."

The way that Xats'ull's knowledge is being synthesized into mainstream forestry is building a reciprocal relationship between two cultural paradigms. At the same time, this community's perspective is being influenced and altered as they become more involved with the resource management happening on the landscape. The CFA is reaffirming the importance of Xats'ull's knowledge about stewarding the environment. Operating the CFA in a way that allows both worldviews to be utilized involves policies that minimize conflict. Running the CFA as a business and keeping large political issues from disrupting the project are policies that the board relies on to keep conflict to a minimum.

6) Running the Community Forest as a Business

The board members rely on the policy of consensus-based decision-making, rather than majority rule to solve the problem of conflict between members. There have been instances when a single member had a problem with an item on the agenda so they decided to withdraw from the discussion. For example, a member was strongly opposed to the amount of money that would have to be spent on a particular service, so that member abstained from the conversation. Individuals perceived the above-mentioned conflict as a "personal" difference of opinion rather than a "cultural" difference in opinion.

Another factor the board members described as a policy for keeping the conflict to a minimum is "separating the business from the politics." This means that Chief and Council and Chamber of Commerce do not take part in the everyday operations of the CFA. Having a separate board of directors to run the CFA allows the two sides to develop policy and regulations that are specific to the project. The Likely/Xats'ull board of directors only deals with the CFA project, whereas the Soda Creek Chief and Council and the Likely Chamber of Commerce have many responsibilities within their communities. The board members feel that having a separate governing body to manage the CFA allows for minimizing conflict.

All of the board members talked about how running the project as a business is a way to "keep the politics out", however, what is happening is a new political relationship is being created between the two cultures. The board relies on the policy of not focusing attention on the past in a way that hinders movement into the future; in their opinion, this has been a very effective political strategy.

The non-First Nations members discussed how treaty and land-claims are important recognition of First Nations rights. One Likely member stated, "we have to recognize that there are First Nation rights in our area and we feel, as a community, that we should accommodate those rights. They have as much right to the land-base and resources as we do." The CFA is seen as an important step in recognizing First Nations rights, however, it is not seen as the appropriate place to deal with the large political issues. The two communities are recognizing the realities of the past and building a new relationship through collaboration. The two sides are working together to solve the issue of capacity for the Xats'ull band members so that they can respond equally to the employment opportunities provided by the CFA.

7) Capacity Building

The capacity of the Xats'ull Band is perceived as a primary challenge for sharing the employment opportunities equally between the two communities. When the interviewees discussed capacity, they were talking about the ability of First Nations to respond equally to the employment opportunities that the CFA affords. These opportunities include gaining employment through different channels. One way that the community forest provides employment is to give people seasonal jobs such as tree planting and cone picking. Another way that people can gain employment is as logging contractors.

Xats'ull began this partnership with two disadvantages in these areas. Firstly, Likely has more people trained in forestry and secondly, Xats'ull only has one logging contractor and Likely has several. Some Xats'ull community members have gained employment through the community forest, however, there is an uneven ability for the Xats'ull to take on work in the same capacity as Likely. The government created the CFA policy to encourage communities to become directly involved in local forest management through silviculture crews, contracting for forest management services and other forest related activities (Penikett, 2006: 213). However, it is difficult for communities to respond to the opportunities because of the limited human skills. Industry's concentrated control in the forest sector has made it difficult for local communities to build capacity in all aspects silviculture. Likely and Xats'ull are faced with building their communities' capacity to respond to the challenge of providing qualified individuals for every aspect of local land management.

A factor that exacerbates this challenge is that the Xats'ull community is located over an hour drive away from the community forest. Not only is the Xats'ull community at a disadvantage due to the lack of qualified people to respond to work, but also the people who can work have a disadvantage of having to commute daily or spend the night in Likely. Location has created a unique challenge for this community to share work and access to the opportunities generated by the CFA. Given that the project is an equal partnership, the board of directors must focus on how to provide equally for each community. The members on the board of directors have responded to this challenge by creating the following three strategies to aid in developing human skills.

The first strategy that has been successfully used is compensating Xats'ull workers for their driving time and gas money to travel to and from work. A second strategy, that has been proposed but not implemented, involves hiring a contractor from Williams Lake to train Xats'ull community members in an aspect of silviculture. This contractor could pick up the Xats'ull members from the reserve on the way to Likely in the morning and drop them off in the evening. This strategy would provide a two-fold benefit because individuals would be able to build capacity by learning new skills and the Xats'ull members would be able to travel to the job-site. However, this strategy is problematic because after the training was over, and the contractor was finished the training, transportation would still be an issue.

A third strategy that has been proposed is to develop a forest project closer to the Xats'ull community. One idea was to have a sawmill on the Xats'ull reservation that utilized the materials of the community forest. A feasibility study is being conducted on this idea. During an interview, one Xats'ull member talked about how the potential to develop small business ventures such as the sawmill would not have been able to happen without CFA.

Beyond Xats'ull members learning forestry related skills, the community forest is creating opportunities for both communities to diversify beyond timber production. Diversifying beyond forestry is a demonstration of how the project is managed more in line with holistic land-use practices and traditional ecological knowledge. Diversification from a timber-based economy to one that includes different non-timber forest products is seen as a possible strategy. The Xats'ull community wants to create jobs closer to their community. Some of their ideas are: building a nursery to grow forest-seedlings, creating community gardens or expanding tours to the historic sites. These ideas have only been discussed and not implemented because feasibility studies need to be conducted before any new project is started.

8) Benefits that the Community Forest has provided for the Communities

I will examine the benefits that the community forest has provided to show how this project has helped each settlement build a more stable community. The community forest tenure allows for a development plan based on the multiple resources found in the forest ecosystem and involves local level decisions about these resources. Likely and Xats'ull have perceived benefits from the community forest resulting in access to money for small community projects. These projects exemplify how the CFA is providing economic as well as social gains that were not available when industrial forest management was taking place.

