THE PARADOX OF DEVELOPMENT:
LHEIDLI T'ENNEH
PERSPECTIVES ON RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

by

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Abstract

In 2006 Enbridge's Gateway Pipeline project was one of six proposed pipelines to cross the Lheidli traditional territory in British Columbia, Canada. This, however, was not the first foray of oil and gas development in the territory as there were already two pipelines laid right through the middle of the Lheidli Indian Reserve #2. The initial purpose of my research was to examine how the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation view oil and gas development within their traditional territory in light of Enbridge's plans. However, during the interview process in 2006, I realized that the research topic was too narrowly defined, as community members (Chief Dominic Frederick, Ron Seymour, Margaret Gagnon, Mary John, Violet Bozoki, Frank Frederick, Curtis Seymour, Vanessa West, Deryl Seymour, Rena Zatorski, Corinna Joseph, and Irvin Gagnon) did not talk specifically about the Gateway Project. Rather, they spoke about development on a broad scale as it has affected them and their community. Therefore this thesis ended up being about the paradox of development. The community retains ideas of traditional stewardship but also sees the need for or inevitability of economic development within their territory. The Lheidli community is concerned that the jobs that they need will destroy the very land, plants and animals that sustain their culture. Younger generations note the need for jobs despite their own deep rooted respect for the elders' opinions of protective stewardship. They too retain these values. Although arguing for a need for increased employment they are not arguing for modernist development. Rather they would like to have employment and a healthy land base. The key issues revealed in the research include the challenges of consultation, capacity building and community development in the face of industrial development and government programs and policies that interfere with traditional Lheidli practices. In order to properly understand why participants are in the position that they are in, it is necessary to view Lheidli T'enneh and Dakelh history, and then listen to their voices to show where the community is today and why they have the concerns they do.

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Dedication

During the writing of this thesis two participant Lheidli members, Margaret Gagnon and Ron Seymour, unfortunately passed away, as did my own father, Barry Hughes. It is to their memory that this thesis is dedicated.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Topic, Literature and Methodology

Introduction

In this thesis, I present the paradox of development for the Lheidli T'enneh of the Prince George region of British Columbia, based on an examination of the development of the region and the interviews I conducted with Lheidli T'enneh community members of three different generations. It illustrates how Lheidli T'enneh First Nation community members view development within their traditional territory, what they view as positive development for their community and the paradox and challenges associated with it. Conclusions are based on what Lheidli members said in the interviews I conducted with 12 people, either Band members or, in the case of Mary John, born and raised as a Lheidli member but married into Saik'uz. I begin with an examination of the history of development in Canada and the Lheidli T'enneh region.

Throughout history, Canada has been a nation of resource development and extraction. Morris Zaslow (1988), a historian of Canada's hinterlands, wrote that Canada has a history of northern development that has shifted through the landscape, with the passage of time. Chief Justice Thomas Berger (1977) building on the work of historians like Zaslow, wrote that Canadian development comprises the industrial machine moving through the hinterland and commodifying nature to be exploited by a populace outside the zone of extraction. However, this application ignores the fact that from fish to the fur trade, Aboriginal peoples have always been at the forefront of development (Knight 1978/1996). This is the case in the Lheidli T'enneh's history. While initially involved in fur trading, fishing, clearing land, and lumbering, Lheidli T'enneh lands increasingly became industrialized and exploited by outside interests. Today, they

have attempted to create a new economy and build their own capacity while they still experience racism and live with the laws that came with colonialism and the modern Canadian State that have favoured the interests of the industrial capitalist economy.

The Lheidli T'enneh Nation has a traditional territory of approximately 4.6 million hectares, located in central British Columbia. The area stretches just west of Prince George eastwards to the town of Jasper in Alberta, north to Summit Lake, and as far south as Valemount (in the southeast corner) (see Appendix D Map). This is the area over which the Lheidli T'enneh have been traditional stewards and this is the area that they have been trying to protect while participating in the region's economy.

This document presents the historical and contemporary Lheidli T'enneh position in the changing economic context which has engulfed them up to the period of 2006 when the interviews were conducted.

My Interest in the Research

Throughout my academic life I have researched northern development and the issues that are inherent with Canadian Aboriginal development. Although First Peoples in what in now Canada, participated in the changing economy over the past 300 years, they have increasingly been excluded from active participation (see for example; Hudson 1983). It is my hope that this thesis will document the voice of Lheidli T'enneh community members on the issues of development today, and will also explain for a larger audience why different generations are struggling to find a balance between development on the one hand, and protection of Lheidli T'enneh lands, on the other. The thesis illustrates this paradox. The Lheidli T'enneh community faces hard choices and even within industrial capitalism this small community with a large land base, is resilient and concerns for stewardship remain.

My personal interest in the Lheidli T'enneh Nation and development is rooted in my educational and life experiences. Over my lifetime I have seen oil and gas issues consume society. Too young to have been directly impacted by the oil shock of the 1970's, I have nevertheless watched the economic push to develop resources my entire life. News on television often brought issues of exploration and government inquiry into our living room, including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Commission. The push to develop continues; recent events have highlighted a new energy crisis as the United States needs to extract more energy from their northern-most state, Alaska, and from multiple Middle Eastern countries. The importance of oil energy is highlighted by the United States' aggressive foreign policies, initiating wars (Iran, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Iraq) over energy security, enabling gas to reach a record high of $147 a barrel in 2008 (Aasen and Hughes 2005). Closer to home, the British Columbia government has fought to expand resource extraction from culturally and environmentally sensitive areas such as Clayoquot Sound and Haida Gwaii. In the neighbouring province of Alberta the tar sands expansion has triggered an explosion of criticism including First Nations complaints of the negative impacts. In western Canada, there is a plethora of pipelines being planned. In British Columbia plans are being made to run pipelines from the tar sands projects to the British Columbia coast (Pembina Institute, 2009). The Mackenzie Valley and Alaska Highway Pipelines are back on the table after a hiatus of thirty years.

Canada's history of disputed territorial ownership between the colonists and the First Peoples is another issue that I have followed throughout my academic career. Indigenous people in Canada have voiced concerns about environmental issues and initiated blockades, court challenges and protests against the state's development agenda (Mills 1994). In addition Aboriginal nations have worked to seek recognition of their Aboriginal rights and title to the

land, and redress for many other historic grievances. Although I am of non-Native ancestry, this media exposure caused me to re-evaluate my socialization and question the government's development agenda.

With these influences informing my intellectual curiosity, I decided to pursue a post-secondary education after ten years in the business community. For my undergraduate work I enrolled in UNBC's innovative Northern Studies Program, where I investigated northern economic development in the Mackenzie Valley. For my graduate work, I started an MA in Political Science, and then switched into the First Nations Studies Graduate Program. Here, I continued to examine Canadian northern development and its impacts on First Nations' communities. The topic of development in First Nations' territories was a natural fit given my familiarity with the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, its impacts, and the commissions and policies that resulted from its proposal.

Positioning Myself in First Nations Studies

The goal of the First Nations Studies Program at UNBC is to present Aboriginal viewpoints and to contextualize what is important to First Peoples (UNBC 2006). Academics in the area of First Nation Studies have a two-fold responsibility: "meeting the demands of the academic community as well as meeting the demands of the Aboriginal communities" (Kulchyski, 1999, p.15). The discipline is unique within university studies in requiring that researchers be concerned with colonization and with the decolonization process (Smith 1999).

Because First Nations Studies is a relatively young academic discipline, the theoretical models that have traditionally been used within other social science disciplines such as economics and political science may offer little but a colonial perspective. Theories of economic growth and societal change are often reduced to simple economic scales that assess communities

based on cash income and that miss or discount traditional models of sustenance and organization. Theoretical models also tend to be skewed to a Euro-centric vision of commodification, turning nature's integrity into resources and reducing any possible spiritual, cultural, or people's land trust values to the type of data important to western thinkers and industrial capitalism (Sahlins 1972, Berger 1977, Sherry and Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation 1999, Smith 1999). First Nations' culture is more than just people processing the land for food and survival, and it is definitely more than economics. Nature is central to the Aboriginal belief system, and balance is essential to this system (Sherry and Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation 1999, Sherry and Myers 2002). Balance and a holistic view are also central to the discipline of First Nations Studies in which the community's voice and traditional knowledge are vital to the academic endeavour (Kobrinsky 1973).

For my required graduate internship (2004-2005) in First Nations Studies I worked with the Community Treaty Council (CTC) of the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation, under the supervision of Rick Kreibel, the Director of Treaty Policy and Research. As the negotiation of the treaty was of primary concern to the community, meetings were well attended with representation of the various families within the community. My duties included research on oil and gas activity within the Lheidli T'enneh territory and presentation of the material to the community leaders and Elders of the CTC. My primary focus was on pipeline development, well-head activity, and alternative petroleum resources (e.g. coal bed methane) within the traditional territory. This was a priority issue because these forms of development could cause immediate economic and environmental impacts to the community. Participating with the Council allowed me to observe key concerns of community members from their own point of view.

Hearing firsthand about these concerns from the Treaty Council allowed me to view proposed development through an indigenous lens. Viewing the concerns of the community at a grass roots level helped me to listen and learn from individuals informed by past experiences with resource projects. My university education on northern development issues allowed me to see the correlation of other, past development projects that have not delivered the promised necessary means for capacity building at the community level.

In 2004, Enbridge, a Canadian-based energy company, proposed building a pipeline project that would span 1,100-1,300 kilometres from Alberta's tar sands project to the Pacific Ocean (Enbridge N.D.). The pipeline, named the 'Gateway' pipeline, would commence either in Fort McMurray or Edmonton, Alberta and traverse northern Alberta and British Columbia, crossing several First Nations territories to terminate at the port of Kitimat, BC (Enbridge presentation 2005). Under the proposed plan the pipeline would cross the northeastern corner of the Lheidli traditional territory. At the time of my internship, the Lheidli community was concerned about the impacts of the pipeline, though the pipeline corridor was considered fairly remote from the community village. Further discussion of this issue was over shadowed by the far more pressing activity of the negotiation of the Lheidli land claim and treaty. It was at this time that I thought the Enbridge pipeline would make an interesting MA thesis topic. I decided to approach the Lheidli T'enneh government and seek permission to work with them on a topic that would help their community and allow me to continue to develop my knowledge of pipelines, mega-development and First Nations concerns with these issues.[1]

I was fortunate to be approached and subsequently employed by the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council (CSTC) to co-author a report that was designed to assist them in completing their own socio-economic impact assessment of the Enbridge Gateway pipeline on their lands and their

way of life. In other words, the CSTC wanted to understand the potential positive and negative impacts of oil and gas development on other communities, complete their assessment of potential impacts to their communities so that they could respond to Enbridge.

