

Forests for the Future

Unit 4

Tsimshian Involvement in the Forest Sector

by Paul Orlowski



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Tsimshian Involvement in the Forest Sector

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INTRODUCTION

Curriculum Areas

Social Studies 10

Social Studies 11

BC First Nations Studies

Rationale

Knowledge of First Nations cultures among non-Aboriginal Canadians has increased in recent years. Yet the general perception that these cultures are unchanging and part of the past still seems to underlie many people's attitudes. This unit plan, which includes four separate lesson plans and a video, is to demonstrate that these notions of reified First Nations cultures are incorrect. Not only are Canada's First Nations adapting to the changing conditions caused by outside social, economic and environmental forces, but this has always been the case since time immemorial.

Social studies, as defined in the BC curriculum, is a multidisciplinary subject that draws from the social sciences and humanities to study human interaction and natural and social environments. The four lesson plans developed for this unit are for the most part based on the ethnographic research done by Dr. Charles Menzies and his team of anthropologists among families from the Tsimshian Nation in the Prince Rupert area of northern British Columbia. The research is found in a report entitled *Communities in Transition: First Nations Involvement in the Forestry Industry in the Tsimshian Territories*. The report documents how First Nations peoples in British Columbia have constantly adapted to changing conditions from within and outside of the Aboriginal communities.

Because the lesson plans are based on recent research in anthropology, students should become aware that First Nations communities are vibrant and evolving today. Specifically, the longstanding notion that Aboriginal peoples are only a part of the Canadian past who have nothing to contribute to its future will be significantly challenged with the material and ideas presented in this set of four lesson plans. Moreover, recent legal and political changes in Canada and British Columbia have begun to shift the balance of power over control of natural resources back to the First Nations.

This rationale fits with the general rationale for the BC social studies curriculum. In general, the prescribed learning outcomes in social studies are "designed to encourage in-depth study from multi-

ple perspectives (e.g., time, place, culture, values)” (See SS 11 IRP, p. 1]. Students are required to make logical connections in terms of time (i.e., between historical and contemporary events and issues) and place (i.e., between different regions, environments, and cultures around the world). The unit plan developed in this package has been designed specifically with these educational goals in mind.

Curricular Philosophy

The curricular philosophy that provides the basis for this unit plan would best be described as “transactional” in the model developed by Miller and Seller (1990). The pragmatism of progressive American educator John Dewey is at the root of the transaction position. This means that the individual student is seen as rational and, given the right intellectual environment, capable of intelligent problem solving. The end goal is in keeping with John Dewey’s understanding of public education’s main purpose, namely, to strengthen democracy by producing citizens capable of critical thought (1938).

In particular, Lesson 4 requires an attempt at creating this intellectual problem-solving environment. Students are put in the roles of the various players who may one day find themselves representing the possible positions the Tsimshian and others might take in a post-treaty environment. The Tsimshian are currently in Stage 5 in the 6-Stage B.C. Treaty process. They are one of fifty First Nations in the province engaged in the process and, consequently, all British Columbians should have some understanding of the causes and effects of these treaties. At the time of this writing, this is particularly relevant considering that the two major provincial political parties have differing positions on the treaty process, with one wanting to hold a public referendum on all treaties negotiated in B.C. Obviously, for the referendum idea to represent a democratic initiative, the public must be made aware of the implications of these treaties and in a historical context. The first three lessons in this unit have been designed as an acknowledgement of the need for students to have some historical understanding of the relations between Aboriginal and European people since the time of first contact.

The transaction position within curriculum design requires that the student’s intellectual abilities is further developed through problem solving. This rational intelligence is to be used to improve the social environment in real life. As a corollary, the political orientation of this position supports reform efforts that ensure that minority groups such as the Tsimshian have equal opportunity in

Canadian society. The history of the Tsimshian people's involvement in forestry is a little known but important aspect of current and future race relations in the northwestern part of British Columbia. It is hoped that students who have the opportunity to do the four lessons in this unit plan develop an understanding of the tensions involved in improving the opportunities of the Tsimshian people, both from within and without their communities.

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Prescribed Learning Outcomes

This unit plan can be utilized in three prescribed courses in British Columbia:

BC FNS, SS 10 and SS 11. The lesson plans match the following Prescribed Learning Outcomes for each IRP:

Social Studies 10

It is expected that students will:

- assess the interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans
- evaluate the impact of western expansion and federal policies on Aboriginal people
- identify and describe the effects of technological innovation on settlement and employment patterns within regions of Canada
- assess changing economic relationships between British Columbia and its major trading partners
- analyze how geography influenced the economic, historical, and cultural development of western Canada
- identify key local and provincial resource-development issues from 1815 to the present, considering the concepts of stewardship and sustainability

Social Studies 11

It is expected that students will:

- identify and use approaches from the social sciences and humanities to examine Canada and the world
- reassess their responses to issues on the basis of new information
- recognize connections between events and their causes, consequences and implications
- demonstrate mapping skills, including the ability to organize and synthesize various types of mapping data
- identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society
- describe the role of women in the development of Canadian society
- describe the role of Canada's First Nations peoples in shaping Canadian identity.
- demonstrate understanding of the history and present status of Aboriginal land claims and self-government in Canada
- demonstrate awareness of the provisions of the Indian Act and its impact on the citizenship of Aboriginal Canadians
- assess implications of industrial and technological development for societies and cultures
- apply understanding of location, place, movement, regions, and human interaction to relevant environmental issues
- identify and assess environmental issues facing Canadians

Prescribed Learning Outcomes

BC First Nations Studies

It is expected that students will:

- analyse the relationship of First Nations people with the natural world by relating the traditional settlement and lifestyle patterns of a local First Nation to the environment
- relate First Nations concepts of land and resource ownership to spiritual and other cultural dimensions, including language
- describe traditional BC First Nations technologies, including the uses of plants and animals
- compare current and traditional First Nations resource use and management
- analyze the exchange of ideas, practices, and materials between First Nations and other cultures, in historical and contemporary contexts, with reference to:
 - governance
 - economics
 - environment
 - language
- assess the impact of changing post-contact economies of First Nations societies
- describe the varied and evolving responses of First Nations peoples to contact and colonialism
- analyze land issues with reference to key events in First Nations resistance to land encroachment, locally, provincially, and nationally
- explain the significance of Canadian Supreme Court decisions for Aboriginal peoples, with reference to key cases
- explain contemporary economic development issues facing First Nations
- demonstrate an understanding of contemporary negotiations and agreements pertaining to Aboriginal self-determination

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Tsimshian Involvement in the Forest Sector Unit Outline

	Topic
1	<p>The History of Tsimshian Involvement in Forestry</p> <p>The main objective of this lesson is to help students understand First Nations involvement in the forest industry in the Tsimshian Territories from a historical perspective. In particular, this lesson will focus on the first Tsimshian experience of paid forest labour with the Hudson Bay Company and hand-logging to the effects of sawmill labour on Tsimshian lifestyle and work patterns that began in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The lesson will also highlight Tsimshian responses to the industrial logging model that rose to prominence in the late 1940s when large corporations gained control over much of the forest resources.</p>
2	<p>Tsimshian Women and Forestry</p> <p>It will help understand the vital role that Tsimshian women have played in becoming involved in the forestry industry since the beginning of contact with the European colonizers. Students will also become aware of how this involvement was always done in a way so that the Tsimshian can retain control over their own social organization. The background information for this lesson plan comes from an article by Caroline Butler and Charles Menzies entitled “Out of the Woods”.</p>
3	<p>Social Impact Matrix: The Tsimshian & the Pros and Cons of Wage Labour, 1834 to the Present</p> <p>The primary objective of this lesson is to help students understand the massive social impact that contact with Europeans, and in particular involvement with waged labour in the forest industry, has had on Tsimshian social relations. For every major shift in forestry, a tension is created within the Tsimshian communities, as advantages and disadvantages work to benefit some people often at the expense of others. Students will utilize a social matrix to help them better understand these past scenarios.</p>
4	<p>The Tsimshian and Forestry in a Post-Treaty Environment</p> <p>The Communities in Transition report goes into great depth in its analysis of what the future may look like for the Tsimshian and their logging prospects in a post-treaty environment. In particular, this lesson plan will highlight the tensions from the various interest groups, both from within the Tsimshian communities and without. Students will learn how the Tsimshian and other First Nations communities are unable to be totally independent from global concerns over the price of wood, etc. and how this will impact on their logging practices and natural resource strategies. Role-playing will be the main pedagogical strategy in this lesson.</p>

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Lesson One

The History of Tsimshian Involvement in Forestry

Materials

Blackline Master 4-1, Discussion
Questions

Blackline Master 4-2, BC Northwest
Coast map

Blackline Master 4-3, Tsimshian in
the Forestry Industry

Major Understandings

1. Changing post-contact economies have had a significant impact on the Tsimshian people.
2. The Tsimshian people have employed agency, that is have acted in their own interest, in determining their futures throughout the post-contact period.
3. Wage labour has been a powerful force in Tsimshian society.