The Likely community has wanted to carry out projects like this for a long time, but did not have the funds to do so before the CFA. One project was getting firewood for poor people, elderly, single mothers and other people who cannot get their own winter-wood very easily. For another project, elementary school children were taken out to the community forest to plant trees on logging landings. Revenue from the community forest also helped to purchase a stretcher and fuel for the first-responder vehicle. Public washrooms were built and the Likely Museum has become operational with community forest money. Small projects not only provide employment but they also help build amenities in the community. “We aren’t making millions, but I can see a difference in the small projects. Every small step is a big move towards something.”

In comparison, the CFA has generated money for the Xats’ull community to sponsor social activities like sending the elders from the community to the National Elders Gathering in Prince George. The community forest has helped with this since 1999 and it allows people to go that could not afford to go otherwise. Using funds from the CFA, a blade was purchased to plough every Xats’ull resident’s driveway in the winter. Further, plywood was bought to build fish-camp smokehouses and restore the road down to some fishing sites.

Funds have also been used to sponsor the “Save the Salmon Pow-wow” in Horsefly and to donate to community groups like the Parenting Group. The CFA also provided revenue for training opportunities for youth within the community forest itself and to create a summer work program for students. These projects are seen as socially and culturally important because they are allowing people to participate in cultural events that could not normally afford to. Further, by maintaining the road to a fishing site and building smokehouses it is making it easier for individuals to harvest food.

Interviewees from each side explained that it is too soon to tell if the CFA is going to be a long-lasting success. In their opinion, the communication and understanding that the community forest has created is seen as a major accomplishment. Because the non-First Nations have not had to share in the resources with First Nations before, this project is seen as a way to achieve a healthy relationship between the two sides. Xats’ull board members talked about how this project has helped people in both communities work through issues of guilt and animosity. The Xats'ull board members perceive the non-First Nations as experiencing guilt over the mistreatment of the First Nations since contact. First Nations are perceived to experience animosity against non-First Nations over this same issue. Some of the Xats'ull members talked about how these feelings of guilt and animosity are being overcome through sharing in the land and resources as equal partners. The two cultures have created a relationship that allows them to have a common goal of building sustainable communities and managing the land and resources in a sustainable way.

9) Sustainability at the Local Level

Likely and Xats'ull are concerned with the long-term integrity of the forest for ecological reasons because this will have an effect on the long-term economic sustainability of their communities. Through linking both social and economic concerns, healthy human and ecological systems can be attained (Kusel, 2003: xvii). Sustainability of the environment links to the continued sustainability of the communities themselves.

The board deals with the issue of environmental sustainability by practicing strategies that go beyond what the government sets. In 2005, the board ordered 250,000 tree-seedlings for cut blocks that, under regulation, did not require planting. Xats'ull members that work for the natural resources department on the reserve conducted another sustainability project through plant rehabilitation. If a medicinal plant found in an area is not doing well, more of this plant is transplanted to rehabilitate the area.

The board also deals with the issue of sustainability by carrying out Archaeological Impact Assessments (AIA). The archaeologists look at maps and try to determine where there are probable traditional use sites, and then instruct harvesters to stay out of specific areas. Both of these practices are helping to maintain cultural as well as environmental sustainability. Some members of the board feel that more environmental sustainability projects would be beneficial, such as cleaning metal and old mining debris out of the Quesnel River. However, both the stumpage costs and the prices that the mills are paying affect profits, which in turn affect how much revenue is available for environmental projects. This demonstrates how CFAs are still influenced by large industrial forest practices; the government and industrial forest companies still hold power over the land and resources. However, by acting locally and building the human skills needed to manage the resources, the Likely/Xats'ull directors are exerting autonomy over the land, while demonstrating that they have the capacity to carry out local land management.

The board manages the forest more sustainably than the major licensees (who practice clear-cutting) through practicing selective logging strategies. One selective logging policy is "fir reserve", which harvests pine and spruce trees and leaves the fir standing. Another policy is "single-tree selection", where only select trees are harvested, and the rest are left standing for future harvests. This method allows for more "retention" (which is the trees left standing) than if the major licensees had the tenure. Industry has the capacity to extract resources at a faster pace than the community can. Industry would be able to come into the community from elsewhere, build roads, clear-cut, plant trees, and then deactivate the roads and move to another huge tract of land in a much shorter period. Using this management plan, the only *value* of the forest is seen in terms of wood fibre, disregarding the values of biodiversity, recreation, spirituality and cultural concerns (Bunnell and Kremsater, 2003: 87; Peel, 1991: 6). Further, when industry and government were doing all of the land management the local communities did not have the opportunity to develop skills for managing the land.

Presently, the board members are dealing with the mountain pine beetle epidemic. The beetles are causing an anomaly in harvesting practices; the community forest is going to be over-harvested because the dead pine needs to be removed while it is still merchantable. Over-harvesting is affecting allowable annual cut; due to the beetle epidemic, the community forest has already harvested 80,000 cubic meters in the last three years when the regular AAC is 12,000 cubic meters a year. This uplift in the AAC is creating a situation where the forest is not being "managed" by the board as much as they would like because they are "mopping up" after the infestation.

The board would like to get the opportunity to explore different land-use strategies such as cutting fir in a mule deer winter range, but they have not had the opportunity yet because they have "been chasing beetles." However, by focusing mostly on harvesting the infected pine trees and leaving some fir and spruce, as well as animal corridors, the board can influence the impact of logging on the landscape. During an interview, one Xats'ull elder discussed how managing a mule deer winter range would be beneficial for animals and the people from both communities who rely on them for meat. Managing the land from the local level demonstrates how the land-base and people are part of the same system. If one part of the system is out of balance, then the effects are felt in the rest of the system.

10) Well-being

The Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest proposal (1998) talked about how the community forest will "add to each communities' well-being." I wondered, what does this mean? I asked the interviewees how they planned on working towards this goal.