The final report for the CSTC, *Development Leads to Development* (Aasen and Hughes 2006), consisted of seven case studies:

1. Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;
2. Norman Wells pipeline;
3. Trans-Alaska pipeline – Fairbanks;
4. Northeastern British Columbia;
5. Treaty 8 and the Alberta Tar Sands;
6. The Lubicon Cree; and
7. South and Central Alberta Case- Hobbema (Ermineskin Cree Nation, Samson Cree Nation, Louis Bull Tribe, Montana First Nation), Enoch, Saddle Lake, Stoneys, the Paul Band, Maskwaciys Cree Nation.

The Aasen and Hughes study highlights the proposed and subsequently known impacts of oil and gas development on these communities. The report is the only known collective impact study of its kind and, therefore, is potentially valuable in the overall assessment of the impacts of oil and gas for other Native communities within Canada. I am situating the Lheidli case in a larger framework in order to illustrate the context within which the Lheidli community members find themselves.

Case Studies of Oil and Gas Development in First Nations Contexts

Case studies such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (Berger 1977), the Norman Wells pipeline (DIAND 1986), Trans-Alaska pipeline (Dixon 1978) and the Déne Gondie study on employment (Déne Nation 1986) highlight First Nations issues in the face of development and immediate after development of oil and gas. It should be noted that the oil and gas developments that were reviewed all involve locations and routes that were relatively remote from previous industrial activities. They are areas that had not been impacted by agriculture and other

development. The studies show that with project incursion, accidents and incidence of violence increased towards the local First Nations, as did racism, hatred and social malaise (Dixon, 1978, p.11, 75-77, 91). The case studies however, differ slightly from the Lheidli T'enneh experience, where a century of cumulative impacts have damaged the environment and where agriculture and city development has consumed large portions of the land base. However the case studies apply because all cases involved an outside workforce coming into the area, resulting in damage to the environment, increased hunting by non-natives and other impacts to land (Berger 1977, Déne Nation 1986, Weller 1989, Aasen & Hughes 2005).

The case studies show that in the late 1960s and 1970s, industry did not recognize First Nations people as an asset of the local workforce and instead elected to bring outside workers into areas of development. This led to further community marginalization, racism, and Aboriginal anger towards resource companies, which inspired indigenous community mobilization as seen in the Mackenzie Valley Commission's testimonies (Berger 1977, Abele, 1983, 1989). The case studies reveal that when companies started to hire locally in the late 1970s, Aboriginal people experienced scheduling conflicts with seasonal rounds (Abele 1989). At this time Aboriginal employees experienced a lack of job equity with non-native colleagues in the same company (Stabler, 1988, p.34-37). In addition, Community members were mainly hired for three types of jobs: labourers; security staff; and kitchen staff. All were low-paying, low-responsibility jobs. Stabler (1988, p.17) concluded that discrimination toward First Nation people decreased as the education levels of the Aboriginal worker increased.

Two Decades later, there are still major problems with First Nation employment in the oil and gas sector. The jobs are highly skilled while the local work force is untrained. An additional challenge is that the well paid employment that comes with skilled jobs requires employee

mobility. Those who achieve specific training or expertise would have to leave the community as the short term localized employment ends (for example, pipeline welders must move with the advancement of the pipeline) (DIAND 1986). Ultimately, the end of the pipeline means moving to another region of Canada or internationally. For many First Nations people seeking employment those terms of employment are not acceptable.

As mentioned previously, both in the past and at present, when training has been provided for local opportunities, not enough planning was done, creating a short-fall of time to train individuals (DIAND 1986, Déne Nation 1986). Frances Abele (1989) and the Déne Nation (*Déne Gondie* 1986) both assert that, in terms of jobs, little benefit has ever been realized by communities located within resource extraction areas. (See Appendix F 'Table of Impacts' experienced in the above case studies). Local Aboriginal communities agree that they receive little benefit from oil and gas development either individually or as communities (DIAND 1986, Déne Nation 1986).

While monetary infusion is important to communities, it does not compensate for the impact a mega-project will have within an area. This is especially true given the nature of boom-bust economic cycles in resource based communities (Berger 1977, Bone, 1992, p.104-105). As York (1992) has pointed out, the aftermath of large amounts of temporary income include increased consumer debt and social destabilization, generally with no community social institutions to deal with the onslaught of problems (York, 1992, p.95-96). Hobbema serves as an example of what can happen to traditional cultural values and community cohesion when historic factors (the loss of the way of life) combine with colonial policies and sudden wealth to create social problems. As Hobbema exemplifies, the monetary gain for a community is of little benefit for the whole community without the social structures in place to meet the community's needs

(York 1992). The *Déne Gondie* report (Déne Nation 1986) recognized similar issues, such as increased alcoholism, and recommended implementing community programs that are able to address the problems associated with resource development.

Consultation, Legal Challenges and Changes

A major issue that has confronted First Nations' communities is the ongoing issue of consultation. It is useful to describe some of the history of this process because it was brought up in the course of the interviews and is key to addressing the Lheidli T'enneh Nation's concerns for their lands and their ability to build capacity and their ability to control environmental impacts affecting their land base. The challenges of consultation are not Lheidli T'enneh specific but with others have come to the forefront of First Nations' concerns because of industry impacts on native communities, increasing social pressures, and evolving Canadian law. Starting in the late 1960's a new dialogue between resource companies and First Nations' groups became necessary as Aboriginal groups found effective ways to challenge the status quo.

Resource companies today, are aware that regulations regarding "consulting" with native communities are required in order to proceed. Therefore they must consult. However, what constitutes 'consultation' is not entirely clear and is therefore subject to interpretation and manipulation. Usually consultation focuses on the benefits the First Nation community can expect through participation in the development. Though mandatory within the territorial north, benefit plans have also become a useful tool upon which First Nations in the provincial north can base their benefit models (Canada, Dept. of Justice, 2010). Unfortunately, the provincial north has no such mandatory legislation, but court case precedent, public pressure and the fear of blockades from affected local area First Nations force companies and governing bodies to address their needs (Hughes Interviews 2006, see Appendix C). Empowered Aboriginal groups

have also utilized Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, which entrenches the "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal people of Canada" to address grievances as well as the "claims process" (Government of Canada 1982). These issues are expanded on below.

Increasing industrial intrusion from 1950-1970 precipitated a need to directly confront development in the north. As Abele (1983, 1989, 2003) notes, the phases of colonization were confronted by the Aboriginal rights movement and by community members asking serious questions about project impacts on their daily lives. Feeling their voice was not being heard, Aboriginal communities began challenging the increasing development agenda of the government at this time.

In 1969, the Nisga'a Tribal Council filed a motion referred to casually as the Calder case. In this court case, the Nisga'a argued that Aboriginal title to their traditional lands had not been extinguished (Asch 1984). The subsequent split decision cast sufficient doubt on the government's claim of ownership and reaffirmed the potential existence of Aboriginal rights and title (Asch 1984, Elliot 2005). In 1973, a group of Déne Chiefs in northern Canada filed a caveat to stop further development on their lands until their ownership was recognized, contesting the government's claim that Indigenous groups under Treaty 8 and Treaty 11 had surrendered the title to their lands (Fumoleau 1976, Abele, 1983, p.116-117). This caveat became known informally as the Paulette Caveat and cast doubt on the reliability of the government's version of the surrender of land under Treaties 8 and 11 (Fumoleau 1976). This became a springboard for the Déne land claim within the Northwest Territories (Watkins 1977). The Canadian government's response to pressure from the Calder judgement, and the success of the Paulette Caveat, led to a commission under the guidance of Chief Justice Berger in 1974 over the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project (Berger 1977). The Canadian government was forced by the

uncertainty cast on the land title to address the outstanding issue of Aboriginal land claims, and established the Comprehensive and Specific Claims Process (Cassidy& Norman, 1988, p.9, CSTC 2006). In this process:

> Comprehensive claims were identified as claims based upon traditional native occupancy of lands not previously dealt with by treaty or other means. Specific claims were defined as those which occurred where an existing act (such as the Indian Act), agreement, or treaty was allegedly violated. (Cassidy & Norman, 1988, p.9)

The Carrier Sekani Tribal Council's (CSTC) Aboriginal Interests & Use Study on the Proposed Gateway Pipeline (2006) best sums up their position on Aboriginal rights and title to their traditional territory by citing Delgamuukw and Sparrow, two other very important land mark cases:

> Canadian constitutional law recognizes that Aboriginal people have rights of ownership over the land and its resources, and that this ownership, or Aboriginal title, "encompasses the right to exclusive use and occupation of land ... the right to what uses lands can be put, ... and third, that lands held pursuant to Aboriginal title have an inescapable economic component" (Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, [1997J 3 S.c.R. 1010, para. 166). Moreover, the law recognizes that Aboriginal rights, such as hunting and fishing, are priority rights, and take precedence over non-Aboriginal activities (R. v. Sparrow, 70 D.L.R. (4th) 385 (SCC)).

Thus, it is the CSTC's position that they must be consulted over potential infringement on their Aboriginal rights under Section 35 of the Constitution. Legal precedent confirms that First Nations must be consulted if there is potential for the infringement of their constitutionally protected rights. The problem is that the constitution does not specify what these rights are leaving room for interpretation and contention.

In 2004, the Supreme Court ruled on two landmark cases: the Haida Nation v. B.C. (Minister of Forests) and Taku River Tlingit v. B.C. (Project Assessment Director). The ruling rejected the Crown's defense that they did not need to consult with Aboriginal peoples about land and resource decisions until their rights were proven in court (West Coast Environmental

Law 2005). The Supreme Court of Canada acknowledged the delayed nature of the court system and ruled: "When the distant goal of proof is finally reached, the Aboriginal peoples may find their land and resources changed and denuded" (West Coast Environmental Law 2005). The Supreme Court of Canada, recognizing the adverse impacts industrial development can have on the environment, ruled that:

> "[t]he Crown, acting honourably cannot cavalierly run roughshod over Aboriginal interests where claims affecting these interests are being seriously pursued ... the honour of the Crown may require it to consult with and reasonably accommodate Aboriginal interests pending resolution of the claim" (West Coast Environmental Law 2005).

In the Haida case, the court accepted the argument that consultation must be done on a macro regional scale and that industry has a duty to uphold the honour of the Crown and have meaningful consultation. If they fail to do so, their resource access may be revoked:

> Depending upon the strength of the First Nation's claim, and the degree of infringement proposed, the Crown's duty to consult and accommodate may be extensive - meaningful consultation must also entail the possibility that, through consultation, the Crown comes to understand that in the circumstances, it cannot let the proposed infringement proceed. The honour of the Crown is not "mere incantation" (Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Ministry of Forests), [2004] 3 S.C.R 511, para.16), ... and the Crown does not have a unilateral right to exploit claimed resources, to deprive Aboriginal claimants of the benefit of claimed resources, nor to proceed with proposed infringements to claimed rights or title (West Coast Environmental Law 2005, Haida, para.27).