Learning Outcomes

Social Studies 10

- assess the interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans
- evaluate the impact of western expansion and federal policies on Aboriginal people
- identify and describe the effects of technological innovation on settlement and employment patterns within regions of Canada
- analyze how geography influenced the economic, historical, and cultural development of western Canada

Social Studies 11

- identify and use approaches from the social sciences and humanities to examine Canada and the world
- demonstrate mapping skills, including the ability to organize and synthesize various types of mapping data
- identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society
- describe the role of Canada's First Nations peoples in shaping Canadian identity.
- demonstrate understanding of the history and present status of Aboriginal land claims and self-government in Canada

BC First Nations Studies

- analyze the relationship of First Nations people with the natural world by relating the traditional settlement and lifestyle patterns of a local First Nation to the environment
- assess the impact of changing post-contact economies of First Nations societies
- describe the varied and evolving responses of First Nations peoples to contact and colonialism

Introduction:

This examination of the active role played by First Nations people in the forest industry directly challenges popular views of Aboriginal people that are either embedded in vague and inaccurate memories of the past or are obsessed by contemporary social prob-

lems such as substance abuse or youth suicide. This skewed image of First Nations peoples as either existing outside of the mainstream economy or as part of a somewhat obscure and long eclipsed past also reflects the dominant mode of representation within Canadian society. In other words, white people are mostly responsible for these representations because they are the ones who are in control of the means of production of information, namely, school curricula, textbooks and popular media. This lesson plan is based on research undertaken by Dr. Charles Menzies and published in a report entitled *Communities in Transition: First Nations Involvement in the Forest Industry in the Tsimshian Territories*. It is hoped that educators will see the information presented here as closer to the truth of the involvement the Tsimshian people have had in the forest industry.

Questions Before Reading:

Distribute copies or display on overhead Blackline master 14-1, Discussion Questions. Direct students to the pre-reading questions. They are designed to start class discussions. The questions with suggested answers are given below:

1. Map Work: Examine the map of the B.C. Northwest Coast.
 - Locate the following Tsimshian communities: Lax Kw'alaams, Metlakatla, Kitkatla, Kitselas, Kitsumkalum, Hartley Bay and Klemtu.
 - How far away and in what direction is each community from the region's main centre, Prince Rupert?
 - Prince Rupert to Lax Kw'alaams is 35 km to the north
 - Prince Rupert to Metlakatla is 10 km to the west
 - Prince Rupert to Kitkatla is 54 km to the south
 - Prince Rupert to Kitselas is 120 km east
 - Prince Rupert to Hartley Bay is 120 km southeast
 - Prince Rupert to Kitsumkalum is 110 km to the east
 - Prince Rupert to Klemtu is 230 km to the south
 - What industries do you think have been important for the Tsimshian people in the past? What new industries do you think might become important for the Tsimshian people in the future?

Answers will vary. Students will probably be able to guess at some or all of the following:

- in the past: fishing, hunting, logging
- in the future: fishing, hunting, logging, silviculture, mining, oil drilling

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2. What are some ways that you think the Tsimshian used wood before the Europeans came to their lands?

Answers will vary. Students will probably be able to guess at some or all of the following:

- building construction, boat construction, totem poles, carvings, storage boxes, mats, fuel

3. It is common knowledge that forestry has been the dominant industry in B.C. ever since it entered Confederation in 1871. Which group(s) do you think have been doing the logging in northern BC?

It is expected that, except for the “enlightened” student, most will assume all logging throughout B.C.’s history has been done by white men. This has been part of the romanticism inherent in stories of Canada’s nation-building phase, intimating that without the pioneering spirit of these rugged individuals, the Canadian west would still be undeveloped.

4. What is the Indian Act?

In 1876, the Canadian government consolidated a series of laws pertaining to First Nations people into one set called the Indian Act. The main objective of this Act was to assimilate the original inhabitants of the land into the culture of the European newcomers, albeit at lower socioeconomic levels. There have been many amendments to the Indian Act since 1876, most with the intent of having control over the lives of First Nations people.

Questions After Reading:

1. The missionaries offered employment in the sawmills to Tsimshian members who had converted to Christianity.
 - a) Why do you think some Tsimshian would refuse this offer?
 - they didn’t want to convert to Christianity
 - they didn’t want their cultural symbols such as totem poles and longhouses to disappear
 - they didn’t trust the missionaries or perhaps any Europeans
 - b) Why do you think some Tsimshian would accept this offer?
 - they wanted to increase their income in order to better provide for their family
 - they wanted to raise their material standard of living
 - c) Why do you think Duncan and the other missionaries were opposed to the traditional Tsimshian longhouse?
 - the traditional Tsimshian longhouse was antithetical to the “Christian way of life”
 - it would be easier to convert the Tsimshian if they were separated from each other;

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- the “divide and conquer” strategy would be more easily applied
 - resistance to Christianity and European ways would be more-difficult to organize
2. The Tsimshian were engaged in handlogging well into the 1950s. What factor major caused the Tsimshian to stop hand-logging?
- the power of the huge logging companies was becoming consolidated
 - the BC government would only grant logging licenses to the corporations
 - huge tracts of land were reserved for the huge logging companies use only
 - the BC government negated any chance for Tsimshian people to legally handlog on their former land
3. Beachcombing became a common activity of the Tsimshian around 1950.
- a) Describe what is meant by beachcombing.
Beachcombing entails using a boat, usually a fishing boat, to tow logs that have broken loose from booms in the river and along the coast. The logs would be sold to the nearest sawmill. In this way, the Tsimshian were able to adapt to the government policies that hindered them from procuring income.
- b) Why do you think the Tsimshian began to beachcomb around 1950?
Because the BC government had virtually made it impossible for the Tsimshian to legally handlog on their former land (See #2.)
4. Many Tsimshian men have been employed by the large logging companies that began to appear in the 1920s, both on and off reserve.
- a) What were the drawbacks to this arrangement?
- off-reserve logging:
 - the male head of the family was away for long periods of time
 - the logging season often conflicted with traditional subsistence activities such as fishing
 - on-reserve logging:
 - the Tsimshian had little or no control over logging practices on their reserves
 - frustration over the fact that white loggers got paid more than Tsimshian loggers
 - growing disparities in terms of wealth between Tsimshian families
- b) What were the benefits to the Tsimshian?
Many Tsimshian families had increased income because of the relatively high wages of loggers, especially if they belonged to the IW

(loggers' union)

5. Imagine that you are a Tsimshian person who has the opportunity for wage labour. How might it affect your life?

(Hint: Consider the traditional Tsimshian social arrangements, which were communal, to the more individualistic concept of wage labour.)

Answers will vary. Things to consider include:

- will communal values decrease as individualism increases?
- will the widening wealth gap between Tsimshian families wreak havoc on social relations?
- will the non-Tsimshian employers have values that are at odds with traditional Tsimshian values, particularly in relation to the environment?