Board members from each community described community well-being as linked to people's access to employment opportunities, social amenities and the communities' ability to realize self-determination. Likely members discussed how employment opportunities and community improvement projects are giving people a sense of living in an active place and this is strengthening attachment to the community. Attachment to place influences the inhabitants' treatment of it, illustrating the link between ideological and material realties. The idea of being attached influences people's desire to have power over what activities take place. In turn, increased independence over decision-making further solidifies the sense of having a bond to the land and creates more sustainable communities (Hammond, 1991: 43).

Every Likely board member expressed concerns over stable employment. Employment is a major issue, because when individuals are forced to go away to work the result is less money spent at local businesses and fewer citizens around to participate in community events. In some cases, when individuals go away for work, they move away permanently from Likely, taking their families with them and this dramatically affects the already small population and the enrolment level in the local school. One Likely interviewee stated:

> "I think that an individual's mental and spiritual well-being is affected by their employment and whether or not they can keep their families together in this small town and stay local. Now there is a shortage of kids in the school, people are taking their kids into

> town [Williams Lake]. So, if we can slow that process down and keep more of the people here, it will contribute to the community's well-being. If we don't have kids in the community we don't have much of a community."

The individual in this quote is outlining the intricate relationship between land, employment through the land and the subsequent issue of community sustainability. Without access to resources, there is no work; without employment, people move away and the community is weakened. The well-being of a community hinges on each person's welfare. A sustainable community can empower itself by being economically self-reliant, by effectively responding to challenges through community-based decision-making and by making sound environmental decisions (Gahin, Velvena and Hart, 2002: 661). The Likely board members gain a sense of autonomy over community interests through developing strategies to keep people employed.

Community well-being is also fostered when people feel respected, friendly and neighbourly toward each other. Further, the relationship that has developed between the two communities is seen as a measurement of intra-community well-being. One Likely member stated:

> "It has brought us closer to the First Nation of Soda Creek and given us a better understanding of their needs. There have been friendships made between the two communities, not only just with the board, who meet on a monthly basis, but with community members as well. The ability to work on projects with Soda Creek has enriched our community well-being in Likely. Having the money spent locally is a real benefit. We wouldn't have the extra money in this community if the land-base was still managed by the provincial government, either directly or by a major licensee. The profit wouldn't stay here, it would be gone."

Likely board members talked about getting to know and understand the Xats'ull community better and building a rapport between the two sides as a contribution to well-being between the two sides. The community forest has created a sense of openness and connection between the two communities that did not exist before the project. The board members are planning to set up a summer camp for the Xats'ull members to stay in Likely, in order to promote relationship building between the two communities.

Board members from Xats'ull defined community well-being as coming from people having personal well-being through employment. One Xats'ull member stated:

> "Employment builds up a sense of spiritual well-being because if people are working and contributing, they feel more fulfilled. Community well-being has been created by access to employment opportunities and this has also built stronger relationships between our two communities. The community forest is a good example of how we can work together. There have been economic, financial and social aspects to working together and now we are able to share culture."

The community forest has also contributed by solidifying relationships within the Xats'ull community. In the past, only a few select people would be hired when employment was available. To relieve tension in the community, the Xats'ull board members now hire a wider array of people than in the past.

> "Hiring people from different families helps to dispel infighting and bring the members of the core families together. It is slowly helping to develop more of a sense of community. Distributing the work differently benefits more people. Before the list of people who received work was about 4 and now it is up to 15. This strategy helps build community confidence."

The new social policy described above is being used to ease tension between the dominant families of the Xats'ull who compete for power on the reserve, helping to dispel infighting and strengthen community relations.

Xats'ull board members discussed how individuals need to have a sense of wellness in order to have community well-being. Wellness comes when people learn to think more positively not negatively. Having a community that wants to work together, get along and cooperate is needed for well-being. One board member stated that for a community to have well-being "…we need to look after each other; stop saying *mine* and start saying *ours*." By focusing on group instead of individual interests, a sense of community is being fostered.

Likely and Xats'ull are intent on developing policies for sustaining community well-being, which involves other factors of measuring quality of life that reach beyond economic prosperity based on resource extraction. Rather than continually going through the cycle of boom and bust that was created and maintained by reliance on industrial forestry, these two communities are developing new ways of thinking about forest health and diversifying the economy for long-term community well-being.

Conclusion to Analysis

Xats'ull and Likely are actively negotiating a new relationship with the land, based on resource management goals that combine traditional ecological knowledge with the dominant economic paradigm. Doing volunteer and paid work for the project has deepened the board member's sense of belonging to the community forest land and further, has built relationships between the communities. Xats'ull is playing an active role in the land-base through paid employment and natural resource management over an area that they have not governed since before colonial settlement. Individuals from both communities are developing skills through paid employment and volunteer work that will allow them to reap more benefits from the CFA as the skill-level and experience increases.

The board members rely on a policy of running the CFA as a business by "keeping politics off of the table", which they say decreases conflict. I have demonstrated how "keeping politics off the table" is in actuality creating a new political relationship between the two cultures. Success would not have been achievable thus far, if there were conflicts between the board members over contentious issues, such as the colonial past and issues of land ownership and resource use.

Although conflict is at a minimum, board members expressed concern over equalizing the access to opportunities and employment provided by the project. The Xats'ull community is at a disadvantage because of their location and because members from Xats'ull do not have the same capacity as the Likely members to respond to employment opportunities. The board has tried to combat this uneven distribution of work and of access to opportunity through strategies to help Xats'ull members build capacity.

The continuation of this CFA rests upon what takes place as the project is being facilitated. Continued research into this particular case study and the provincial program as a whole will give policy makers and other local communities insight into the cross-cultural aspects of community forestry. Producing a situated knowledge where particularity is the desired outcome has helped me to document what is happening at this particular point in time and in this specific locale.