These rulings by the courts force companies to consult Aboriginal communities about development on their lands. As mentioned, the interpretation of what constitutes Aboriginal rights and meaningful consultation is contested between First Nations groups and industry (Marsden 2006), leaving industry still able to dictate what they consider consultation in the absence of a court case.

The definition of meaningful consultation is user-defined, complex, and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is pertinent to understand what the courts define as meaningful consultation. According to Marsden (2006, p.40-41), the courts investigate consultation on a case by case basis and it is up to the community to challenge the deficiency of each resource project's consultative process. The sheer number of development applications that overwhelm First Nations communities makes proper First Nation's consultation impossible, as the burden of proof is placed upon the community who lack capacity. Of particular interest is Marsden's analysis of the Arnstein "ladder of participation," which is a graphic display of citizen involvement in the decision making process. Within this model of involvement, resource companies consulting with, but not listening to the concerns of First Nations' communities demonstrates a high level of tokenism. First Nations want more than to be consulted, they want political power. Marsden (2006, p.101) concludes from her survey of local native communities that "First Nations maintain that their consent is integral to resource management decision making." However, resource companies have "no duty to reach [an] agreement" (Marsden 2006, p.101) as they are only required to show that they attempted adequate consultation with the affected group. They do not recognize First Nations rights to full political involvement over their lands and resources.

The latest Supreme Court legal decision (CSTC 2010) states that the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council (CSTC) is able to sue the Canadian government for damages for their failure to consult the Tribal Council over Alcan's Kemano project. While the total legal goal of CSTC was not attained, it "is the first time the Supreme Court of Canada has indicated that damages could be an appropriate remedy for a failure to consult" (CSTC 2010) and "strengthens past legal decisions...[such] as Haida 2004" (Vice Chief Terry Teegee, CSTC 2010).

Lheidli Land Claims

There are many issues that have contributed to the economic uncertainty experienced by the Lheidli T'enneh Nation including unsettled land claims with the federal (and provincial) government. Like other Dakelh nations the Lheidli T'enneh have never surrendered the Aboriginal title to their land and therefore were able to enter the Comprehensive Claims Process. The British Columbia Treaty Commission (BCTC) has been a failure for the Lheidli T'enneh. A huge problem of the process is that all Aboriginal nations have to self fund their participation. This is a costly affair when negotiations are dragged out over many years with little to show for the process, besides large mounting debt with which the communities engaged in the treaty process are saddled. The CSTC ended its participation in the BCTC process after doubting the federal and provincial governments' political will for honest settlement. The CSTC now have an outstanding debt of $18.2 million dollars to show for their open-mindedness (CSTC 2007). Their belief that the government wanted to settle the outstanding land issue through the comprehensive land claims process no longer exists. The reality is that most First Nations communities have limited resources to engage in the process. The government utilizes the power differential to their advantage, which has forced First Nations that have wanted closure into a never ending state of indebtedness and uncertainty over development (CSTC 2007).

According to Wonders (2007) the Lheidli T'enneh were only allowed to negotiate over 8% of their traditional territory (Wonders 2007). Rick Krehbiel (News 250 2007), Director of Policy and Research for the Lheidli T'enneh Treaty negotiating team, states that the community spent $6 million dollars attempting to negotiate a treaty, with the Canadian government wanting the Lheidli T'enneh community to cede 99.9% of their traditional territory in exchange for 4000

hectares and certain rights to fisheries, governance and natural resources (see also; Government of BC, 2006). The draft document failed to be ratified with the required community vote of 70% for approval because the community wanted economic certainty and self governance and did not want to cede their rights to their traditional territory (Lheidli T'enneh 2006, News 250 2007, see also; Lheidli T'enneh Community Survey 2007).

Theory and Methodology Used

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies,* Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes:

> A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed. A research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence. Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses. Methods become the means and procedures through which the central problems of research are addressed. (Smith 1999, p.143)

Initially, I was interested in seeing how the Lheidli of the different generations relate to the Modernization 'theory' approach to development. Scholars (Sahlins 1972, Berger 1977, Watkins 1977, Hudson 1983, Asch 1984, Elias 1991, York 1992, Usher 1993, RCAP 1996) who have written on the positive and/or negative effects of resource projects on Aboriginal communities are split into two distinct camps on its effects: those who subscribe to the modernization paradigm of development (the Modernists) and those who do not. Modernization literature (Lipset 1959, Rostow 1960, Huntington 1968, Frank 1969, Parsons 1971) views industrial development as a positive tool for the development of a society. The assumption of modernization is that 'traditional economies' are outmoded or antiquated and need to be 'improved' by the benefits that 'developed' economies will bring to them (Rostow 1960, Watkins 1977, Berger 1977, Hudson 1983, Asch 1989). Usually there are a number of traits assigned to the 'traditional' or 'under-developed' economy that need to be changed so that the 'traditional' or 'under-developed' economy and people will advance to a state where their

economies are fully developed (Rostow 1960, Cardosa 1972, Berger 1977, Asch 1989). Of course the assumed benefits of capitalism serve as the ideal model for all societies (Rostow 1960). In short, modernists see something deficient with 'traditional' economies and often describe them as impoverished (Berger 1977). The assumption in the Canadian development context is that people need the cash from wage labour and this cash will improve their lives. Because of taxation everyone's lives are improved through the programs the government provides (Aasen 2011 personal communication). Under the modernization paradigm, the negative effects of industrial development are rarely revealed and if they are discussed at all they are understood to be necessary as a sacrifice for the greater good of society (Berger 1977, Usher 1993, Canada, RCAP, 1996). Modernization theory is linked to Canada's colonial beginnings where an economic malaise and poverty are believed to exist if the society is not fully integrated into the capitalist mode of production (Berger 1977). Modernization proponents, e.g. the government and industry, see the Canadian north as a place that needs development (Rea 1968, Abele 1987). Sahlins (1972) points out modernists' assumption that no industrial development in a specific region must mean a low standard of living for that region. The Canadian state, as the proponent and perpetuator of modernist thought and a practitioner of colonialism, sought and seeks to industrialize Aboriginal lands (Usher, 1993, p.105).

There are many scholars (Abele 1989, Asch 1984, 1989, Berger 1977, Innis 1956, Wallerstein 1975, Watkins 1977), who are highly critical of the modernist thought. Elias (1991, p.10) states that "the modernization paradigm essentially advocates the destruction of traditional culture by the culture of modernism." Usher (1982, 1993) contends that industry and government assume that the solution to transforming a 'traditional' economy to a 'modern' economy is industrialization and wage employment. Proponents of modernization see only industrial wage

employment as beneficial with no traditional components contributing to what could be seen as a healthy economic mix of activities. Usher (1993, p.104) states that the modernization paradigm seeks to replace the traditional economy with a modern economy, with the benefits of economic growth going to the population financing the project. However, for this to occur, Usher states that there has to be a break down and replacement of the traditional social order: "a profound ideological and institutional change and a radical reordering of both the social organization of work and the prevailing conceptions of property and mutual obligations among people" (Usher, 1993, p.104). For First Nations' communities these 'transitions' when rapid have led to many social problems including alcoholism, suicides, and an economic malaise as a result of the social chaos (York, 1992, p.89). Some articulation modes of production scholars conclude that the infiltration of the capitalist mode of production and the wage economy will force traditional modes of production to cede in the wake of capitalist pursuits (Watkins, 1980, p.380). For example, Hudson (1983) describes the situation in the 1970s as characterized by Aboriginal participation in both traditional and wage-based modes of production. Hudson (1983, p.200-202) writes that the capitalist mode of production weakened the attendant ties to the traditional bush economy. DesBrisay (Canada, RCAP; 1996) best sums up the issues: "The values of the industrial and the Aboriginal land-based economies are profoundly different. The literature questions the extent to which these value systems can co-exist and yet remain distinct."

Justice Thomas Berger acknowledged in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977) that rather than recognizing the negative impacts that attend the development's incursion into First Nations areas, industry defines these communities as "beneficiaries". The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was the most public Canadian forum that highlighted the modernist approach to development in a pipeline context.

A dominant critique against the modernist approach to development is that industry drains the economic surpluses from a region while threatening the health of the community and its land base (Innis 1956, Wallerstein 1975, Watkins 1977, Berger 1977, McArthur 1989, Aasen & Hughes 2006). Dependency theories (Core-periphery, heartland/ hinterland, staple trap and others) came about as a critique to the modernist approach and the lack of locally retained benefits from resource extraction areas.

As resources extracted from an area are of finite supply, the employment used to procure the resources is terminated upon the completion of the project and is therefore of limited value to the local community (Abele 1989; DPA & ICE 1986). Critics argue that localized development resulting from mega projects is not a tool that can be used for sustained economic growth. Typically labeled core-periphery / metropolis-hinterland economics, academics view periphery impacts in different ways; however, scholars (Wallerstein 1960, Berger 1977, Watkins 1977, Brody 1988, Abele 1989, Bone 1992, Aasen and Hughes 2005) agree that the resource extraction economy is characterized by non-local ownership, which has allowed economic surpluses (profit) to be taken from the area of extraction to large urban cores and out of countries. The Dependency Theory hypothesizes that the various nation states (or areas within a state) are locked into an economic system that creates dependency upon richer developed countries (or areas) for primary exports (Denemark 1996). Harold Innis (1956), a immanent Canadian scholar of political economy, developed the 'Staples Thesis' and believed that Canada was in a 'staple trap' which was an exploitative relationship between regions, which was dependent upon hinterland export of staples (wheat, fur, fish, minerals, logs) to the heartland of the country. According to Mel Watkins "Contemporary Canada is an industrialized, urbanized country, but its economy still depends to a remarkable degree on the export of these resource staples, and giant

resource-exploitation projects are still touted as the means to create growth" (Watkins, 1993, p.593). First Nations peoples are left poor and marginalized outside a growing economy. Watkins goes on to state: "subsequent staples -- timber, wheat, hydroelectricity, oil and gas, minerals -- have not even served the aboriginal interest in passing. In Canada, as elsewhere, the Indians suffer... the curse of the wealth of the lands that they inhabit" (Watkins, 1993, p.593). Watkins concludes that Canada's staple trap is the result of colonialist ideals of resource extraction for the core's economic development and is the Canadian Nation's version of Dependency Theory. Employment and wages are not a long-term component of any boom bust economic mix although the environmental consequences are long term, for Natives and non-Natives alike.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes that in European history, development signifies progress, but in an Aboriginal context "progress" should be defined as the betterment of the community and its' citizens' well-being and socio-economic situation. The negative effects of mega projects have led First Nations people to re-examine development for its local merits beyond those of the corporate state. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Canada 1996, cf. Research Reports, Economy, Project Area 2) states that: "the land-based economy is at the foundation of the Aboriginal social and cultural heritage, and its significance and its value to Aboriginal people far outweighs its economic worth." Churchill River Liberal Member of Parliament Rick Laliberté (2004) best illustrates the failings of the modernist paradigm by stating "the concept of roads to resources... [depends on] [h]ow you look at [it][and] on which end of the road you were at in regard to whether the program was a good thing, because the policy then was more a colonization policy. The colonization I talk about is the unexploited north" (Laliberté, 2004). Industry and government have used modernization arguments for development and have

failed to recognize Aboriginal issues, instead applying foreign ideals in an effort to commodify natural values into resources that can be processed for extraction and profit.