The History of Tsimshian Involvement in Forestry

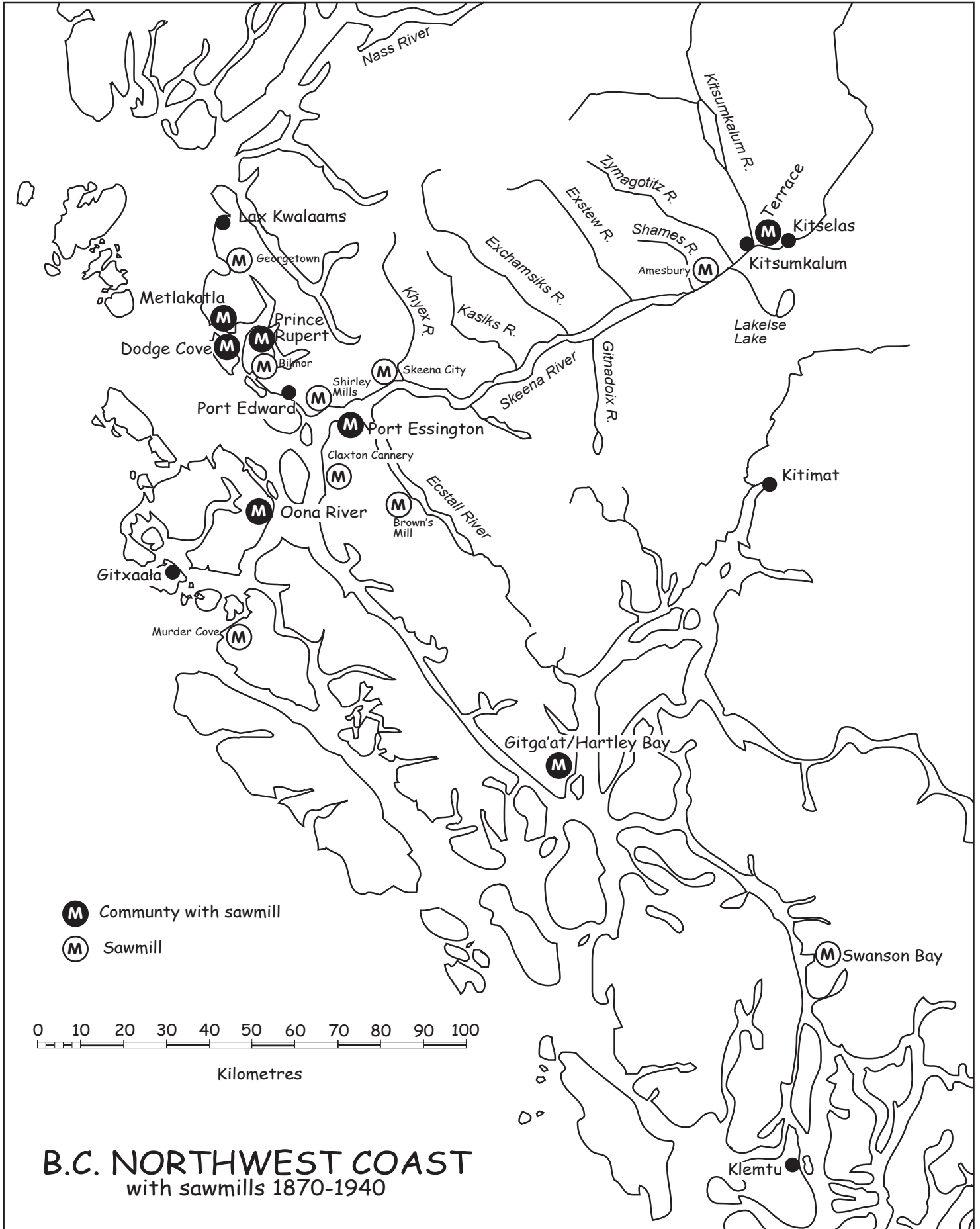
Discussion Questions

Questions Before Reading:

1. Locate the Tsimshian lands on the map of B.C. (Hint: It will be helpful to first locate the town of Prince Rupert.) What industries do you think have been important for the Tsimshian people in the past? What new industries do you think might become important for the Tsimshian people in the future?
2. What are some ways that you think the Tsimshian used wood before the Europeans came to their lands?
3. It is common knowledge that forestry has been the dominant industry in B.C. ever since it entered Confederation in 1871. Which group(s) do you think have been doing the logging in northern BC?
4. What is the Indian Act?

Questions After Reading:

1. The missionaries offered employment in the sawmills to Tsimshian members who had converted to Christianity.
 - a) Why do you think some Tsimshian would refuse this offer?
 - b) Why do you think some Tsimshian would accept this offer?
 - c) Why do you think Duncan and the other missionaries were opposed to the traditional Tsimshian longhouse?
2. The Tsimshian were engaged in handlogging well into the 1950s. What factors caused the Tsimshian to stop handlogging?
3. Beachcombing became a common activity of the Tsimshian around 1950.
 - a) Describe what is meant by beachcombing.
 - b) Why do you think the Tsimshian began to beachcomb around 1950?
4. Many Tsimshian men have been employed by the large logging companies that began to appear in the 1920s, both on and off reserve.
 - a) What were the drawbacks to this arrangement?
 - b) What were the benefits to the Tsimshian?
5. Imagine that you are a Tsimshian person who has the opportunity for wage labour. How might it affect your life



B.C. NORTHWEST COAST
with sawmills 1870-1940

The Tsimshian in the Forest Industry

The Tsimshian are one of the First Nations whose traditional lands occupy the coastal territories of British Columbia. These Tsimshian lands are located in the northwestern region of British Columbia and include the Tsimshian communities of Lax Kw'alaams, Metlakatla, Kitkatla, Kitasoo (Klemtu), Kitselas, Hartley Bay and Kitsumkalum as well as the towns of Prince Rupert, Port Edward and Terrace. (Please refer to the map.) Today the members of the Tsimshian Nation number around 10 000 and are the direct descendants of people who have lived and worked in this area for at least 13 000 years! When the Europeans first came to the Tsimshian lands in the eighteenth century, they encountered a culture whose basic form had been more or less developed for at least the past 2500 years.

It is obvious that the Tsimshian, as well as all the First Nations who live in what is now called British Columbia, used trees for functional and aesthetic purposes long before the arrival of Europeans. For instance, you may be aware of the longhouses that the First Nations people of the west coast used to house themselves. An example of a wooden object that was both aesthetic and functional is the totem pole, which served to express the stories and carving abilities of certain clans within each nation.

Tsimshian Society and the Shift to Wage Labour in Forestry

The most significant change that took place in forestry after contact with the Europeans was the shift to wage labour that began in 1834 shortly after the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to build a post at Fort Simpson (about 20 kilometers north of present-day Prince Rupert). It was the Tsimshian themselves who logged the trees that were used in the construction of the fort.

Shortly thereafter, members of the Tsimshian communities living near present-day Metlakatla shifted their yearly activities by establishing a year-round community, Lax Kw'alaams, near the fort. This is the first of many instances in which the European idea of wage labour worked to disrupt the way the Tsimshian had lived by for thousands of years. (You will read more about this later.)

In 1857, the Anglican Church Missionary Society sent William Duncan to Fort Simpson to convert the Tsimshian to Christianity. With Duncan's arrival, the seeds were sown for the second shift the Tsimshian were required to do in order to culturally adapt and survive, namely, to procure a job in one of the small-scale sawmills that appeared in the late 1800s. Before the sawmills came, however, working with the trees had much to do with Duncan's plans to convert the Tsimshian to Christianity. He even persuaded many to chop down their totem poles because he saw them as an impediment to conversion.

Another missionary, Thomas Crosby, especially disapproved of the traditional Tsimshian longhouse, large buildings that housed several families living communally. He and most other missionaries did not approve of this traditional housing arrangement of the Tsimshian because it was seen as antithetical to the Christian lifestyle. They wanted the Tsimshian to move out of these larger structures and move into single-family wooden frame houses. But first, they had to be built. The missionaries ordered that this be done, however, with the condition that to get one of these jobs a Tsimshian had to be newly converted. Consequently, the Aboriginal employees at the new sawmills soon found themselves producing the lumber requirements not only for the growing fishing industry but for western-style single-family homes.

The sawmills were also seen by Duncan, Crosby, and other Europeans as an opportunity to transform the lives of the Tsimshian, both economically and socially. This is an example of how European influence resulted in some Tsimshian families benefiting more than others.

Handlogging and Tsimshian Society

As well as running their own logging operations, the local saw mills purchased logs from independent handloggers. This created another opportunity for the Tsimshian families and they responded by registering logging tracts on their traditional territories usually near their traplines, as well as working claims owned by the mills. Handlogging involved traveling along the river and falling trees by hand (i.e., axe and/or saw), dragging them down to the shore and towing them by boat to the mill. This was a common activity for both First Nations people and white loggers beginning in the nineteenth century up until the 1950s.

Handlogging brought in a little extra income for these Tsimshian families who still lived on the land. They integrated handlogging with their traditional subsistence activities. It was usually done in the spring between the beaver-trapping and fishing seasons or in the fall before trapping mink and marten in November. It was also an excellent opportunity for younger members of the family to spend time working with the older men, often learning about Tsimshian values while they spent time in the bush. Many of the older Tsimshian members alive today who used to handlog with their families before its demise spoke of discussing Aboriginal conservation practices and the sustainability of traditional logging practices. This relationship to the land was in clear conflict with the worldview that most capitalists held, namely, that the trees were to be seen as a resource to be exploited for money - when the trees disappeared, the companies would soon follow.