The provincial policy of the CFA has spurred the development of cross-cultural policy at the local level, which has not only influenced relationships between cultures, but has also influenced the management of the local environment. These two sides have figured out that operating under the policies of "keeping politics out" and "keeping everything on the table" has lead to actions that rely on open communication and making all decisions as equal partners. Although the Likely and Xats'ull communities have their unique circumstances tied to their particular geographical location, the strategies and policies that they have developed can be applied to other locations. Other communities from around BC have asked to use the Likely/Xats'ull proposal as a template for their own CFA proposals. This testifies to the ability for local communities to share knowledge and resources with one another. The board members also see the interest in their proposal as a way to draw people into their project area. The CFA is encouraging new ways of thinking about and interacting with the land-base and with other communities around the province. Land-use is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that is linking the needs and values of First Nations and non-First Nations communities together in the context of the Community Forest Agreement.

Conclusion to The Cross-Cultural Collaboration of the Community Forest

The Community Forest Agreement program in BC is enabling local forest dependent First Nations and non-First Nations communities to have more control over the local land-base. Likely and Xats'ull members are managing their project using community values and concerns about this specific parcel of land. These communities' cultural values are connected with environmental and economic considerations. The fact that the board is composed of community members ensures that they are accountable to the community at large. Studying the cross-cultural collaboration in this project is a way to bridge the gap between First Nations and non-First Nations communities in new and dynamic ways. Individuals from each community are building new relationships and creating a new social reality by actively participating in the project.

Managing from the grassroots, the board members are setting an example of what can be accomplished when input from people who are attached to the land are involved in the decision-making over it. Policy development at the local level has generated distinctive solutions to local challenges. However, these particularities can be applied to larger topics and issues. The board is laying the foundation for stabilized local control of the forest with *all* of its inherent values. The individuals that are working collaboratively on the Likely/Xats'ull CFA are focusing on similarities as well as common goals and interests that can be improved through the cross-cultural work.

Traditionally, cross-cultural work involved looking into 'difference and otherness', two categories that for the past several hundred years have been linked to rule and domination. Anthropologists are now rightly suspicious of the categories of ‘difference and otherness’ that contribute to domination and denigration of colonized societies (Dirks, Ely and Ortner, 1994: 37). However, a new tradition of cross-cultural work can be generated by writing ethnography in a way that affirms the voices of both cultures and does not rely on an, ‘us’ and ‘them’ representation. During this investigation, I have gained a better understanding of human cooperation in the context of cross-cultural work by focusing on *how* the individuals from the two communities share common interests and work through issues of difference in order to manage the CFA.

Investigating the similarities and common interests does not deny the fact that First Nations and non-First Nations cultures may be rife with cultural differences. ‘Difference’ may be part of the actual experience of the individuals working within the project, but it should not be a preconceived notion that assumes First Nations and non-First Nations ‘sides’ are homogeneous and mutually exclusive groups prior to the investigation (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 132). Politics of difference can allow for a complex and diverse ‘we’ category within and between the two cultures as long as the breadth and scope of the differences are not assumed before the analysis. Listening to the actor’s perceptions and experiences within this concept of ‘difference’ is a more useful starting point than a preset idea of how the two sides differ from one another. As a result of the CFA, local communities are coming together to work through issues of difference in order to manage the land cooperatively. These communities’ have struggled to gain power over their land-base, and now that they have more control, they are faced with a unique set of challenges. They are responsible for not only dealing with environmental and economic goals but are also being relied on to deal with difficult cultural and social issues.

At the time of writing this thesis, the government is relying on the CFA to address the public's resistance to industrial forest management and to facilitate a good working relationship between First Nations and non-First Nations by encouraging cooperation at the local level. By having all parties directly involved in forestry at the local level, the government hopes to maintain forestry jobs, provincial revenue and economic stability, while encouraging cooperation between the different stakeholders (Penikett, 2006: 210). The government is using community forest policy in BC to address issues of local land management and cross-cultural cooperation between First Nations and non-First Nations.

Using the CFA, the government is dealing with First Nations' political issues by connecting local communities' economic stability with concerns over environmental and cultural sustainability. First Nations peoples have experienced economic and social injustices at the hands of non-First Nations peoples. Rural non-First Nations and First Nations communities have experienced inequalities because they have been denied the ability to manage local land, and they have been relegated to the margins as workers of industrial forestry. Due to public resistance to industrial forestry, community groups have been given more local control over their land-base; however, the long-term effects of this new tenure are still unclear.

The notion of resistance has informed my research question by allowing me to examine how the shift from industrial forestry to community forestry is influencing local autonomy over the land-base. First Nations and non-First Nations are working together to exert power over the land and resources. Through actively negotiating meaning, the Likely/Xats'ull board is creating a postcolonial way of interacting with one another, which, in turn, is affecting the natural environment. Postcolonialism has allowed me to validate the multitude of voices and perspectives in the research setting in order to show how cultural reality is constructed as the board members interact with one another to manage the CFA. Using postcolonialism, I have illustrated how the CFA is a place to exert First Nations knowledge about the land base and have the power to create a new relationship with the land in partnership with a non-First Nations community.

CFA holders are managing their community forest land using different values and not relying exclusively on merchantable timber. The land is being managed using First Nations and non-First Nations perspectives rather than moulding the land-use into an economically determined system of industrial forestry. However, the CFA program has not been in operation long enough to tell if this new tenure is being managed in a way that is more environmentally sustainable than industrial forestry. The communities have more power over what takes place on the land, yet they are still entrenched in the dominant system of industrial forestry. This is why it is not safe to assume that CFA's will inherently achieve stable communities and sustainable forest practices, because the communities may not have the ability to do so (Bradshaw, 2003: 146; Krogman and Beckley, 2002: 124; McCarthy, 2006: 86).