Who I Interviewed, Changes in the Questions Asked and Methodology

When I began my research, I sought to find out what the perspectives of the Lheidli T'enneh community participants were regarding development and modernization theory. As my research is situated in the First Nations Studies program, I tried to the best of my ability to let the interviews provide a Lheidli Indigenous lens on their responses to mega-project development on their lands. The 12 Lheidli interview participants were chosen based on their experiences and involvement within the community and the surrounding territory, primarily around the Band administrative offices, as these individuals were most actively involved in working on development issues. With one exception, interviews were conducted in June 2006. The participant community members I interviewed fall into three different age groups: Group 1 consisted of the senior Elders, the late Margaret Gagnon and the late Mary John; Group 2 consisted of the Elders Chief Dominic Frederick, the late Ron Seymour, Violet Bozoki and Frank Frederick; Group 3 represented the Adults and included Curtis Seymour, Vanessa West, Deryl Seymour, Rena Zatorski, Corinna Joseph, and Irvin Gagnon. The Senior Elders and Elders groups combined have the same number of participants as the Adult Group. Mary John was in fact interviewed in another context for a FNST 602 class project in 2004, on the same topic.

Because I am a non-Native individual, born and raised in a liberal society outside of the Aboriginal community and its experiences, I used an inductive qualitative approach. Originally I thought I would use a loose variant of Grounded Theory as defined by Creswell (1998). This seemed appropriate as a methodology in order to let the thesis emerge from the themes, issues and opinions of the Lheidli T'enneh community. The Grounded Theory approach collects data

and lets the themes from the data dictate the answers to the questions asked rather than hypothesis testing or testing theories. In fact my methodology was not a direct application of Creswell's Grounded Theory model because I did not use it articulate codes and themes. I used the concept only to become grounded in the answers the participants provided.

The evolution of the questions outlined in my ethics package (Appendix A) to the questions I in fact used, defined below, came as a result of my first two interviews with Adult Rena Zatorski and Elder Ron Seymour. I quickly found that I needed to expand on my initial questions regarding issues of development, job creation and protecting the land to address issues regarding the adequacy of the consultation process and the differences in opinion between Adults and Seniors. Therefore I realigned my research questions to reflect those issues. I also found that the participants spoke not only about the Gateway project as I had expected but about their experience with oil and gas development in general. Thus the questions I asked evolved on the basis of community members' thoughts.

The original set of questions that were the starting point and submitted on the ethics proposal, included in Appendix A, were:

1. Do you know that oil and gas exploration and development is coming into your territory?
    b. What do you think about this?
2. Do you think that development can occur while protecting the land and maintaining traditional livelihoods to reflect the beliefs of the community?
3. Do you think oil and gas development will generate jobs for the Lheidli T'enneh community?
    b. Do you think the jobs related to oil and gas will be long term jobs?

In fact the questions the participants were asked ended up evolving into the questions below:

1. What do you think about oil and gas development?
2. Can you have development and protect the land?
3. Is there a difference in opinion between Elders and young adults on development?
4. What do you think about the consultation from resource companies?

Appendix B cites the questions actually asked each of the participants in the interviews so one can see the impact on the way the questions were put in the interactive interview context. Therefore Grounded Theory provided me with a starting place only. I have organized their answers to the four questions listed above in a different order since the topic of consultation followed from the first question, as did the difference in opinion between Elders and Adults, with the concerns regarding stewardship and protecting the land bridging the generations. In Chapter 3, I therefore present the answers to the questions in this order:

1. Lheidli T'enneh Views on Oil and Gas and Resource Development
2. The Present Problems with Consultation as Seen by the Participants
3. The Difference in Opinion on Development between Senior Elders and Urbanized Adults
4. Problems with Development and Protecting the Land Base In a Pro-Development Environment

On the basis of the answers given to these questions, this thesis ended up highlighting the paradox of development the Lheidli community presently faces in the context of a 'modernist' environment.

Informed consent was obtained from all persons participating in the research and their rights were respected and protected according to the UNBC Ethics guidelines (UNBC N.D.). UNBC's ethics guidelines for research were actively applied with the goal of making the project ethically and morally sound (See Appendix A). The participants were asked for and gave permission to digitally record the interviews. This assisted in the relaxed and passive style of the interview method, since note taking was replaced with digital voice recordings to prevent interview distractions. Participants from the community were given the option of having their name placed with their comments or remaining anonymous. None choose to remain anonymous. A draft transcript of the interviews was submitted back to each participant to ensure that the

transcribed notes reflected what they meant. This open feedback loop sometimes led to further points of opinion being expressed once participants had time to reflect, or sometimes it led to further queries from me if the meaning of what was said needed clarification. Thus information was circulated back to the participants to provide them with an "opportunity to correct misinformation or to challenge ethnocentric and racist interpretations" (Canada, RCAP, 1996) and for the interviewee's approval, clarification or omission of portions of the transcribed interview. Any requested deletion was removed from the record to maintain the relationship of trust with the participants. To maintain trust and my obligation to the community, upon completion of the changes to the interviews all research was made available to both the community and to the individuals who participated in the project. The final transcripts of the interviews are presented in Appendix C. All the participants have chosen to have their answers included in what is to become a public document.

Note that for the purpose of this thesis the terms "Lheidli Nation" and "Lheidli community" are used interchangeably (see Appendix E for definitions of the use of the term Nation and community in a First Nations context).

Summary

In this introduction, I have provided the background to my research and shown how it fits with the goal of First Nation's Studies, presented a brief review of relevant case studies on oil and gas projects and on the legal history that leads up to the consultation related to First Nations in Canada. I have also defined my theoretical starting place and the methodology employed, and provided a summary of how the thesis questions emerged. In Chapter Two, I provide the historical context of the Lheidli as well as the more recent history of oil and gas and mega-

project development in the provincial north, including Alberta, to frame the impacts such development has on the Dakelh generally, and the Lheidli T'enneh in particular. It is only possible to fully understand issues of concern to the Lheidli T'enneh when you know the historical context. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples best sums this up, stating "the past is more than something to be recalled and debated intellectually. It has important contemporary and practical implications, because many of the attitudes, institutions and practices that took shape in the past significantly influence and constrain the present" (Canada, RCAP, 1996). This quotation speaks to the very heart of the Lheidli T'enneh situation.

In Chapter Three, I present the findings of my interviews conducted in 2006 with the Lheidli T'enneh participants. Because the research participants were concerned about capacity, environmental stewardship, balanced development and changing opinions within the community, I organized the interview results according to the issues of importance as presented by the community members interviewed. The questions I asked show how twelve members of the Lheidli T'enneh from different generations view development. The informal analysis highlights the paradoxes development presents and the differing and overlapping opinions that are illustrated within the community. I am currently the only academic who is researching Lheidli T'enneh First Nations' perspectives on development. I hope this research will help the Lheidli T'enneh community and other First Nations communities develop strategies to create positive balanced development in their communities and meaningful dialogue and policy formation based on the communities' terms. I also hope this research will inform other people seeking to assist other First Nations as they deal with Canadian and multi-national corporations and their interest in extracting resources found in and transported across and out of First Nations' territories.

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[1] Aasen and Hughes 2006, RCAP 1996, I use the term mega-projects, also known as mega-development to mean large industrial development that are extensive in terms of both scale and scope.

Chapter 2.

History and Geography:

The Dakelh and Lheidli Peoples in the Context of Development

Background on the Dakelh (Carrier)

In this chapter Lheidli T'enneh and Dakelh history is explored as well as the more recent history of oil and gas and mega-project development in northern British Columbia. Much has been written about the upper and lower Dakelh peoples since European contact. However, in that body of literature only a handful of documents speak directly about the Lheidli T'enneh's cultural and geographical space. With the exception of Laurell Crocker's MA thesis (2005), and the Lheidli T'enneh Traditional Use Study (2000), little has been publicly documented specifically about the people of Lheidli that speaks directly with, to, or about the community. The Lheidli T'enneh internal papers ("Place Names 1988", "Oral History Project" 1989) and studies ("Lheidli Traditional Use Study" 2000, "Lheidli T'enneh Human Resource Questionnaire Final Report" 2003) are also of particular relevance even though some are not public. Rather the materials are protected and stored by the Lheidli T'enneh Nation. Therefore, my thesis contributes a public voice to both Lheidli T'enneh community history and how some of its community members view development in their traditional territory.

A number of academics have made contributions to the literature about the Dakelh people (Fiske 1981, Fiske and Patrick 2000; Hudson 1983, Mills 1994, Aasen 1987, 1992, Furniss 1993, Marsden 2006 and Crocker 2005). Additionally, the biographical voice of members of the Dakelh community presented by Moran (1997), Hall (1992), and *Return to Balats* (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994) add to the discussion. Prior to the works of Lizette Hall (1992) and Bridget Moran's autobiographies of the late Mary John (1988) and Justa Monk' (1994), there was

nothing published by members of the Dakelh community about themselves. These are significant works.

The entire body of literature by both native and non-native contributors provides insight on the effects of colonialism on the Dakelh peoples and how colonialism modified customs and cultural traits. Unfortunately, traditional historical sources such as papers from the Fort George fur trading post or the Hudson's Bay post, which could have added depth of perspective (albeit a colonialist one), were lost to fires (Lheidli T'enneh Oral Histories Project, 1989). My thesis will contribute to Lheidli T'enneh community history by revealing how some of its community members view development in their territory.