Nevertheless, the Tsimshian benefited from handlogging. They used the extra income to pur-

chase fishing supplies or provisions to get through the winter with increased comfort. The process of applying to the government for handlogging licenses, however, ended with the allocation of huge tracts of land to the corporations in the 1950s.

The Tsimshian and Industrial Logging

A few decades before the demise of handlogging, however, the emergence of the third phase of Tsimshian involvement with forestry appeared. Beginning in the 1920s, the small-scale, locally-owned sawmills were replaced by the industrial practices of monopolistic transnational firms. Some Tsimshian men were hired to log on reserve land before they began careers as loggers up and down the north coast. Employment opportunities away from the reserve affected the traditional social relations of the Tsimshian. Many families became separated from the men who were engaged in logging for these large companies away from home for long periods of time.

Logging for the large corporations was a lot different than simple handlogging. For one thing, it was very difficult to combine logging with fishing because the seasons often overlapped—if a Tsimshian logger was out fishing when the logging companies called for names to log, he was simply out of luck. During this phase, most Tsimshian men became either loggers or fishers but rarely both. To work for the large companies also differed from previous work because each worker now had a boss who was not Tsimshian. Family needs might have to compete with company needs for many of the Tsimshian men who logged for the transnationals.

Eventually, the forestry companies began logging on the Tsimshian reserves and hired Tsimshian men to do so. This was beneficial for Tsimshian families in that the men were working nearby and because of the tax-exemption under the Indian Act, they did not have to pay taxes. The logging companies, however, used the tax-

exemption to justify paying the Aboriginal loggers much less than their non-Aboriginal counterparts, thereby gaining significant profits. The hierarchy on the pay-scale based on race was not the only disadvantage for the Tsimshian - they had very little say in regulating the logging practices of these large corporations.

The wages of loggers were not based on one's race when everyone was unionized. And by the 1950s, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) was one of the largest unions in BC, counting many Tsimshian loggers as members. If any non-unionized Tsimshian loggers complained about the unequal pay rates for logging on reserves, they were often confronted with the prospect of being fired.

The Tsimshian were able to make an adaptation that helped them survive economically during this era of industrial logging. Beach-combing became a common activity for many families, especially after the Second World War. This entails using a boat, often a fishing boat, to tow logs that have broken loose from booms in the river and along the coast. The logs would be sold to the nearest sawmill, much like during the handlogging years. Beachcombing proved to be economically viable for Tsimshian families until the large corporations limited access by purchasing riverside claims. Today beachcombing is only done casually by fishers who live in Lax Kw'alaams, supplementing their usual income from fishing, cannery work and on-reserve logging. There are some Tsimshian, however, who see beachcombing growing in importance, particularly as fishing becomes less profitable because of over-fishing (which is a global phenomenon).

Summary

It is clear that the Tsimshian have had long involvement in working with trees for both aesthetic and functional purposes. The forest has always provided much of the essentials for the Tsimshian people. It has been vital for their cultural survival.

A big change occurred, however, with the arrival of Europeans and the construction of a Hudson's Bay Company fort at Port Simpson in 1834. For the first time, some of the Tsimshian found themselves working with wood for a wage. This monetary relationship with lumber continued several decades later with missionary attempts to convert the Tsimshian, offering employment to those who became Christian. Throughout this period, the Tsimshian adapted in ways that ensured their survival. Some converted, of course, and in the process became waged labourers as loggers or sawmill employees. Others became independent handloggers, selling their logs at local sawmills.

With the emergence of industrial logging, the Tsimshian were forced to adapt yet again to the changing conditions. Logging on the reserves meant that the men were still close to their families but other problems arose: Tsimshian loggers were paid less than their white peers and there was little local control over their lands. Experience with on-reserve logging, however, often led to employment up and down the north coast for many Tsimshian men. The pay was good, particularly if they belonged to a union, yet Tsimshian families had to contend with the male head of the family being away from home for long periods of time.

Beginning in the 1980s, resource-based industries have been declining in many parts of British Columbia. The Tsimshian have once again adapted to these changing conditions by contributing to family incomes through either beachcombing or through involvement in silviculture projects or both. As well, recent Supreme Court decisions have added legal clout to the Aboriginal Rights movement in BC and throughout Canada. The Tsimshian people will undoubtedly respond to these changes by adapting in ways that best strengthen their socioeconomic position and ensure their cultural survival, much in the same way that they have been doing ever since the Europeans first came to live on their lands, almost two centuries ago.

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Lesson Two

Tsimshian Women and Forestry

Materials

- Blackline Master 4-4, Tsimshian Women and Forestry Assignment
- Blackline Master 4-5, Tsimshian Women and Forestry

Major Understandings

1. There have been varied and evolving responses by Tsimshian society to contact and colonialism.
2. There have been important changes in the roles of Tsimshian women in their homes and their communities.

Learning Outcomes

Social Studies 10

- assess the interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans
- evaluate the impact of western expansion and federal policies on Aboriginal people

Social Studies 11

- identify and use approaches from the social sciences and humanities to examine Canada and the world
- demonstrate mapping skills, including the ability to organize and synthesize various types of mapping data
- identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society
- describe the role of women in the development of Canadian society

BC First Nations Studies

- assess the impact of changing post-contact economies of First Nations societies
- describe the varied and evolving responses of First Nations peoples to contact and colonialism

Introduction

All First Nations groups have had to contend with negative stereotypes since the time of early contact with Europeans, stereotypes that have served to privilege the newcomers at the expense of the original inhabitants. The story of work on the west coast of Canada is one such tale, a tale of rugged (white) men in fishing boats, forests and mines who have been able to overcome nature's obstacles in order to survive and even prosper. The images conjured up in these stories serve to make mythic legends out of the white men at the same time that they diminish and trivialize the achievements of the First Nations people of the coast. In this case, the distortion is along both racial and gender lines.

Of course, there are other stereotypes that abound in the popular history of the west. Some examples are that Aboriginal people were never civilized prior to contact, that they do not work as hard as Europeans, and that they have benefited tremendously from this

contact. In the dominant view, First Nations women are often seen at best as domestic servants. All of these stereotypes serve to undermine any initiatives First Nations people might have that would enhance their status in mainstream society. Yet any serious look at past events in British Columbia, deeper than the history most often taught in social studies or history courses, would inevitably replace these stereotypes with more accurate images. And this is the purpose of the essay on Blackline Master 4-5. In particular, the story of the agency of Tsimshian women will force students to examine their previously held assumptions about the original inhabitants of this land.

Questions Before Reading:

(All the questions are designed to start class discussions.)

1. a) What are some stereotypes regarding First Nations people in terms of: labour—how have they attempted to adapt to what white people have imposed upon them?
Answers will vary.
- b) What effect do you think these stereotypes have on how non-Aboriginal relate to Aboriginal people?
Answers will vary. Many students will express opinions that hint at a negative or, at best, a paternalistic relationship toward Aboriginal people.
2. How do you think cultures change? What do you think causes a culture to change or adapt?
Answers will vary. Many anthropologists contend that the agency of a people to adapt is based on changing environmental and social conditions.

QUESTIONS AFTER READING

1. One skewed image of First Nations peoples is that they exist outside of mainstream society or that they exist as part of a somewhat obscure and long eclipsed past. Why do you think the vast majority of British Columbians have this perception?
The vast majority of the ways First Nations people have been represented were created by white people. In the schools these ways include textbooks, curriculum and teacher attitudes. In the mainstream popular culture, movies, television and books also serve to perpetuate these images.
2. What aspects of traditional Tsimshian life do you think that William Duncan and other missionaries disapproved of? Why do you think they disapproved of them?

The missionaries most likely disapproved of any aspect of traditional Tsimshian life that had the effect of strengthening ties to their own culture. Any spiritual ceremonies, such as the potlatch, were certain to be seen as obstacles to conversion to Christianity. Other aspects, such as the longhouse, were seen as anti-Christian in that the nuclear family was not paramount. The longhouse also was seen as a source of resistance to the assimilationist objectives of the missionaries and other European officials.

3. What changes took place in the way Tsimshian women were involved in forestry during the era of local sawmills and hand-logging compared to the industrial logging era? (Note: The industrial logging era refers to the period beginning in the 1920s when forestry in the Tsimshian territories began to be monopolized by large transnational logging companies.) Handlogging was often done by various members of the family including women, who had more or less set roles in the process. Once the large-scale logging operations of the corporations came to the Tsimshian territories, the role of women in logging became virtually nonexistent.
4. Once the Tsimshian adopted the western-style model of the nuclear family, Tsimshian women experienced decreased status as it was expected that they should stay in the home. Yet many would argue that for white middle-class women, not having to go out to look for work was a sign of increased status. Discuss the differences in perception and the reasons for these differences between these two cultures.
Traditionally, Tsimshian women had decision-making power and a higher status in their matrilineal society. Conversely, western women had long been socialized within a patriarchal society. Many feminist scholars have suggested that the status bestowed on women who stayed at home was nothing more than a patriarchal strategy to hold power over them. After all, there was little or no monetary benefit to women who did not work outside the home.