Likely/Xats'ull, Eskeetemc and Burns Lake are three examples of communities that are managing some aspects of their CFA in line with industrial forestry, while at the same time managing for values that are defined by the community. Research into different locations will add to the knowledge base of how diverse landscapes and groups of people in BC are experiencing the CFA policy in a multitude of ways. The eleven CFAs that are operating as of 2006 have varied and uneven experiences due to the variety of social contexts. However, one common denominator is that the *social value* of the forest in BC is changing. This change demonstrates how ideological constructs influence the direction of policy, which affects the land-base and the people who rely on it. To study this shift in the social value of the land, I used face-to-face data collection in order to build local theory about how two communities with separate cultural, historical and contemporary lived experiences, can come together and manage the land-base as equal partners.

By using participant-observation, my investigation moved from the experiential realm of events, behaviours and interactions between people to the more theoretical realm of questions and assumptions about why people act in specific ways and the meanings that they ascribe to these actions. In turn, by merging my original fieldwork with information gathered through the literature review, I have been able to combine theoretical ideas with the physical circumstances of community forestry. This reciprocal process has provided me with a methodology whereby continually oscillating between theory and practice has allowed me to present a holistic account of community forestry, from its historical roots in the province to its contemporary form.

I have illustrated how the historical roots of community forestry can be traced back to the 1940s and how during this time the province became ensconced in the industrial model of forestry. I discussed how the CFA was not introduced as an official tenure until 1998 in order to show how the industrial model still informs the current situation where communities are vying for local control. The CFA program demonstrates a shift from large-scale industrial forestry to small-scale local management; however, this shift is not a standardized and consistent experience for all parties involved. For a community forest to be a success, extensive community involvement and government support are crucial but to what extent the government needs to help in each case will vary. As I have demonstrated, the outmoded tenure regime is causing problems for the success of this program because land that is not already tied up in industrial forest tenure is hard to find. New provincial policy that is aimed at reallocating land from the large industrial licensees to the small tenure holders, although a slow process, is addressing this need for policy reform.

Research participants discussed a complex dynamic where industry and government are seen as the representatives of non-First Nations culture who are perceived as over-harvesting the land and benefiting from it at the expense of other stakeholders. This perception creates a dichotomy between non-First Nations government and industry on the one hand and the rural First Nations and non-First Nations resource dependent communities on the other hand. This picture becomes more convoluted when considering that non-First Nations communities are the ones who have been more involved in the industrial process as workers and benefited economically from the land and resources; creating a dichotomy between non-First Nations being the beneficiaries of income from the land and First Nations being excluded. The board members perceive the CFA as a way for First Nations and non-First Nations to steward the land and overcome the "us versus them" mentality by focusing on common goals and interests.

The Likely/Xats'ull board is redefining land-use by creating a strategy where both sides can benefit from the resources economically, while managing for different values; stewarding the resources better than industry and the government have in the past. Board members perceive the First Nation approach to be on a "slower timescale" than the non-

First Nation because they want to leave resources on the land for perpetual use. However, this difference is seen by both sides as being attuned with the CFA objectives of providing resources beyond timber and for many years in perpetuity. It is too oversimplified to say First Nations want to preserve the land and non-First Nations want to harvest all of the resources. As the Xats'ull members explained to me, they are bridging the gap between two cultural perspectives by maintaining their cultural values in the modern economic context of wanting to provide financial stability for their people. Further, Xats'ull are exerting their ownership over the land and resources through the CFA.

My research demonstrates how the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest is a product of a new social landscape that is forging partnerships between First Nations and non-First Nations peoples. This project attests to First Nations rights and ownership over the land-base; rights which have always existed but have not been recognized by all non-First Nations people. By bridging the gap between the two cultures with this collaborative project, the disparity in social equality is being overcome through action at the local level. Board members from each community perceive the CFA as a beneficial accomplishment because it has helped the two sides form a partnership as well as provide funds for community projects and social programs.

In the board member's opinion, the policy of running the project as a business and keeping politics "off of the table", decreases conflict. I have demonstrated how their policy of keeping politics "off of the table" is actually creating a new political landscape between the two cultures. During the initial meeting between the two sides, some of the Xats'ull community members expressed to Likely that they wanted to be equal partners and have a share in the land-base. This pivotal moment demonstrated that the Xats'ull wanted to gain equality and power over their land and resources through participating in the project. The initial open communication also helped Likely citizens understand that the Xats'ull Nation was not making land-claims over Likely's private property, which helped to dissipate fear.

The project has helped the two sides understand each other more and come to the realization that they both want to manage the local land for multiple values. During the interviews, the non-First Nations board members expressed the necessity to recognize and accommodate First Nations' rights to the land and resources through collaborating as equal partners on the project.

Both communities see the value in collaboration as an equitable way to manage the forest and resources. However, there is concern over equalizing the access to opportunities and employment provided by the project. The Xats'ull members are concerned with helping their people, who do not currently have work, gain employment in the community forest. Further, the entire board is trying to develop strategies to build Xats'ull's capacity to respond to work through training and work experience.

The fact that the board is trying to help the Xats'ull to gain employment and keep Likely members employed in the forest sector, while at the same time, trying to diversify beyond forestry, presents the complex and convoluted process involved in managing this project. The issue of employment is made more complex because as the board is trying to diversify beyond logging, the beetle problem has created a dynamic where the rate of logging has increased. The board is running a business and trying to stabilize their communities using the funds from harvesting, while trying to find other lucrative ways to generate income from the land-base.

These communities are grappling with these difficult issues because they are the ones who are directly affected by the ability of the land-base to provide resources perpetually. My investigation has shed light onto the complex nature of interactions between the human and environmental systems. As people stay in communities, and develop ties, a sense of place and belonging is fostered. The people who have a stake in the land want to have control over the resources to ensure the long-term stability of their place of residence.