To understand the full effects of colonialism on the Lheidli T'enneh Nation one needs to consider the historical impacts of development in the central interior of British Columbia, including the Prince George area. From the influx of the first trappers and miners, to the settlers and missionaries, the incursion of Europeans has affected the Lheidli T'enneh land base and culture. Canada's colonial agenda has taken many forms including but not limited to the restriction of Lheidli T'enneh livelihoods (restrictions of territorial access through the creation of private land, the reserve system, registered trap lines, closed seasons, banning of fishing practices and right to sell fish). However, the Lheidli have shown remarkable resilience in the face of this adversity. With the theft of traditional territory, imposition of band governance, abduction of Aboriginal children (to non-native homes and to Residential schools), through the suppression of culture and language, the goal of colonialism has evolved and changed to advance agendas of "protection, civilization and assimilation"(see Tobias 1976). In this way First Nations' inherent rights to maintain and manage their lands were usurped. This colonial agenda not only had physical, spiritual, mental and economic impacts, to the Dakelh but also influenced

the communities' location, governance structures, and goals (Morice 1906, Jenness 1932, Duff 1965, Fiske 1981, Hudson 1983, Moran 1997, Lheidli 2000, Aasen 1992).

The Lheidli T'enneh Traditional Use Study (2000) states that the larger category of "Carrier" people call themselves "*Dakelh-nel* (people who travel by boat) or *Yinka Déne*... (people of the earth)...or specifically identify themselves by the community from which they have come with the addition of the suffix *t'en, whut'en*, or *t'enneh* (people of)" (Lheidli, 2000, p.3). According to Furniss (1993, p.3), the term *dakelh* is a shortened version of the phrase *'uda ukelh*, which means "people who travel by boat on water in the morning."

The English term 'Carrier' is traced back to the Sekani peoples' use of the term *Arelhne* when referring to their Dakelh neighbours to the southwest, meaning "the ones who pack" (Aasen 1992, Crocker 2005, Furniss 1993, Jenness 1932, Mills 1994, Morice 1892). Europeans are responsible for the final term "Carrier," picking up on the Sekani translation. Mills (1994) states that:

> they were called Carrier, or Porteur, because of their custom of a wife taking the cremated bones of her husband if he had died during the winter back to the summer salmon-fishing village; this they did to demonstrate that he had died and thus, to enable his title and the consequent ownership rights over his territory to be passed on to his heir and publicly witnessed at the feast. (Mills, 1994, p.40).

Prior to Mills' more informed and in-depth analysis, early ethnographers believed that the name's origin was given because of the Dakelh mortuary custom in which a widow carried her husband's ashes on her back for a mourning period of one year (Morice,1906, p.6). This ritual is better understood when correlated with Mill's interpretation of the seasonal movements and rituals of Dakelh governance. Lizette Hall (1992, p.4) states that the name Dakelh is derived from the Dakelh peoples' not having horses and reliance on people or dogs to pack goods. Whatever the

origin, the Dakelh people came to be commonly known as the 'Carrier' peoples in the 19th century (see Aasen 1992, Crocker 2005, Hall 1992, Hudson 1983, Lheidli T'enneh TUS 2000, Mills 1994, Morice 1906, Steward 1941).

Geographically, the Dakelh peoples are situated in North-Central British Columbia, with a massive territory spread out over 500 kilometres. According to Jenness (1932, p.363), the boundaries of the Dakelh settlement area are in the Pacific drainage system and include both the Fraser and Skeena watersheds, and range geographically from Takla Lake south to Alexandria. The Carrier linguistic chain is spread out over this territory, with each area having a different dialect (Tobey, 1981, p.413). The various Dakelh groups were related through their clan and intermarriage networks and the use of salmon as a mainstay in their diet.

Background to the Lheidli T'enneh

According to oral histories from the Lheidli T'enneh Elders, Lheidli T'enneh ancestors originally inhabited the Blackwater area of north central British Columbia and migrated with the seasons, eventually establishing a permanent village site at the confluence of the *Lhtakoh* meaning 'big river", renamed the Fraser River (Lheidli, Place Name Project,1988, p. 1, Peter Quaw) and the *Nichakoh* "meaning heavy current, swift current, like undercurrent" (flowing back on itself), renamed the Nechako River (Place Name Project, 1988, p.15 Margaret Gagnon, & Lheidli T'enneh, 2000, p.11). Confluence habitation occurred over 15,000 years ago and was in response to a population explosion in the Blackwater area, sixty kilometers away (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994, p.2). Although acknowledging the slight migration in home base, the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation clearly state that they are the original inhabitants of their traditional territory and have been present in that locale since time immemorial (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994, p.1-2). The Lheidli people have a traditional territory of approximately

4.6 million hectares, comprising lands just west of Prince George, British Columbia (Peace-Omineca) eastward and encompassing the township of Jasper, Alberta and surrounding area (Natural Resources Canada, 2005; Lheidli T'enneh, TUS 2000, Appendix D).

The City of Prince George is located at the original village site of the Lheidli T'enneh community at the confluence of the Nechako and Fraser Rivers. In 1911, the Canadian government relocated the Lheidli T'enneh from their traditional site (IR#1) at the confluence, to the town site of Shelley (IR#2), 17 kilometres outside of Prince George. This area is now the Lheidli community's primary village location and comprises two settlements: North Shelley and South Shelley, which are intersected by the *Lhtakoh* (Fraser) River. The three other Lheidli reserves are *Salaquo (Tsalakoh), Clesbaoneecheck* (Miworth/*Clezbanicheck*), and what remains of the original village, a small cemetery in Fort George Park in Prince George (DIAND 2006).

The name Lheidli T'enneh comes from the community's identification with their surrounding landscape and is consistent with the way "Dakelh" name places based on geographical features. The Dakelh name Lheidli T'enneh means "people from where the rivers meet" (Lheit-Lit' en, 1994, p.1) or "people from where the rivers flow together" (Lheidli,2000, p.3, Crocker, 2005, p.2). The Lheidli T'enneh have also been known by other names, including *Tanoten, Takulli*, Fort George Indians and *Lheit¬Lit'en* (Lheidli, 2000, p.11). These different names and "spellings" depended upon who was translating and transcribing, and the various non-native and native interpretations of the traditional native names which became to some extent standardized (Aasen 2006, personal conversation).

The traditional language of the Lheidli T'enneh is a dialect of "Carrier" called Lheidli, which belongs to the northern Athapaskan language group (Bird 2001). There were only four fluent speakers and ten semi-fluent speakers of Lheidli at the time of the Lheidli Language

Project in 2001 (Bird, 2001, p.1). This loss of fluency is of concern to the community and is cited by all First Nations in British Columbia as a direct result of colonialist education and residential school models, which displaced language, traditional place names and impacted oral histories (Lheidli T'enneh Place Names Project 1988 and Oral Histories 1989, Moran 1988, Bird 2001). Many community members such as Ron Seymour, Margaret Gagnon, Mary John and Chief Dominic Frederick attended the Lejac Residential School where speaking the traditional language was outlawed and punished. Though some older residential school attendees such as Mary John and Margaret Gagnon retained fluency in their language, many other Lheidli community members did not.

When speaking about communication between Lheidli people and other neighbouring tribes, Lheidli T'en Elder Tom George stated that before people "spoke white" (English) they spoke "Chinook...three languages combined" to create mutual ground for trading and communication with neighbouring groups (Lheidli Place Names Project,1988, p.5). He also stated that each area has specific names given by those groups that utilized the area. Knowledge of a specific area would be retained by those individuals and families that had traditionally utilized that areas' resources. He elaborates on this stating:

> Most of it are place of food source ... Mai'gut means "place of berry" ... when you hear a name ... see a name, you know that there is a story behind the name itself. Why it was given. Why they call that guy this. You know ... some of those names come out of the Chinook words. Some of them come out of the Carrier words. And some of those names come out because the white man settled there, done weird things. Weird names, and they couldn't pronounce his name so that's how everybody knew about it." (Tom George, Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988, p.5)

The Lheidli language was undermined through the residential school experience, and by renaming of the landscape after the arrival of European settlers. This renaming of the landscape

is cited throughout the Lheidli Place Names Project as causing difficultly between different generations of Lheidli T'enneh. Peter Quaw said in speaking about the name change

> just like Willow River was never called Willow River, it was known as Sustoo-Koh (Bear River). Like my Dad used to tell me these things and I'd look for them on a map. There's nothing. Threw me off. (Lheidli Place Names Project, tape 5, 1988, p.2)

As a result of the language being diminished, many place names that held *keyoh*[2] specific information about the resources of the terrain lost their geographic placement. Lizette Hall in speaking about the language loss of her own Dakelh people, the Nak'azdli, stated:

> once, when I was small, I heard my father's brother tell a story, and use a word I had never heard before. So I asked my mother what that word meant. She explained to me what it meant, and said it was one of the words used in the olden days, and was not used anymore (1992, p.5).

Thus language use changed to accommodate the larger economy of the non-native population, Chinook eventually being replaced by English as the common language between non-Dakelh groups. Salmon retained its importance between groups as a trade item within the traditional economy, but the Lheidli T'enneh and Dakelh were not allowed to sell fish once the colonialist government was established.

The Lheidli T'enneh Resource Base

Ethnographers as far back as 1811 noted fishing as having historical importance for the Dakelh people (Harmon, 1957, p.152, Morice 1906). Oral histories and the archaeological record predate these western accounts and confirm the importance of fish to the native societies within the area. There is clear consensus within the academic literature (Morice 1906, Steward 1941, Duff 1965, Knight 1978, Lane 1978, Fiske 1981, Hudson 1983, Lheidli 1988, Mills 1994, Aasen 1992,1997) that the acquisition of salmon is one aspect of the Dakelh economic base that influenced Dakelh seasonal activities. The traditional village sites were located primarily along

riparian fishing zones, lakeshore and riverside sites which have been occupied consistently for many centuries. The abundance of the fish stock allowed village group populations to grow larger, historically maintaining several seasonal village sites depending on the need and the season (Aasen, 1992, p.10; Hudson, 1983, p.50). Fishing was of such importance to the Dakelh people that their traditional technology reflected this cultural focus and included nets and several types of weirs. Morice's (1906) and Hudson's (1983) descriptions remain excellent accounts of the Dakelh's diverse technology. The importance of salmon is reflected in the Dakelh calendar, which was attuned to the fishing seasons (Aasen 1992, Furniss 1993, Hudson 1983, Mills 1994, Morice 1906). The First Salmon ceremony, a ritual shared by many First Nation cultures, also illustrates the importance salmon held within the Dakelh society (Aasen 2005, Mills 1994). According to Mills (1994), the salmon ceremony was to honour and show respect to the first salmon caught and to give thanks and encourage the salmon to tell its fellow fish to come bless the village as their food source.

Salmon and fish resources are important aspects of traditional Lheidli culture. Peter Quaw (Lheidli Place Name Project, 1988, p.7) said when speaking about local areas traditionally fished, "our people used to fish ...just north of Prince George along, up the Fraser River...they used to set their camps up there and do all their drying... in that area." As mentioned, Dakelh groups shared their resources with other groups in times of need. Reciprocal ties and sharing salmon existed between Nak'azdli (at Ft. St. James) and the Lheidli T'enneh (Mary Gouche, Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988). Mary John (Moran, 1988, p.77) recalled that her family was never without food, as they would set their nets for trout and whitefish, then dry and salt them for the coming winter.