Tsimshian Women and Forestry Assignment

Read the essay Tsimshian Women and Forestry then answer the questions.

Note: The following has been adapted from a much longer essay entitled "Out of the Woods" by Caroline F. Butler and Charles Menzies.

Questions Before Reading

1. a) What are some stereotypes regarding First Nations people in terms of: labour - how they have attempted to adapt to what white people have imposed upon them?
b) What effect do you think these stereotypes have on how non-Natives relate to Native people?
2. How do you think cultures change? What do you think causes a culture to change or adapt?

Questions After Reading

1. One skewed image of First Nations peoples is that they exist outside of mainstream society or that they exist as part of a somewhat obscure and long eclipsed past. Why do you think the vast majority of British Columbians have this perception?
2. What aspects of traditional Tsimshian life do you think that William Duncan and other missionaries disapproved of? Why do you think they disapproved of them?
3. What changes took place in the way Tsimshian women were involved in forestry during the era of local sawmills and handlogging compared to the industrial logging era? (Note: The industrial logging era refers to the period beginning in the 1920s when forestry in the Tsimshian territories began to be monopolized by large transnational logging companies.)
4. Once the Tsimshian adopted the western-style model of the nuclear family, Tsimshian women experienced decreased status as it was expected that they should stay in the home. Yet many would argue that for white middle-class women, not having to go out to look for work was a sign of increased status. Discuss the differences in perception and the reasons for these differences between these two cultures.

Tsimshian Women and Forestry

As you learned in the previous lesson, the Europeans first came to Tsimshian lands in the eighteenth century. Upon their arrival, they encountered a matrilineal culture whose basic form had been more or less developed for at least the past 2500 years. A matrilineal culture is one in which a person claims kinship to people who share a common female ancestor, always through the mother's side of the family.

Tsimshian women have perhaps been less obvious participants in the forest industry than their husbands, fathers and brothers. They have nonetheless been involved in forestry in various ways since contact with the Europeans. The nature and degree of their involvement have changed throughout the last 150 years, however, and it is these changes that are important to understanding the significance of colonialism in transforming the status of Tsimshian women and their relationships with other Tsimshian members.

When the Hudson's Bay Company set up Fort Simpson on Tsimshian territory in 1834, the white residents were fearful of the Aboriginal community camped outside the fort walls. The HBC hired Aboriginal men to cut wood for them but would only allow the Tsimshian women to bring the wood inside. As well, the women were hired to cut firewood when the fishing season caused a shortage of male labour at the fort.

The proliferation of local saw mills during the late 19th century did not result in any direct employment opportunities for Tsimshian women. The saw mills caused an increase in handlogging, however, and this resulted in some work for women in the kin-based production of

logs. While the men did the actual falling, the women were involved in the process of handlogging: trimming the logs, making the boom, driving the boat, gathering and preparing food for the loggers.

The money brought in through handlogging helped with Tsimshian subsistence activities such as buying gas and supplies for fishing. This continued until the 1950s when the large logging companies began to monopolize timber claims in the region. The Tsimshian soon found that this shift to industrial logging impacted their ability to gather other resources. In other words, large tracts of clearcut land meant fewer animals to hunt, fewer fish, smaller amounts of forest foodstuffs. For Tsimshian women, the end of the handlogging era also meant the end of any significant involvement in the forestry industry for several decades. Women were not hired by logging companies, nor were they able to find employment in the local sawmills. (There was one brief exception to this exclusion, however, when women were hired to replace Japanese male labourers who were forced to go to internment camps during World War II.)

The recent shift in control of logging operations on reserve lands back to the First Nations may result in increased employment opportunities for Aboriginal women. Administrative positions may appear for women in joint-venture logging projects, although jobs in the actual logging process may not materialize for them. One thing is certain - this most recent shift in forestry in the traditional Tsimshian territories cannot provide fewer employment opportunities for Tsimshian women than were provided when

logging was controlled by the large transnational companies up until the 1980s.

TSIMSHIAN WOMEN, WAGE LABOUR & PATRIARCHY

It may not be surprising that Tsimshian women experienced a steady decline of involvement in forestry as the industry became more industrialized. What complicates this picture is that Tsimshian women found steady employment in wage labour positions in another sector of the resource economy. From the 1880s until the 1950s, Aboriginal women provided the majority of workers for the salmon canneries on the north coast of BC. The reasons are very complex as to why Tsimshian women were integrated into the wage labour of fishing and not forestry. This would require an analysis of the ideology driving the European colonialists that is beyond the scope of this paper.

The massive growth of capitalism that occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries could not have occurred to the extent it did without the colonizing of indigenous peoples throughout the world. This process required that lands and resources be wrested from Aboriginal control, that independent Aboriginal workers be transformed into wage labourers, and that Aboriginal people be assimilated into a European set of values and economic structures. Furthermore, the Tsimshian practice of matrilineal descent, where people become part of the mother's group at birth and remain so for their entire lives, did not fit in with the European patriarchal model in which positions of authority and power were always male. Therefore, this practice had to be altered through their colonizing efforts. These goals were achieved largely through the efforts of the Christian missionaries and capitalists: the social and economic benefits of the potlatch were lost with the federal ban of 1881, male-

headed single family households were established, male and female labour was completely segregated, and subsistence activities on their lands such as hunting and fishing became more difficult to do. All of these policies were part of the colonial system that the Europeans forced Aboriginal people to live under. Colonialism is a system in which there is an unequal power relationship between two groups of people in which the group with the power gets to force their ideas of how the relationship should work onto the other group. Obviously, it was the First Nations who had to contend with white people who considered themselves superior.

The assimilationist policies of the federal government and the missionaries, most effectively delivered through residential schooling, eventually led to the Tsimshian and other First Nations to shift their own ideology regarding gender relations. Despite the fact that the Tsimshian had traditionally valued both male and female labour as crucial to the well-being of the family and the community, during the 20th century they internalized the European notion of the "male breadwinner." For some Tsimshian families, this idea extended into adopting the notion that married women should not have to work outside of the home. This exclusion from wage labour positions did nothing to enhance the power wielded by Tsimshian women. After a century of colonialization, the Tsimshian had adopted the patriarchal nuclear family structure that dominated 1950s North American culture.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of the Tsimshian, who have been living in what is now the northwestern coast of BC for 13 000 years, was profoundly affected by the arrival of European people and especially by their policies of colonization and assimilation. Despite the commonly held

assumption that it was only through the hard work and perseverance of white males in adverse conditions that Canada's west coast was developed, it is clear that the First Nations people themselves have been instrumental in this evolution. When the Europeans first came to the Tsimshian lands in the late 1700s, they encountered a highly developed, matrilineal culture whose basic form had been in place for at least 2500 years.

The Tsimshian have been using trees for functional and aesthetic purposes throughout their history. A major shift occurred in their relationship to working with wood, however, when wage labour began with the construction of Fort Simpson in 1834. Although men were required to cut the trees, only Tsimshian women were allowed to carry the wood into the fort. When sawmills began to appear in the Tsimshian territories in the late 1800s, Tsimshian men found more waged employment. Women also became involved with part of the handlogging production, an opportunity that arose during this same period because the sawmills bought from independent loggers. It was in these capacities that Tsimshian women were an integral part of their people's way of adapting to the changing conditions caused by the colonizing efforts of the Europeans. It was also their way of contributing to the family income and helped with several subsistence activities, including hunting and fishing. The women were also able to procure wage labour positions in the canning industry, positions that were lower in status than those in forestry.

When the handlogging option disappeared in the 1950s, so did the involvement of

Tsimshian women in forestry. The large transnational companies did not hire the women in any capacity and were a major influence in the deterioration of animal and fish habitats on Tsimshian lands. Moreover, the assimilationist policies of the colonizers resulted in the Tsimshian adopting the European patriarchal model of the male-led nuclear family household. Tsimshian women lost social power both in the community and in the family with these new conditions.