Xats'ull's Land-Use Plan is being used to steward the land and to incorporate the Xats'ull worldview into the status quo in order to provide First Nations' views of land management. The Xats'ull vision and perspective on land and resource management is not a historical relic from the past; it should be looked at as a socially, politically and ecologically relevant way to manage the land with all of its inherent values. The individuals directly involved in the community forest are generating cross-cultural knowledge building. Xats'ull and Likely are "curators" of the Xats'ull worldview, not in the sense of an artefact in a museum, but in the sense of being able to heal or cure from the Latin meaning "one who cares." The two sides are building a deeper sense of belonging to the land and being responsible to each other through the physicality of acting within the project.

The current board members are making this project a success by developing policies that deal with problems as they arise. It is important to note that the project will change when different board members join the team and current ones leave. The continued success relies upon what takes place *as* the project is in operation. For now, the project is successful, but to claim that it is a success will take years of research with the use of standardized indicators. Continued research into this particular case study and the provincial program as a whole will give policy makers and other local communities insight into the cross-cultural aspects of community forestry.

As with any research project, all of the relevant topics could not be covered; the research question addressed during this work has spawned many other potential questions. In the future, for this case study, I would like to move beyond interviewing the board members, to talking with the people who have worked on crews together in the forest. I would like to find out how crewmembers from each culture perceive working together. I would then take it a step further and talk to the community members that have had no active role in the community forest. It would be interesting to discover how people who are not involved in the project perceive cross-cultural work and cultural differences. Further, from a purely cultural and anthropological sense, an ethnographic study into what relationships (friendships, marriages, political alliances etc.) have formed between the communities would illustrate associations that have been initiated because of the project.

Comparative research would be useful in order to see how other cross-cultural projects are dealing with conflicts and challenges. It would also be useful to examine the global effects on local aspects of community forestry. This global/local connection could be explored by investigating how global and local systems interact in ways that influence rural First Nations' and non-First Nations political and cultural interests. Further, the ways in which traditional ecological knowledge could be incorporated into global policy would be interesting to look at with regard to sustainable local land practices. It would also be useful to look at the government's position on community forests, beyond the political rhetoric and public relations publications and websites, in order to discover the state's intention with this approach to land management.

Gender relations within the CFA program are another topic that is beyond the scope of my investigation. I did not employ postmodern-feminist theory to discuss the topic of gender because I focused on the CFA as a site of social resistance within local First Nations and non-First Nations communities. The role that gender plays within the Likely/Xats'ull case study and the larger program would be an interesting matter to explore. I did not problematize that all of the board members within the case study are male. Does this fact have implications for how the board is managed? How would women change the direction of how the community forest is managed? I acknowledge that I am missing an aspect of feminism to not do an analysis of gender.

My thesis is not a litmus test for all community forests in BC because each community forest is unique. However, through increasing the knowledge base of what community forests need to be successful, common attributes as well as diversity and variance between the CFAs can be better understood. By examining one case of cross-cultural community forestry, I have shown how a small group of citizens can successfully operate a local land management project by initiating and maintaining cross-cultural cooperation. I cannot say that all First Nations and non-First Nations have consistent experiences with regard to this project. There are incongruent ways that the people in the program experience the cross-cultural collaboration, and potentially, the same person will have different experiences throughout time.

When asked the question about each culture having different worldviews, all of the board members believed that Likely and Xats'ull have different cultural outlooks. However, the board members believe that, if they keep all of the big political issues out in the open and recognise the way that guilt, fear and animosity over the past could cause the project to fail, the project can continue successfully. These two communities are creating a new cross-cultural paradigm that relies on open communication, trust and continual cooperation. The land of the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest has become a common ground both literally and ideologically. The board is managing the land-base as equal partners by acknowledging the past and accommodating the rights of the Xats'ull Nation. Although the Likely/Xats'ull board of directors manage the project as an economic venture, they perceive the forest as more than a place to harvest merchantable timber. The board members perceive the land-base as a diverse ecosystem to which both communities have historical and contemporary connections. Throughout this work, I have explored the complex way in which social interaction within and between communities can influence human interaction with the natural environment.

First Nations and non-First Nations people are solidifying cultural relations, while at the same time, strengthening sustainable treatment of the natural environment through local management of the land. Projects like *The Cross-Cultural Collaboration of the Community Forest* are documenting a paradigm shift to a postcolonial era in BC where non-First Nation local land management goals are in accordance with First Nations' ownership of the land and their knowledge of how to manage it. From a cultural standpoint First Nations and non-First Nations working together is creating a powerful force that cannot be ignored by government or industry. Creating local policies based on open communication, equal access to resources and not letting big political issues stand in the way of cooperation, Likely and Xats'ull have created a cross-cultural template for local action that can be applied to other places around the globe.

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Glossary of Terms*

Aboriginal Title- Means the title, which the First Nation holds throughout the traditional territory. This title flows from use and occupation by the First Nation of the traditional territory before the British Crown's declaration of sovereignty in 1846. It is a communally-held proprietary interest in the land with an undeniable economic component and is based on an attachment to the land.

Allowable Annual Cut (AAC)- In accordance with Section 8 of the Forests Act, the AAC dictates the rate of harvest from a specified area of land over an annual time-period.

Area-based tenure- A licence that has dictates a specific area (in hectares) for harvesting rather than a specific volume (as in volume-based licences).

Biodiversity- The array of plats, animals and other living organisms in all their forms and levels of organisation including: genes, species, ecosystems and the evolutionary and functional processes that link them.

Clear-cut- A timber harvesting approach that removes the entire stand of trees in a single harvesting operation from an area of land that is one hectare or greater and at least two tree heights in width.

Crown Land- The land that is currently under the jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments

Community Forest Advisory Committee (CFAC)- Appointed in 1997 by the provincial government to advise the Ministry of Forests on the form and content of the CFA.