Although, the Lheidli T'enneh historically depended on salmon to a large extent, they were also highly dependent on other food sources such as fresh water fish, game and berries (Aasen, 2010, personal communication). As salmon had a long distance (approximately 775 km) to cover inland, from the mouth of the Fraser River by the time they reached the village of Lheidli, they were quite degraded. This makes the resource base slightly different than other Dakelh groups located within the other Pacific riparian corridors.

Like other Dakelh groups, the Lheidli T'enneh Nation has traditionally lived in harmony with nature, utilizing their environment through hunting, gathering, fishing and trapping. They protected the land from over-harvesting through seasonal villages and moving with the seasons, which dispersed the load of their environmental footprint throughout a large territory. Through the interview process many participants mentioned that their culture requires them to be stewards of the territory. Margaret Gagnon recalled how she used to walk over the territory with her Elders, learning important aspects of the local environment and its geographical features:

> Most of the old people ... were over a hundred. They never sit around, always busy doing things, working, working on garden, tanning hides. Then they go for walks, take kids for long walks, not on pavement, gravel road, but then they say gravel is hard on legs, hips and knees. So they take us out in the bush, where the ground is soft, with spring when you walk on it, you could walk all day and never get tired. (Margaret Gagnon 2006)

Dakelh Stewardship and Respect

The stewardship of the land and its balanced use is an important aspect of the traditional Dakelh culture. Fiske and Patrick (2000, p.18, 19) sum up the relationship by stating:

> More common was an ongoing, ever-varied discussion of respect, which is grounded on concern for all life forms and is ultimately expressed in the idea that not to respect all life forms is not to respect the Creator. The presence of respect demarcates interpersonal harmony and acceptable behaviour; the absence of respect demarcates a violation of appropriate conduct and a disregard for the moral order. But here, also, there is no single word or expression to signify "respect"; rather, the term respect is used as a gloss for a range of behaviours and attitudes that express deference, esteem, and veneration for others as well as for a broadly conceived understanding of custom and tradition. Self-

> respect is signified by self-denial and self-discipline. Expressions of respect underlie the practice of non-interference and expectations of individual accountability to the social unit.

When speaking about seasonal movements, Elaine Robert, a Lheidli T'en stated her family would move from one area to another trapping and hunting in the bush during the fall and winter, spending their summer months in South Fort George fishing (Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988, p.20). If resources were unavailable in one Lheidli area, the groups could use clan ties to access resources in another area. This allowed the users of any *Keyoh* (territory) to monitor its resource use, thereby preventing over-exploitation (Lheidli T'enneh Traditional Use Study, 2000, p.12).

"Exploration" and Colonization of the Prince George Region

European history marks the arrival of Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 as the first white man to pass through the Prince George region (Runnalls,1946, p.12). It is noted by historians that throughout the 1800's the Prince George region remained isolated from the rest of British Columbia, cut off by its geography. Slowly, the geographic obstructions of mountains and deep rivers were overcome with the establishment of Fort George in 1807 (Runnalls, 1946, p.85). According to Runnalls, "the native population here was not as numerous as that of the Stuart and Fraser Lakes areas, but the territory was exceedingly rich in furs" (1946, p.23). In 1811, the Pacific Fur Company established Fort Astoria as its base at the mouth of the Columbia River, and ventured north into what is now Kamloops (Runnalls, 1946, p.26). This American company was eventually purchased by the North West Fur Trading Company, which moved into the region by 1813 (Runnalls, 1946, p.27). In 1821, the economic position of Fort George changed to become central to the fur trading industry as the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Fur trading company merged under the same Charter, changing the policies that had previously created competition and divided the region between the two companies. A monopoly

was granted by the British Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company for the whole of British Columbia (Runnalls, 1946, p.12).

As noted within the literature and oral histories about Prince George's development, the Lheidli T'enneh have played an active role in blending the traditional and those non-native economic activities that related to the fur trading post that was adjacent to their village. What is now the city of Prince George was originally the site of three distinct villages (South Fort George, Central Fort George and the native village of Lheidli) (Runnalls, 1946, p.146, Christensen, 1989, p.44). Fish and game remained an integral part of not only Lheidli T'enneh life and diet but important to everyone in the entire region.

In the late 1850's gold was discovered in the Cariboo region of central British Columbia leading to an influx of non-native miners into the area (BC Archives 2007). Morice (1906, p.306) notes the miners' arrival into the Dakelh territory and that mining and trapping were contradictory in terms of land use, yet little conflict was noted in the region. Two influences resulted from the miners migrating into the area: 1) greater environmental impacts; and 2) human impacts (Morice, 1906, p.306). Reliance on local Aboriginal communities for food and labour was high until 1863 when new transportation routes such as the Cariboo Wagon Road opened allowing for the importation of European foods, and thus weakening the Dakelh participation in the newcomer's economy (Fiske 1981, Hudson 1983, Aasen 1987).[3] Diet also changed with the "introduction in that district of flour and rice, bacon and beans, tea and sugar" (Morice, 1906, p.306).

Mary Gouche's parents used to trade pelts with the HBC for things they needed, such as guns, ammunition and various food stuffs (Mary Gouche, Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988,

p.26) Her mother used to have "a garden at their home on the reserve [where she used to grow] cabbage, turnips, onions, celery" (Gouche 1988).

BC Policy towards Indian Land & Ceremony

While the Dakelh and their neighbours on all sides maintained their rights over their respective territories and governed territorial overlap through intermarriage and other mechanisms, the predominant assumption by the colonizers was that the land belonged to them. Sir James Douglas made fourteen treaties with the First Nations on Vancouver Island when British Columbia was still administered by the Hudson Bay Company, indicates that there were some rights that needed to be surrendered or a procedure to be followed. After Confederation with Canada in 1871 Lieutenant Governor Joseph William Trutch refused to negotiate treaties with any of the First Nations, including the Dakelh, based on the assumption that all the land was Crown land (Mills 1994). The indigenous potlatch system of maintaining authority over territory was outlawed by the federal government in 1885 (Mills 1994). However, the federal government recognized the need to allocate small reserves to the Indigenous population, and did so to establish their dominion over the rest of the "Crown" land. The original Lheidli reserves were surveyed in 1871 when British Columbia entered confederation with Canada. The paperwork was not completed until the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission 1912 to1916 created Dakelh reserves.

As with other groups within British Columbia, the Indian Act of 1876 applied to the Lheidli T'enneh. Mary John recalls at length how during her lifetime the Indian Agent held great power over their lives and lived apart from their nation, though he administered everything from granting food rations to where they could live (Moran 1988). From the Federal government's perspective the legislation made the Lheidli Nation's people wards of the colonial state,

confining their movements to the small reserves, and interfering in traditional practices and territorial use. According to the Lheidli T'enneh:

> [T]he impacts [of the Indian Act] to our people were immense. It very nearly killed us, our culture, our language, our traditional way of life, our identity and our family and community ... to the point where our people were completely prevented from doing anything without prior approval of Indian Affairs, approval which was always given grudgingly if it was given at all" (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994, p.7).

Administrative restrictions on First Nations resource use and access and the implementation of closed seasons and restrictions on traditional hunting and gathering forced Lheidli T'enneh and other Dakelh groups to modify their traditional modes of production and change traditional activities (Hudson 1983, Moran, 1988, p.13). The government even interfered within the Lheidli reserve boundaries with fishing restrictions on the use of nets (Evelyn Louis, Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988, p.8-9). The Dakelh were resilient as smaller numbers of sockeye salmon were caught, a shift in consumption had to take place. Hudson (1983, p.111) states that moose migrated into the region at this time, and assumed greater importance as did other species of fish and small game. The surrounding lakes and other freshwater species also helped fill this void (Aasen, 1987, p.100). As the Lheidli T'enneh were in such close proximity to non-native settlement in Prince George, the impacts of Indian Act policies and impacts of settler activities were perhaps greater than on other groups.

Originally the area of Prince George was isolated, but with the announcement in 1903 for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the introduction of the first steamship in 1909, settlement, industrial development and the availability of imported goods increased, and with it the economic region of Prince George was forever changed (Runnals 1946, Mullins 1967, Christensen 1989). The talk of the new transportation route led to increased development as land

speculators and miners flooded into the area. This marketing was called "boosting" and was supported by the government.

According to August Quaw, a Lheidli T'en Elder (Lheidli Place Names Project, 1988, p.15, 16) the steam boat brought "flour, sugar, tea, ... bacon, rice, soup, bread everything like that." Before the steam boats' arrival in Lheidli, the Lheidli members used to go to Quesnel for these supplies. The faster more efficient transportation into the region created a speculative land boom in South Fort George (located next to the Hudson's Bay post on the Fraser River, which was adjacent to the native village of Lheidli) and in Central Fort George, which was located on the Nechako River system (Runnalls, 1946, p.7, Mullins, 1967, p.22). Both non-native town sites prospered from the heavy marketing done by land speculators in Britain and throughout the rest of Canada (Runnalls, 1946, p.123, Christensen, 1989, p.38). This advertising success brought more settlers into the region, creating greater pressure on the surrounding environment and on the native village of Lheidli. By 1912-13, South Fort George and Central Fort George had a combined population of about 3000 people (Christensen,1989, p.43). This foreign intrusion into Lheidli T'enneh lands brought with it a foreign value system and a differing set of worldviews. Margaret Gagnon (2006) and Mary John (Moran 1988) spoke of the racism that they encountered when they were younger. Harris points out that:

> improvements in transportation and communication enabled the world economy to use British Columbia's space not through Native intermediaries, as during the fur trade, but by distributing western technologies, labour, and settlers across the land. They allowed the state greatly to expand its reach. ... A railway that ran past a native village was more than an intrusive symbol of white power; it redefined the 'surfaces' of life in that place, making local people more self-conscious, situating them within a global, rationalized civilization, taking away their local integrity. (Harris, 1997, p.184, 186)

The Grand Trunk Railway planned to run their rail line through Lheidli T'enneh reserve lands, and was therefore the largest intrusion experienced by the people of Lheidli as it had direct implications to the village relocation.