With the recent decline in resource-based industries in BC, however, the monopolistic policies of the large logging companies have given way to a variety of options for the Tsimshian people. Logging still holds the major potential for income, of course, and now that the Tsimshian are regaining control of the resources on their lands, this will undoubtedly be a large source of employment. Tsimshian women may find it more likely to be employed in spin-off forestry alternatives, such as in silviculture and possibly beachcombing.

Whatever the future holds for the Tsimshian, it is obvious that they have been key players in the evolution of forestry in northwestern BC. Despite the obstacles facing them, Tsimshian women have contributed significantly in a variety of ways to the family income through forestry. Recent changes in political and environmental conditions may provide an increase in employment opportunities for Tsimshian women, suggesting that brighter days may be on the horizon.

Forests for the Future • Unit 4

Lesson Three

Social Impact Matrix

The Tsimshian & the Pros & Cons of Waged Labour: 1834 to the Present

Materials

- Blackline Master 4-6, The Pros and Cons of Waged Labour Assignment
- Blackline Master 4-7, Pros and Cons chart

Major Understandings

1. Different economies, even within one industry such as forestry, can have varied impacts on the surrounding environment.
2. Changes in a society often have multiple effects; some are negative and some are positive.

Learning Outcomes

Social Studies 10

- assess the interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans
- analyze how geography influenced the economic, historical, and cultural development of western Canada
- assess local and global resource development issues from 1815 to the present, considering the concepts of stewardship and sustainability

Social Studies 11

- identify and use approaches from the social sciences and humanities to examine Canada and the world
- recognize connections between events and their causes, consequences and implications
- identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society
- assess implications of industrial and technological development for societies and cultures

BC First Nations Studies

- assess the impact of changing post-contact economies of First Nations societies
- describe the varied and evolving responses of First Nations peoples to contact and colonialism

Introduction

This lesson has been designed so that it will only work if the students have already completed lessons 1 and 2 of this unit. Students should work in groups of 3 for about 20 minutes. Follow this with a class discussion.

Suggested Activities

1. Find out what each of the following terms means?
 - a) subsistence
a system of production characterized by a yield that is barely more than the basic necessities of life
 - b) patriarchy
a form of social organization in which power and authority are vested in the males and in which descent is usually in the male line.

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- c) colonialism
an unequal power relationship between two groups of people in which the group with the power gets to force their ideas of how the relationship should work onto the other group
- d) ideology
any political theory which claims to understand the relationship between people and society, especially in economic and social terms, thereby deriving a program of political action
- e) matrilineage
unilineal descent group that claims real or fictive kinship through maternal ties to a common female ancestor through known genealogical links
- f) assimilation
the process by which a subordinate group becomes indistinguishably integrated into the dominant society

2. In the group your teacher assigned, use the two essays you have already read in the previous lesson plans to fill in the social matrix on the next page. Through discussion with your group members, you may be able to think of advantages (pros) and disadvantages (cons) that were not mentioned in the two essays.

Suggested Answers for Blackline Master 4-6

	Pros	Cons
Building the HBC Post 1834	-trade relationships with Europeans easier to create -some employment opportunities	-opening for Europeans into Tsimshian lands -European influence upon Tsimshian culture
Sawmill jobs: conversion to Christianity as prerequisite (1860s to 1900)	-steady wage labour opportunities close to home	-Christian influences enter Tsimshian culture -jobs require environmental degradation -divided Tsimshian communities are created along religious and new class lines
Beach-combing (1880s-1950s)	-employment opportunities are flexible and able to fit into traditional subsistence activities -entire families can be part of this activity	-still relied upon logging industry (for logs to break loose from log booms)
Industrial logging large corporations and clear-cutting (1920s – 1980s)	-high wage labour for Tsimshian men steady employment, especially if unionized (IWA)	-surrounding lands get damaged -fish and wildlife habitats damaged men were often away from families for long periods of time
Industrial logging: On Tsimshian reserve land (1960s – 1990s)	-high wage labour opportunities for Tsimshian men who are able to work close to their families	-reserve lands get ruined -pay-scale based on Indian status (non-status, non-aboriginal workers get higher pay increased inequalities of wealth in communities)

The Pros and Cons of Waged Labour Assignment

As you learned in the first lesson of this unit plan, the Tsimshian had used the forests long before the Europeans came to the North Coast. The trees themselves were used for homes and totem poles while the forests were the source of countless items that were integral to survival. When the Europeans first proposed to the Tsimshian that they help them build a Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Simpson (lax Kw'alaams) in 1834, the Tsimshian found themselves having to deal with an entirely new concept: waged labour.

The essay you read for Lesson 1 outlines the four different stages that the Tsimshian people have been involved in forestry for waged labour. Lesson 2 discussed the role of Tsimshian women during these four stages of working with the trees. You may need to refer to the two essays in these earlier lessons to help you with this exercise.

The purpose of this assignment is to help you understand the inevitable tensions that moved through the Tsimshian communities with each change with which they were confronted. You will be using an "impact matrix" in which you and the other members of your group are required to try and understand how each of the changes that were brought upon the Tsimshian people from outside forces (usually from the European colonizers) affected them.

There were often both advantages and disadvantages to each Tsimshian response to the changing conditions. For example, for a people who were used to sharing whatever they had with other members of the community, what might be a disadvantage when some people are paid for their labour while others aren't. Yet an advantage for the same situation may have been to cultivate peaceful relations with the white newcomers. Did waged labour in general create a stratified society among the Tsimshian communities? Did it change the way some Tsimshian members viewed the forest and nature? After all, as with all Aboriginal peoples, they viewed their relationship to nature as one of stewardship, as being responsible in the way they managed nature so that future generations of humans could also enjoy its benefits.

With any shift a society has to contend with, there are inevitable tensions among the people. Questions to consider as you work through the pros and cons of each period in the history of the Tsimshian with forestry may be: Who benefits? Who loses? How was the social organization of the Tsimshian altered in terms of family, gender and the "haves" and "have-nots"? How was the environment affected? How was other forms of using the forest affected by the changing models of waged labour in logging? Always consider if the change may have affected the way some Tsimshian people viewed and valued nature.

ASSIGNMENT:

1. What do each of the following terms mean?

- | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| a) subsistence | b) patriarchy | c) colonialism |
| d) ideology | e) matrilineal descent | f) assimilation |

2. In the group your teacher assigned, use the two essays you have already read in the previous lesson plans to fill in the social matrix on the next page. Through discussion with your group members, you may be able to think of advantages (pros) and disadvantages (cons) that were not mentioned in the two

	Pros	Cons
Building the HBC Post 1834)		
Sawmill jobs: conversion to Christianity as prerequisite (1860s to 1900)		
Beach-combing (1880s-1950s)		
Industrial logging large corporations and clear-cutting (1920s – 1980s)		
Industrial logging: On Tsimshian reserve land (1960s – 1990s)		

Forests for the Future • Unit 4

Lesson Four

Forestry and the Future: The Tsimshian in a Post- Treaty Environment

Materials

- Blackline Master 4-8, Forests in the Future: Background Information
- Blackline Master 4-9, Role-playing Possible Scenario for the Future
- Blackline Master 4-10 to 4-18, role playing descriptions

Major Understandings

1. Tsimshian resource management strategies are based upon stewardship and sustainability principles.
2. Local resource management strategies are often connected to global factors.
3. First Nations land and resource treaties are and will continue to be important aspects of geopolitical and economic relations in British Columbia.

Learning Outcomes

Social Studies 10

- assess the interaction between Aboriginal people and Europeans
- evaluate the impact of western expansion and federal policies on Aboriginal people
- assess the changing economic relationships between British Columbia and its major trading partners
- assess local and global resource development issues from 1815 to the present, considering the concepts of stewardship and sustainability

Social Studies 11

- identify and use approaches from the social sciences and humanities to examine Canada and the world
- reassess their responses to issues on the basis of new information
- recognize connections between events and their causes, consequences and implications
- identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society
- describe the role of Canada's First Nations peoples in shaping Canadian identity
- demonstrate understanding of the history and present status of Aboriginal land claims and self-government in Canada
- assess implications of industrial and technological development for societies and cultures
- apply understanding of location, place, movement, regions, and human interaction to global issues
- identify and assess environmental issues facing Canadians

BC First Nations Studies

- relate First Nations concepts of land and resource ownership to spiritual and other cultural dimensions, including language
- describe traditional BC First Nations technologies, including the uses of plants and animals

- compare current and traditional First Nations resource use and management
- analyze the exchange of ideas, practices, and materials between First Nations and other cultures, in historical and contemporary contexts, with reference to:
 - governance
 - economics
 - environment
 - language
- assess the impact of changing post-contact economies of First Nations societies
- describe the varied and evolving responses of First Nations peoples to contact and colonialism
- analyze land issues with reference to key events in First Nations resistance to land encroachment, locally, provincially, and nationally
- explain the significance of Canadian Supreme Court decisions for Aboriginal peoples, with reference to key cases
- explain contemporary economic development issues facing First Nations
- demonstrate an understanding of contemporary negotiations and agreements pertaining to Aboriginal self-determination

Introduction

Students will participate in a role playing activity set in a time after the Tsimshian Treaty has been signed and finalized. The Tsimshian Tribal Council has decided to hold a meeting in which all interested parties can voice their concerns. Students will role play a variety of stakeholders and make presentations to the council. The council will then decide on the best course of action to follow to manage the forest resources.