Community Forest/Community Forestry- In broad terms, the local people making decisions over the local land base for the long-term benefit of the local populations. A community forest is managed locally within the broader context of the provincial policy.

Community Forest Pilot Agreement (CFPA)- In 1998 the British Columbia Ministry of Forests introduced this agreement through the Community Forest Pilot Project. If a community that has been awarded a CFPA manages it successfully for the 5 years, the pilot can be turned into a long term Community Forest Agreement from 25-99 years under the *Forests Statutes Amendment Act* (1998, Bill 34).

Community Forest Agreement (CFA)- Developed as a specific forest tenure for community forestry, the British Columbia Ministry of Forests introduced the CFA in 1998.

Community Values - These values are beyond merchantable timber and include visual quality, water quality, recreation, fisheries, wildlife, biodiversity as well as, cultural and archaeological concerns.

Cultural Heritage Areas- Refers to the areas identified on the landscape by archaeological sites, historical documents and traditional use studies.

First Nations Rights- Recent court cases in BC have legally recognised First Nations' rights to land, resources and the power of self-government. These rights are continuing rights from before colonisation, however these rights are only recently being recognised and reaffirmed by the federal and provincial governments. These rights give First Nations a powerful legal tool to manage their territories and the resources in them.

First Nation Title- In an area where the First Nation has historically had exclusive occupation and possession of land, they may have rights approaching ownership of those lands.

Forest licenses (FLs)- An agreement in the form of a licence under the *Forest Act*. A forest licence allows harvesting to take place over a portion of an administrative unit called the timber supply area.

Holistic Forestry- Forestry practices that leave the forest ecologically intact by maintaining all species and habitats in the forest are the around the same proportions after logging. The ability for the forest to hold water and release it to watersheds should also be unchanged.

Multi-use Forest- A forest that is used and valued for resources beyond standing timber. These uses include: non-timber forest products, traditional ecological knowledge, tourism and recreation as well as spiritual, cultural and aesthetic qualities.

Tenure- The terms of holding a property for a set period of time. Land tenure can be private lands or federal and provincial Crown lands.

Timber Sale Licenses (TSL)- Area-based tenures which revert back to the government after the merchantable timber on the area has been harvested and the land reforested.

Traditional Territory- The homeland of the Xats'ull in BC, over which Xats'ull asserts Aboriginal Title.

Treaty- A negotiated agreement that outlines the rights, responsibilities and relationships of First Nations and the federal and provincial governments. The negotiation process deals with extensive issues such as land ownership, governance, wildlife and environmental management, sharing resources, financial benefits and taxation.

Tree farm licenses (TFL)- TFLs are deigned to enable owners of Crown-granted forest lands to form self-contained sustained yield management units. These licences commit the licensee to manage the entire area under the supervision of the Forest Service. A TFL has a term, of 25 years.

Silviculture- A planned program of treatments for the forest that is meant to achieve specific structural objectives based on resource management goals. Silviculture treatments include harvesting, regeneration and stand-tending methods or phases and covers all activities for the entire length of the cutting cycle.

Socially Constrained Land- Lands that may be socially constrained due to the social values that people associate with the land. Values that include social worth to society with respect to the forest land and its natural attributes. These include: scenic areas, spiritual areas, significant cultural sites, and recreation opportunities.

Social Contract- During the era when Crown forests were perceived as inexhaustibly able to provide timber for current and future use, companies were granted rights to a "social contract." These companies were granted rights to harvest enough timber on public lands to facilitate the construction of mills, on the contingency that the companies would continually employ workers in good times and in bad.

Stewardship- The passing on of healthy ecosystems to future generations through caring for the land and associated resources.

Stumpage- Is the fee charged by the government to individuals and firms that harvest timber on Crown land.

Sustainable forest management- Management that maintains and enhances the long-term health of forest ecosystems for the benefit of all living things, while providing environmental, economic, social and cultural opportunities for present and future generations.

Volume-based tenure- A licence that has dictates a specific volume (cubic meters) for harvesting rather than a specific area (as in area-based licences). Licensees that use volume-based licences are administratively authorized to harvest from a chart area from which they must harvest their volume of wood.

Watershed- An area of land that collects and discharges water into a single main stream through a series of smaller tributaries.

Woodlot Licenses (WL)- An agreement entered into under Part 3, Division 5 of the Forests Act**.** It is similar to a Tree Farm Licence, but on a smaller scale. A WL allows for small scale forestry to be practiced in a described area on a sustained yield basis.

* This glossary was adapted from- the BC Ministry of Forests' Glossary (www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library/documents/glossary); the Dogwood Initiatives' *Connecting Lands and* People Glossary of Terms (Anderson and Horter, 2002: 108-114); and The *Community Forest Handbook: Tools and Techniques for Communities in British Columbia* Glossary of terms (Gunter, 2004: 81-83) and Xats'ull Land Use Plan Definitions (Xats'ull First Nation, 2005: ii-iii).

Appendix 1- Maps

Appendix 2- Letters to the Communities

Erin Robinson
Box 186
Likely BC
V0L 1N0

April 18, 2005

Xats'ull Soda Creek Band
3405 Mountain House Road
Williams Lake BC
V2G 5L5

Dear Xats'ull Soda Creek Band:

The communities of Likely and Soda Creek are being asked to take part in a research project that is investigating the cross-cultural partnerships between First Nations and non- First Nations communities by using the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest project as a case study. This research project is part of a Master's Thesis for the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George. The final outcome of this project will be a Master's Thesis, which will be completed by August 2006.

The research question that guides my work is: How can rural First Nation and non-First Nations communities work together to manage land in a way that fosters meaningful cross-cultural partnerships and sustainable resource development? This research will explore the complexities of human social interaction within and between communities and human interaction with the natural environment. The goal of the research is to investigate how the Community Forest project is contributing to community well-being in Likely and Soda Creek by providing jobs, revenue, and other social benefits. A potential benefit of this study will be to discover how groups of people who have different cultural backgrounds can co-manage land and resources. Another potential benefit to this study will be to make policy recommendations to the BC government in order to more effectively manage the community forest program.