Lheidli T'enneh Relocation

As mentioned previously, the Lheidli T'enneh community was forced to relocate. The village priest Father Coccola and some Elders decided that the non-native influx around the village was negatively influencing the community (Coccola, 1988, p.15, Moran, 1988, p.61). The village was moved by barge up stream to present-day Shelley, a remote area seventeen miles up the *Lhtakoh* (Fraser) River. The Grand Trunk Railway negotiated a controversial purchase of the original village site where present day down-town Prince George, Fort George Park and the Millar addition are situated (Runnalls, 1946, p.114-115, Christensen, 1989, p.35-36). According to McDonald (1990) the private railway met the needs of the state's agenda of empire building but the company's abuse of its power was evident even to the province. McDonald (1990, p.37-38) writes:

> The Company gained an evil reputation with its numerous highhanded and often illegal actions. As Judge Mabee of the British Columbia Courts said, the Company was not above a "breach of faith of the worse character" to achieve its ends, or of obtaining land through the "grossest deceit" (Lower, 1939, p.118). One example of how far the company was willing to go to obtain land for itself was the pressure it placed on provincial governments.
>
> In cases where the GTP required Indian Reserve land in British Columbia, the purchases were arranged by its Grand Trunk Pacific Town and Development Company. With the help of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), and sometimes the local missionaries as well, these purchases were made with a minimum of trouble. An example was the transfer of the original Fort George Reserve to the Company. The subsequent development of the land into the city of Prince George made the Company a profit that exceeded $1 million from the first sale of lots in 1913 (a return of some 800%), and more in later years. This profit was earned simply by subdivision and auction (Lower, 1939, p.117). The Band, on the other hand, received $150,000 plus a new smaller reserve (Lower, 1939, p.116).

According to the Lheidli T'enneh the community's village was sold to the Grand Trunk Railway well below the estimated value of $5 million (Lheit-Lit'en, 1994, p.6). Many people did not want to be forced to move, and to ensure the move was made by the Lheidli T'enneh, the threat of arson (Fiske, 1981, p.95) is said to have been made by the Indian Agent, and the village was eventually burned to the ground. The graveyard that remained was then bulldozed onto the banks of the Fraser River (Lheidli T'enneh, 2003, p.4, 6). With the purchase of the land, the railway changed the name of the Lheidli T'enneh settlement to Prince George in order to differentiate it from the other locations named Fort George.

Under the protest of both South and Central Fort George, the railway was successful in registering the name with the government in Victoria (Christensen, 1989). This sale of the land and the band's relocation was and is still controversial. Mary John commented on the relocation in *Stoney Creek Woman* (1988):

> early in my life I had heard about the move to Shelley. In 1913, the year when I was born, the Fort George band had sold many hundreds of acres of what is now Prince George to the Grand Trunk Railway. Some of the younger band members were very bitter about this sale. They said that the people had not been paid enough and that they were still waiting for the full amount of the money. These younger people said they had traded valuable land for a few hundred acres out in the bush. They blamed the sale on the federal government in Ottawa and on Father Coccola. The Elders did not agree. They said that Father Coccola was right when he wanted the band moved away from the white man's town that the young girls were being corrupted and the young men were getting drunk. (Moran, 1988, p.61)

While some community members blame the priest and the Indian Agent for their influence over the Elders, others agree that relocation was the right thing to do to save the community from harmful influences. According to Tom George, a Lheidli T'en member, when the Lheidli land was sold the interpreter did not disclose the full meaning: "there were words lost somewhere there. The natives did not get the full impact of what was said" (Lheidli Place Names Project

1988, p.6). Margaret Gagnon recalled during her interview with me that the relocation caused extreme hardship that her immediate family experienced personally (2006 Appendix C). Mary John stated that elders were extremely unhappy about the village being burned as "they had desecrated the burial ground...of our forebears" (Moran, 1988, p.61). When speaking about the impacts of the Lheidli village relocation, Mary Gouche, a Lheidli T'en elder, states that fishing diminished as the *Nichakoh* (Nechako) River was the preferred fishing river, with more fish stock than that of the *Lhtakoh* (Fraser) River. Since the Shelley village is located about 27km from the original village site of Lheidli (Prince George), transportation was cited as a major problem to get to the preferred fishing locale. Mary John cited the advancement of transportation technology (roads and cars) for being able to fish beyond the reserve boundaries thereby increasing the number of salmon caught (Oral Histories Project, 1989, p.7).

Although the legality of the relocation was contested by the Lheidli T'enneh, to date no action has been taken by the government to address their grievances. Though the Lheidli T'enneh relocation was not explained by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (2006) who were investigating "relocations," the community's village site sale to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway at a depressed price (less than market value), and pressure by the Department of Indian Affairs to relocate, seems to match case studies found elsewhere in Canada which cite the possibility of government collusion to establish the railway as a recurrent trend.[4] The Commission Report Table 11.1 "Relocation Types: Reasons and Examples," states that "each relocation was for the government to acquire and subsequently control the land for economic development" (Canada, RCAP, 1996). It is also interesting to note, that after relocation the primary source of income for relocated native residents was welfare (Canada, RCAP, 1996). This exemplifies the development of underdevelopment of First Peoples located within Canada.

In 1914, three years following the relocation, the train crossed the *Lhtakoh* and arrived at Prince George (Runnalls, 1946, p. 80).With the completion of the railway route to the newly formed city of Prince George, there was a consistent flow of settlers and goods into the area. To support the growing non-native population in the Prince George region, the development of forestry flourished for local needs. According to Runnalls (1946, p. 88) the first saw mill opened in the Prince George Forest District in 1909, and grew to eighteen mills by 1925, 43 in 1939, and 730 by 1955 (Mullins, 1967, p. 28, 30). Mullins' (1967) research on the British Columbia forest industry shows a rapid increase in development upon initiation of the rail linkage into the Prince George region. After World War 1, forestry saw a second period of growth as pulp and paper mills were built along the coast with easy access to foreign markets. The increases in both transportation and industry required a larger workforce and incorporated local natives into the broader workforce. Although the Lheidli village was relocated to Shelley, it was not isolated from impacts of settlement and expansion. The network of expansion included people traveling between communities for supplies and work.

The Lheidli T'enneh and European Disease

Depopulation was arguably a result of post-contact diseases from non-natives infiltrating into and through the Lheidli territory. As with other Dakelh Groups the non-native presence brought foreign disease to the Lheidli village. Margaret Gagnon (Lheit-Lit'en, 1994) recalls being told that prior to her birth; the Lheidli community was affected by the Spanish Flu:

> It happened when they brought the first Hudson's Bay blankets. All the children got a high fever and they twisted backwards until their stomachs split open. Every child from 12 years down died. That's when we began burying our dead (Lheit-Lit'en Nation ,1994, p. 4).

The Lheidli T'enneh used to place their dead on scaffolds. One such location is where the Cameron Street Bridge is today (Aasen personal conversation 2010). Burying their dead was a change brought by priests and necessary when there were so many dead at once. It also served to stop the spread of disease to other Aboriginal villages.

In 1918 the Spanish flu again returned to the Prince George region. The Lheidli T'enneh community, especially vulnerable to the European disease, was further devastated. Margaret Gagnon recalled as a child the impacts the flu had on her and her community:

> When I was a girl another flu hit in November one year. My Granny Seymour told my parents to bring us back to the reserve because the sickness was getting so strong in Fort George. I remember us getting off the train and crossing the ice and all the lights in the houses were on. We went to bed when we got there and when we woke up, the leaves were coming out. I asked my uncle what happened and he said, 'Didn't you hear the church bell ringing day and night?' We went to the other houses to visit the other people but they were all empty except three. Everyone had died. (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994, p. 4)

Mary John herself got sick with the flu along with her mother and recalled the mass burials that occurred at that time (Moran 1988, p. 25). According to the Lheidli T'enneh, 90% of their population was wiped out as a result of European diseases (Lheit-Lit'en Nation, 1994, p. 5), leaving the community shocked and bereft. Mary Gouche lost her mother, father, husband and children (Lheidli Place Names Project 1988, p. 17). Peter Quaw spoke about the impact of disease on the number of Lheidli Elders who practiced the land-based activities and taught the youth:

> all our people are experts at hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping. That was their life ... They showed us how to trap, how to set snares. We used to spend our winters out at the trap line ... Traditionally it's been the grandfather ... see, most of our elders, most of our men, died off in either the small pox epidemic or in the flu epidemic ... when a lot of them died off. So traditionally, you always had the grandparents raising the kids. They would show them how to hunt. See this way the husband would be out learning his skills, so that he in turn, could teach his grandkids. In our society back then, the men and women were

> just there to learn – to just apply what they were taught. Teaching was done by elders. (Lheidli Place Names Project 1988, p. 7-8)

This loss of Lheidli T'enneh Elders impacted the transmission of culture. As Edie Frederick (Place Names Project 1988, p. 7) puts it "those Elders are really, walking schools for us," showing the importance every Lheidli generation played in the harmonious running of Lheidli society and the impacts disease had on the traditional Lheidli teaching methods.

The Lheidli T'enneh population dwindled to approximately 75 individuals before regaining resiliency (Corinna Joseph 2006). Morice (1906, p. 307-308) notes the encompassing size of the impact stating: "the southern part of New Caledonia was almost converted into an immense graveyard." Today, the Lheidli T'enneh band officially consists of approximately 306 individuals, four times the post-flu-population; although this official number of individuals is contested by the people of Lheidli, because of the impact of strict membership guidelines under the Indian Act that exclude some individuals who are considered members by the community (British Columbia First Nation N.D., Rena Zatorski 2006).

Lheidli T'enneh and Schooling

Residential schools had enormous impacts on traditional learning pathways, and resulted in many negative experiences for attendees. According to Mary John, a senior Lheidli T'en Elder who married into the Stoney Creek First Nation, her attendance in 1920 at Fort Saint James Mission School and then Lejac Residential School was against the wishes of her family and village (Moran, 1988, p. 37). Commenting on her short six month stay in Lejac School, Margaret Gagnon did not view residential school as solely a negative experience, instead citing the valuable education she had gained in sewing, embroidery, canning and cooking (Crocker 2005). However, both Mary John and Margaret Gagnon saw the impacts residential schools had on their

culture's language and traditional way of life. The schools' agenda focused on turning children into English-speaking farmers and labourers by teaching domestic skills to the females and farming techniques to the males. Residential schools disconnected youth from the traditional teaching of their families and culture with the teaching content that was both alien and racist. As Miller (1996, p. 178) has pointed out: "many references were to places, people and things that did not resonate" and that did not apply to an Aboriginal youth's normal life. Native people were not readily accepted into non-native society and former residential school students had a difficult time regaining a place in their own communities. Mary John recalled that upon getting married she had to learn many traditional skills from her mother, aunt and mother-in-law that she had missed learning while forced to attend Lejac (Moran 1988). Residential school graduates became isolated from full participation in either society. Regardless of whether the person attended Lejac School or not, the effects were multi-generational, as all aspects of traditional life were impacted.