Here are the players:

1. The Tsimshian Tribal Council
2. Global Forest Industry Consultant
3. The Eco-Tourism Industry
4. Large Environmental Group
5. Tsimshian Loggers
6. Tsimshian Sawmill Management
7. Joint Venture Partner: a Large Logging Company
8. Harvesters of Non-Timber Items
9. Tsimshian Silviculture Management

Suggested Activities

1. Before beginning the role play activity, have students read the Background Information, Blackline Master 4-1.
2. Assign each student a role to play. If there are more students than roles, then assign more than one student to each interest group. The Tsimshian Tribal Council should always have at least three members in this exercise (and more, if possible). The descriptions of the roles and their respective positions are described below.
2. Cut the role descriptions up and give each student one. They are then to get into their groups to prepare. This preparation time is for each group to develop a short but concise speech that may sway the Tribal Council to their particular position.
3. The role descriptions are written in the second person. It is up to the students to re-write the points so that they are presentable to the Tsimshian Tribal Council.
4. Each group will make a 2 to 3 minute presentation.
5. At the end of the presentations, the "Tsimshian Tribal Council" will discuss options among themselves before delivering their decision on forest management and the reasons why they made that decision.

Extension Activity

Interested students can research one or more of the following Supreme Court of Canada decisions:

1. The Calder Decision (1973)
2. The Delgamu'ukw Decision (1997)
3. The Marshall Decision (1999)

The focus of the research should pertain to how these court decisions have strengthened the legal position of Canada's First Nations communities.

Websites, rather than books, are usually far more up to date on such issues.

Forests in the Future: Background Information

As we enter the twenty-first century, the forest economy - both in Canada and, more specifically, the province of British Columbia - would be best described as in a state of transition. The industrial model of logging, whereby large transnational companies control huge tracts of crown land, has been in a state of decline since the 1980s, resulting in calls for a restructuring of the industry. A widely supported environmental movement has gained strength in the province, forcing forestry companies to pay a lot more attention to how and where logging is done.

At the same time, the Aboriginal rights movement has come of age - Supreme Court of Canada decisions such as *Calder* (1973), *Delgamu'ukw* (1997), and *Marshall* (1998) have resulted in at least a legal understanding for non-Natives when it comes to settling Aboriginal treaties and recognizing Aboriginal title. The Nisga'a Treaty, which was finalized in 1998, became the first modern-day treaty in B.C. (It is significant that this province entered confederation in 1871 declaring that it did not have to negotiate treaties nor would it recognize Aboriginal title. The Nisga'a Lands border the Tsimshian Lands to the north. (Please refer to the map.)

The signing of the Nisga'a Treaty gave the Nisga'a increased control of harvestable timber on their land. The period leading up to the signing of the treaty saw a massive increase in logging on the land that was returned to the Nisga'a as forest companies acted to maximize profits before they lost timber rights. This situation will undoubtedly be the case for the Tsimshian, as well. (In early 2001, the Tsimshian are at Stage 4 of the 6-stage Treaty Process.)

As with the Nisga'a Treaty, the Tsimshian will also be affected by the global commodity price of pulp, paper and lumber. Depending on

the response of the Tsimshian, this could be result in either short-term gain or long-term security. For instance, if the world prices for pulp, paper and lumber remains at levels similar to 2000 (or even drop further), in order to create significant income for the communities logging will have to be done with industrial methods (i.e., clear-cut) rather than with sustainable methods (i.e., selective). Lumber exports from the North Coast area are primarily exported into two separate markets: the American housing market and the Asia Pacific.

Another response the Tsimshian might take is to wait until the world prices rise so that logging practices that fit in with sustainable development models will be profitable and long-lasting. A third option is for the Tsimshian to consider utilizing the forest in other ways in order to bring in income or leave it as a source of foodstuffs for Tsimshian families. This would be more in keeping with traditional notions of subsistence activities, as well as fit in with a "stewardship" approach to managing the forests.

Another complicating factor has to do with the huge amounts of financing initially required to make the logging economically viable. This is a result of the industrial logging model that began in the 1920s and reached its peak in the 1970s. Consequently, arrangements with non-Aboriginal firms, usually logging companies, have become necessary in order for the First Nations communities to gain access to capital and critical knowledge for local economic development. The Nisga'a have engaged in these partnerships, called joint ventures, since their treaty was completed and the Tsimshian will have to at least consider this option. A significant problem with the joint venture model is that employment opportunities for First Nations people are often restricted to non-management positions.

ROLE-PLAYING

Possible Scenario for the Future

Scenario

The Tsimshian Treaty has been signed and finalized. Yet conflicts have arisen over different visions for the forests on the Tsimshian Lands. The Tsimshian Tribal Council has decided to hold a meeting in which all interested parties can voice their concerns. In this post-Treaty environment, the Council has the authority to act in much the same way that a municipal government might act in a similar situation. The meeting will also serve as a forum for various members of the Tsimshian communities to offer their visions for how the forests should be managed.

Activity

1. You will be assigned a role to play in this possible scenario. You will form a group with the rest of the students who have the same role.
2. Read the background information handout 4-1.
3. Read your Role Description card. Each group member should read over the information on the card. and then decide how best to present its case to the Tsimshian Tribal Council in order to be the most persuasive.
4. Each group will meet among themselves and then decide how best to state their position in the presentation to the "Tsimshian Tribal Council." Each presentation should be approximately 2 to 3 minutes in length.
5. Make your presentation.
6. At the end of all the presentations, the "Tsimshian Tribal Council" will discuss options among themselves before delivering their decision on forest management and the reasons why they made that decision. (They can be viewed as an arbitration panel.)

Here are the players:

1. Tsimshian Tribal Council
2. Global Forest Industry Consultant
3. The Eco-Tourism Industry
4. Large Environmental Group
5. Tsimshian Loggers
6. Tsimshian Sawmill Management
7. Joint Venture Partner: A Large Logging Company
8. Tsimshian Silviculture Management
9. Harvesters of Non-Timber Items

TSIMSHIAN TRIBAL COUNCIL

Select a chairperson for the Council. The chairperson is responsible for chairing the forum. He or she will introduce the speakers, maintain order, ask for clarification when needed, and cast a deciding vote in the event of a tie.

Develop a set of criteria to be used by each Council member in order to evaluate the various groups' positions. This criteria should be the basis for the Council's final decision. For instance, how are you going to decide whose position makes more sense? The number of valid points put forth, the quality of the suggestions, the number of Tsimshian people affected, the concern for the Tsimshian economy, and the concern for the Tsimshian lands are only a few of the possible criterion. Perhaps use a checklist to develop a list of criteria. Ask your teacher for help if you need it.

After listening to each group's presentation, discuss with the other Council members as to how the Tsimshian should manage their forests. Are there other options you can think of that were not part of the presentations?

GLOBAL FOREST INDUSTRY CONSULTANT

As a paid consultant by the Tsimshian Tribal Council, you have no vested interest in the final decision made on the management of the forests on Tsimshian Lands. Your role is simply to explain how the world price of pulp, paper and lumber may impact on the economic plans of the Tsimshian.

Currently, the world price for forest products has dropped dramatically from its heyday in the 1970s. Therefore, in order for it to be profitable from the Tsimshian standpoint, logging must be done in a highly efficient manner. The degree of efficiency effectively knocks out the selective logging option at this point in time if they want to make any money from this enterprise.

There is speculation that the world price for pulp, paper and lumber will rise again, but not for another several years. The slowdown in the American housing market is the main reason for this and this trend is expected to continue for quite some time yet. Therefore, as far as you can tell the options are either to log huge tracts of land using efficient methods or do not log at all during this time. It may be wise to wait until the global demand for these products rises, especially in the U.S. and the Asia Pacific. This will undoubtedly happen, although you can't say for sure when this will occur.