To measure both community's perceptions and opinions about the community forest project, I would like to mail surveys out to all the citizens from both communities and interview all six members on the Likely/Xats'ull Ltd. Board of Directors (See attached proposed survey and interview questions on page 3). The responses from the surveys and interviews will be used to help to determine how the Community Forest is affecting the community members of Likely and Soda Creek and also how the project is creating a cross-cultural partnership between the two communities. Participation in the surveys and interviews is completely voluntary; participants are free to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time.

Precautions will be taken to ensure complete anonymity and confidentiality of both survey and interview participants. For the survey, no names will be used on the survey to ensure anonymity of the survey participants. For the interviews, names of participants will not be used in any written work and any possibly identifying comments that could be linked back to a specific individual, will be omitted to ensure anonymity. Also, I guarantee that all information collected during the interview will be kept in the strictest confidence and interviewee's personal opinions will not be discussed with anyone. Due to the fact that these precautions are being taken, there are no perceived risks involved in participating in this study. The researcher ensures that the information provided by all community members will be kept confidential, and used only by the researcher to gain insight into the people's perspectives about the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest and also for statistical proposes.

If the community of Soda Creek grants me permission to carry out this research, the UNBC Research Ethics Board requires written confirmation of the community's informed consent to take part in this research project. If the community agrees to the research project as outlined in this letter, please send a letter outlining that you have been informed of this research project and that you approve of the terms and conditions outlined in this letter.

If you have any questions or concerns about any of the information in this letter please contact me, Erin Robinson in Likely at 250-790-2468. This study will be complete by the August 2006, and the community will be provided with a final copy of the thesis project to put in the public library.

If you have any complaints about this project please direct your complaint to the Office of Research at UNBC, 250-960-5820.

Sincerely,

Erin Robinson
UNBC Graduate Student

Erin Robinson
Box 186
Likely BC
V0L 1N0

April 18, 2005

Likely Chamber of Commerce
Box 29
Likely BC
V0L 1N0

Dear Likely Chamber of Commerce:

The communities of Likely and Soda Creek are being asked to take part in a research project that is investigating the cross-cultural partnerships between First Nations and non- First Nations communities by using the Likely/Xats'ull Community Forest project as a case study. This research project is part of a Master's Thesis for the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George. The final outcome of this project will be a Master's Thesis, which will be completed by August 2006.

The research question that guides my work is: How can rural First Nation and non-First Nations communities work together to manage land in a way that fosters meaningful cross-cultural partnerships and sustainable resource development? This research will explore the complexities of human social interaction within and between communities and human interaction with the natural environment. The goal of the research is to investigate how the Community Forest project is contributing to community well-being in Likely and Soda Creek by providing jobs, revenue, and other social benefits. A potential benefit of this study will be to discover how groups of people who have different cultural backgrounds can co-manage land and resources. Another potential benefit to this study will be to make policy recommendations to the BC government in order to more effectively manage the community forest program.

To measure both community's perceptions and opinions about the community forest project, I would like to mail surveys out to all the citizens from both communities and interview all six members on the Likely/Xats'ull Board of Directors (See attached proposed survey and interview questions on page 3). The responses from the surveys and interviews will be used to help to determine how the Community Forest is affecting the community members of Likely and Soda Creek and also how the project is creating a cross-cultural partnership between the two communities. Participation in the surveys and interviews is completely voluntary; participants are free to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time.

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If the community of Likely grants me permission to carry out this research, the UNBC Research Ethics Board requires written confirmation of the community's informed consent to take part in this research project. If the community agrees to the research project as outlined in this letter, please send a letter outlining that you have been informed of this research project and that you approve of the terms and conditions outlined in this letter.

If you have any questions or concerns about any of the information in this letter please contact me, Erin Robinson in Likely at 250-790-2468. This study will be complete by the August 2006, and the community will be provided with a final copy of the thesis project to put in the public library.

If you have any complaints about this project please direct your complain to the Office of Research at UNBC, 250-960-5820.

Sincerely,

Erin Robinson
UNBC Graduate Student

Appendix 3- Semi-structured Interview Questions

1) How long have you been a resident of Likely or Soda Creek?

2) What is your role in the community forest?

3) Do you identify yourself as a member of the community?

4) Do you feel a sense of connection to the community forest land? If so how?

5) What benefits have you seen in the community as a result of the community forest?

6) What disadvantages have you seen in the community as a result of the community forest?

7) What challenges have the communities had to face in order to work together on this project?

8) Were these challenges overcome? If so how?

9) Have the Likely and Xats'ull communities been able to accomplish anything working together that they couldn't have achieved working separately?

10) In your opinion do First Nations and non-First Nations have different perspectives on issues such as: land, ownership, sustainability?

    If yes, how?

11) Do you feel that the partnerships between the First Nations and non-First Nations communities have been a success? Why?

12) How does the Board deal with the issue of environmental sustainability?

13) How does managing the land from the grassroots level affect environmental sustainability?

We talked about challenges a couple of questions ago, now I would like to learn about conflict.

14) Have any conflicts arisen as a result of working on this project?

    If so, what?

15) How were these conflicts overcome?

16) Has the community forest created a good working relationship between the two communities in your opinion? Why or why not?

Well-being means a state of being where a person is in good health, well, happy and prosperous.

17) Can you please tell me what your definition of community well-being is?

18) Has the Likely/Xats'ull community forest enriched your community's well-being? If yes, in what ways?

19) Has the Likely/Xats'ull community forest enriched your personal well-being? In what ways?

20) Do you think that future collaborative projects will be undertaken?

21) Could you please give me names of people who have been active members in the implementation, organisation and operating of the Likely/Xats'ull community forest project who are not currently of the Board?