You urge the Council to _____.

ECO-TOURISM INDUSTRY

Ecotourism, in this context, means "comprising nature, adventure, and cultural experiences in the countryside." It is a restricted kind of tourism which is based on travel to relatively undisturbed natural areas. It is regarded as ecologically sustainable in that it brings income to the local economy and requires long term conservation of the natural areas used.

There are two types of ecotourists: the experienced eco-traveler who wants to canoe, kayak, sail and hike, and the general consumer who wants to mainly hike and relax. Both groups are generally well-educated and middle-class, although the first group tends to spend more money for their vacation. Ecotourism is generally considered to be an increasingly important industry throughout B.C.

The general benefits of ecotourism are:

- it has a lot of economic potential
- it has far less impact on the environment than logging
- it has the potential to further community empowerment and participation

You urge the Council to _____.

LARGE ENVIRONMENTAL GROUP

Generally, the environmental movement is opposed to clearcut logging, especially of old-growth forests. Your group supports selective logging. Therefore, because the world prices of pulp, paper and lumber have dropped significantly in recent years, you are urging the Tsimshian Tribal Council to stop any further plans to log large tracts of land. There are more responsible ways to manage the forests: ecotourism and the harvesting of such items as fruit and pine mushrooms are two examples.

Should the Tsimshian Tribal Council go ahead with clear-cut logging, you will threaten them with lobbying potential buyers against purchasing Tsimshian lumber. (Remind them that this strategy has been very successful throughout the world, especially in Europe.)

You urge the Council to _____.

TSIMSHIAN LOGGERS

Nothing brings in more money to the communities than logging. This has been the case for the whole province for at least the past century. In the past, it has been non-Aboriginal people who have made the profits from logging, even when the logging has taken place on Tsimshian land.

With the treaty, the Tsimshian are now able to reap the benefits from this resource. You think it would be foolish to waste this opportunity. And because the world prices for paper, pulp and lumber have dropped, the Tsimshian must be efficient in the way they log. Therefore, Tsimshian loggers want logging to be done on huge tracts of land that are furthest away from the best hunting and fishing areas. In the future, when the world prices rise, as they undoubtedly will, perhaps then the Tsimshian can consider selective methods of logging. This is the best way to ensure that the people in the Tsimshian communities will receive the most money now that they have control of forest lands.

You urge the Council to _____.

TSIMSHIAN SAWMILL MANAGEMENT

Your position is simple. Logging creates a lot of decent employment opportunities and so does milling. And this means a lot more money for all Tsimshian people.

If the Tsimshian Tribal Council decides to stop the logging industry from continuing, you want them to be aware that it will only be a short period of time before the sawmills have to shut down, too. And this means that over 40 Tsimshian people will lose their jobs, and that over 40 Tsimshian families will have less food to eat. Your position is that trees are the greatest resource of the Tsimshian. The forest industry is the best way of making decent money and now with the treaty the Tsimshian can finally keep most of it, too. You want to point out to the community that the Tsimshian have to be careful, but to stop logging completely, or even slow it down significantly, is absolutely ludicrous!

You urge the Council to _____.

JOINT VENTURE PARTNER: A LARGE LOGGING COMPANY

You are only interested in doing business with the Tsimshian as far as logging interests go. You are a business and as a business your aim is to make money. Your argument centers around how both you and the can benefit from an arrangement in which you supply most of the initial investment and technical know-how and the Tsimshian supply the loggers. There is enough money to be made for all concerned. The management of Tsimshian forests should be thought of in this way. Yet the forests can only make this kind of money if the Tsimshian keep the partnership they entered with you into the future. You urge the Council to recognize that the Tsimshian need your money while you need Tsimshian people to do the logging.

There has been lots of talk lately of slowing down the logging, or even stopping it entirely. The Tribal Council must realize that there is nothing in the forests that can bring in anywhere near the income as logging can. The entire history of the B.C. economy has depended on logging. It would be foolish for the Tsimshian to turn their backs on this great industry, especially when so many Tsimshian men can continue getting excellent wages to support their families? There are no other jobs in the forest that can pay anywhere near as well as logging. Now that the treaty has been done, the Tsimshian people as a whole can finally make some money off of the trees in your forests.

Lastly, you should remind the Tribal Council that if they decide to slow down or even stop logging, your company has no interest in doing business with them. Your company will only do business only where you can make money.

You urge the Tsimshian Tribal Council to _____.

TSIMSHIAN SILVICULTURE MANAGEMENT

You should base your argument around two themes: clear-cut logging has destroyed Tsimshian territory ; and silviculture can create employment opportunities for the Tsimshian that does NOT destroy the environment.

To begin, point out that anyone who have driven around the back roads of B.C. knows that the logging companies have been too greedy for far too long in this province. There are too many parcels of land that have been destroyed by clear-cult logging. There are too many salmon habitats that have been destroyed by the careless logging methods the companies have used in the past. Some of the original Tsimshian lands have finally been returned but they have been returned in a damaged condition. The lands need time to heal.

Secondly, on the issue of jobs, point out that the best way to allow Tsimshian logging to continue so that future generations can also benefit from it is to get serious about planting trees. Silviculture is a growing industry throughout B.C. and the Tsimshian would be foolish not to invest some serious time and money into it. In this way, new jobs will immediately be created for young people today as well as future logging jobs Silviculture has demonstrated that it provides good, stable employment. The Tsimshian should not forget this. In fact, they should help it develop so that it can even provide more new jobs. And who knows? Over time, perhaps these jobs will be almost as high-paying as the logging jobs are.

You urge the Council to _____.

HARVESTERS of NON-TIMBER ITEMS

Now that the Tsimshian have had their lands returned to them, your position is that they should go back to the way that their ancestors used the forest. (After all, you are a Tsimshian, too.) In other words, the Tsimshian should not look at the forest as a way to make money but see it as a source of things they need to live. They can treat the forest with respect and not worry about global prices and investment money and things that destroy the spirit. Even recently some Tsimshian people have been going into the forest to get the things they need in the same way that their ancestors did a long time ago. Only the Tsimshian have noticed the changes that have occurred because of all the logging that has taken place in the forests ever since the white people came here.

Point out that if the Tsimshian allow the forests to be clear-cut, what has been learned from the lessons of the past 70 years? The animals will leave, the fish habitats will be ruined, and your people will also lose all of the other things in the forest that can be used or sold to others to use.

The history the Tsimshian have lived with since non-Aboriginal people have wanted the trees on their lands has made many of them blind to other things the forest offers, things that will also bring in significant amounts of money. You currently pick three types of mushrooms for money: pine mushrooms, chanterelles, and morels. European countries such as Germany, France and Italy like to import chanterelles and morels. The Japanese have been paying very good prices for your pine mushrooms, which they call matsutake. In Japan, matsutake is considered a delicacy and many people believe that eating it increases a person's energy and will help them live longer. Because the areas where pine mushrooms grow are very fragile, logging always results in the end of pine mushrooms growing there.

Also, mushroom picking is an occupation that people of all ages can do and therefore it is an

industry that can help develop community spirit. The influx of tourists to your lands is also causing a detrimental effect on the areas in which mushrooms, especially matsutake, are able to produce.

Besides mushrooms, there are 29 plants growing in B.C. that are used for medicinal and pharmaceutical purposes. Two of them, western yew bark and cascara, are actually sold to make money. Western yew bark is in your forests. If the loggers have their way, the Tsimshian will lose the chance to develop these opportunities to bring income to our communities by selling these items for people's health. The number of health-food stores and distributors in Vancouver alone strongly suggest that there is a market for these things just waiting to be tapped into.

Furthermore, there are 34 indigenous species of fruits and berries harvested in B.C., 7 of which are sold commercially. These are saskatoon berries, black currants, blackberries, Canada blueberries, oval-leafed blueberries, red huckleberries, and high-bush cranberries. Several of these berries actually grow naturally in the forests of our lands. Point out that the market for these berries will only grow, both in Canada and the U.S., especially as people come to request more environmentally-friendly products.

There is also an increasing demand for craft products, such as baskets and other woven products, made from native plant species. Some of the other plants that grow in your forests are also desirable for landscaping, especially in the Lower Mainland. Therefore, the logging should end, especially with the low world prices for pulp, paper and lumber. You want to develop jobs and markets for all of these other products.

You have your land back. You should untie ourselves from the money system that has been imposed on you from other people, people who don't care about your land. The Tsimshian are the only ones who can take care of their lands now. And this is the way it should be.

You urge the Council to

_____.