According to the BC Archives (2007) industrial development first occurred in the fishing industry around 1870, with canneries located along the *Lhtakoh* (Fraser River) and every other major river system along the coast of British Columbia. Marine commodities were processed for shipment to foreign markets. At that time, the fish supply was plentiful but was exploited by the canneries, which led to over fishing (Fisheries Department correspondence 1911 as cited in Lane, 1978, p.14). The BC commissioner of fisheries, annual report for 1909 stated:

> the catch that year (1901) was so great that every one of the canneries on both sides of the international line filled every can they could obtain; and in addition to the millions of fish they packed that year, many millions more were captured, ... which could not be used, and were thrown back dead into the water. The waste of sockeye of our own catch and of that of the Americans in 1901 is believed to have been greater than the number caught and packed by all the canners on the waters mentioned in any year since, with the exception of 1905 and this year. (Lane, 1978, p.14).

Non-native fishing effectively wiped out two concurrent four-year seasonal fish cycles on the Fraser River (Mills, 1994, p.99). This overuse of the fish stock directly contributed to the salmon decrease and the collapse of the native fish food resource for the communities located along the Fraser River systems. For the more westerly Dakelh in the Lake Babine region in the Skeena River watershed, canneries in the Prince Rupert region established in the 1890s also caused a decimation of the stocks with the result that weirs were eventually seen as responsible and later prohibited. Harris (1997) describes the Barricade Conflict on Lake Babine in 1906: with the collapse of the primary economic food pillar of the Dakelh communities, new avenues were needed to provide supplies through the winter months. Trapping and guiding filled this need, providing income for store-bought goods which supplemented the hunting and trapping of small game (Fiske, 1981, p.83, Hudson, 1983, p.130-135).

Government interference with traditional fishing methods began in 1906 with the prohibition of fishing weirs by the fisheries department and the subsequent agreement to furnish the Aboriginal peoples with nets in lieu of the weir technology (Lane, 1978, p.1). This further changed the social organization of the Dakelh economy.[5] Weir fishing was typically a group activity, whereas the nets issued to the head of each family required less group effort. Evelyn Louis, an Elder Lheidli T'en member, states she remembers her mother speaking about the banning of the fish weirs, saying:

> Ya they were using just that thing and then. It's those white people, they make them stop that. Because the Indian people they had no net or anything, you know. They just use weirs (wits), some of them ...make nets and keep it. I don't know ... how they catch fish with that. And the government, I guess told them, said we're going to give you some, something to make net with, we're going to give you, every year we have to give you some twine to make your net. Or we are going to give you a net. If you're not going to use any twine to make your own net. We never get it once. And they just stop people fishing. Their own way. They just stop them. They just did. Maybe somebody get those things ... somebody who is looking after things ... but the Indian people, they don't get it ... (Lheidli Place Names Project, tape 19 1988, p.8-9)

In the central interior of BC, the policy of banning weirs was put into effect by the fisheries inspector N.P. Horan who contacted Father Coccola and asked him and the Indian agent to persuade the natives to stop using weirs (Lane, 1978, p.8). The promised compensation of a supply of nets was subsequently discontinued by the Department of Indian Affairs, though no documentation explains why (Lane, 1978, p.6). Lane (1978, p.12,14,16) concludes that Canadian Fisheries policy had no base upon which to ban weir technology as the department knew that native fishing did not cause the collapse of the fishing industry. In addition, the Canadian National Railway construction through the Fraser Canyon in 1913 also had devastating impacts, as it caused a massive land slide that again impacted the salmon resource for all the Indigenous groups up the Fraser River (Hudson 1983, Aasen 1987, Mills 1994) including the Lheidli T'enneh. This would have had an immediate impact on those groups especially dependent on the salmon as a primary food source. As seen from the previous impacts from over fishing, groups would have been forced to find alternative food resources for sustenance.

Colonial / Settler Impacts on the Lheidli Health and Livelihood

In 1926 the British Columbia government introduced the registered trap line system in which individual trappers held exclusive trapping rights over a defined territory (Knight, 1978, p.72). This policy enabled the British Columbia government to administer rules over trap line usage, whereas territorial restrictions had not previously been possible on native rights. Hudson (1983) notes that changing the power structure from a family-owned *Keyoh* to an individually owned trap line occurred as most traplines were assigned to an individual, though group registration did occur. However, traplines were a calculated attempt to change the underlying

social structure of the Dakelh peoples land tenure system (Hudson 1983). Non-Native ownership and control of Dakelh land was implemented and endorsed.

Trap line registration interfered with the Lheidli T'enneh lifestyle and negatively impacted the Lheidli T'enneh community's livelihood; although the government originally promised otherwise. Unfortunately, the Lheidli T'enneh believed the government's promise that trap line registration was a way of protecting their *Keyohs*, only to find that administrative rules sought to restrict their Aboriginal rights over their entire land base (Lheidli TUS, 2000, p.13).

The Lheidli T'enneh's close proximity to the industrial centre in Prince George caused even greater interruptions than those experienced by the Nak'azdli people in what became known as Ft. St. James (see Hall 1992). The Lheidli T'enneh were impacted by local ranching when one such ranch directly contributed to the accidental poisoning in 1937 of many Lheidli community members. According to Crocker (2005, p.1-2),

> oral narratives told by Margaret Gagnon [tell] about fifteen children poisoned by contaminated drinking water. Mrs. Mackenzie, a local rancher, blocked a creek to create a reservoir and then put creosote in the water to dip her cattle. Subsequently, downstream, when the contaminated water was consumed by both adults and children of the Lheit-Lit'en community, it caused death, blindness, and a host of other serious medical problems including far-reaching psychological trauma. Three of the children who died were Margaret's. She also lost the baby she was carrying.

No one was ever charged as Margaret and the community believed that any compensation awarded by the courts would in effect be "blood money," a concept that Margaret viewed as a weakness of white society. The effects on the community were lasting and had deep consequences upon people's lives. See Crocker (2005) for Margaret Gagnon's full depiction of this tragedy.

Industrialization and habitat destruction made it more difficult for the Lheidli T'enneh to maintain a balance between land-based activities and wage-based realities. Christensen (1989, p.113) noted that during the early 1950's there were more than 800 small lumber mills operating in the Prince George Area.[6] When logging expanded in the central interior, the trapping and logging industries "compete[d] for different resources in common habitat" (Hudson, 1983, p.37). The effects of this foreign intrusion were compounded with the federal government's restrictions on Aboriginal rights of land use and hunting. Limitations on food procurement created shortfalls that made it necessary for Lheidli T'enneh to again adapt and participate more within the waged resource sector. This was not an endorsement of wage labour but an adaptive strategy to accommodate the changing conditions and changing resource base upon which the Lheidli T'enneh rely.

The Lheidli Place Names Project documents the way labour activities of the Lheidli T'enneh changed. Lizette Seymour, an Elder Lheidli T'en, stated through a translator (Mary Gouche) that "they used to work there clearing land ... Indians from the reserve ... used to work at Hutton (at the) ... shake mill there" (1988,p.2). Elaine Robert, another community member, also notes that Lheidli members participated in the construction of the train bridge into Prince George and that "the women and children ... watched and all the men were down there working" (1988, p.21). She was 6 or 7 years old at the time of the building of the bridge. Mary John's husband Lazare "worked for farmers at harvest time, he sold hay, cut firewood, made ties for the railway... or cleared land for $8 to $10 dollars an acre" (Moran, 1988, p.78). When speaking about his father's participation within the local economy, Chief Dominic Frederick states that his father "was always trapping most of the time. Bringing in the money. That's where the money was, and he [was] working in the sawmill" (1988, p.5). This illustrates that the Lheidli

community historically adapted and participated in both the traditional economy and the wage-based economy offered by industry situated within their territory.

Outside Economies and Development on Lheidli Traditional Territories

As a resource town Prince George became an industrial heartland in British Columbia's central interior and was susceptible to the classic boom bust economy (Mullins, 1967, p.15, Christensen, 1989, p.75). In the past a stronger mixed economy supported people's survival during these fluctuations, spreading their reliance both upon the lands' resources and within the wage based system (Berger 1977; Hudson 1983). Although it was not mentioned in Runnalls' (1946) history of Prince George, according to Christensen (1989) the Spanish flu epidemic also contributed to the economic plight of the region. Christensen (1989) concludes that the region did not recover economically until World War II when a 6000 person army camp was built at the foot of Cranbrook Hill (Christensen 1989, p.88) and another at Baldy Hughes outside of town (Mills 2010, personal conversation). Exponential demand for lumber also occurred after WWII with the rebuilding of European cities that had been destroyed during the war (Christensen, 1989, p.77-79). The additional industrial activity increased the pressure on the surrounding environment and territory, negatively impacting animal habitats and seasonal movements. Logging and hunting by non-native residents also created additional pressure on the Lheidli T'enneh community's ability to obtain country food. Alcoholism, pollution and other negative outside influences also affected the Lheidli T'enneh.

The major transportation corridors in the central interior were completed around 1952 with the building of two highways (Provincial Highway 97 & Provincial Highway 16) and the Pacific Great Eastern railway connecting to the rail hub in Prince George in 1956. Mary Pius, a Lheidli T'en Elder, commented on the rail head's impact when speaking about an area she traditionally

used, stating "but now you know they monkey around with it, the PGE [Pacific Great Eastern Railway] ... and they block up everything ... the environment there ... they bulldoze everything up"(Lheidli Place Names, 1988, p.3).

A common theme throughout the Lheidli Place Names (1988) and Lheidli Oral Histories Project (1989) was the impact of non-native development on traditional hunting and gathering areas of the Lheidli T'enneh in the 1950's. It was at this time industrialization increased and mill operations consolidated to become large corporations run by outside interests. Seasonal native workers, who had previously been employed by the smaller seasonal mill operations, became completely marginalized by the corporate wage-based schedule.[7] These operations are the large polluting industrial complexes that are visible today in Prince George.

The scale and scope of industrial development within Canada's northern areas escalated in the 1950's. Before 1950, development was relatively small scale and localized (Hudson, 1983, DesBrisay in Canada, RCAP 1994). In the late 1950s, developments enabled through the *Roads to Resources* program promoted mega projects with more pronounced impacts on local indigenous communities (Novosel 2006). In many ways, industry and colonialism worked together, sharing the same ideology of capitalism and its pro-development agenda. The *Roads to Resources* program, initiated by the Federal government, provided the infrastructure that industry needed to spur increased development. Provincial governments participated in the federal "road program" to increase their network of access roads for tourism and industry (Abele, 1983, 2003).

Both the provincial governments and corporations viewed the untapped resources of the provincial north as an economic boon and a storehouse of wealth (Coates & Morrison, 1992, p.61, 85). Abele (2003, p.7) states that the *Roads to Resources* program reflected the government's ideology of hinterland development. The investment in infrastructure made large-

scale mega projects more feasible in areas outside the southern zones of extraction. A direct result of the program was increased settlement and industrial growth. The government's focus on developing the 'undeveloped,' and unquestioning support of job creation, and a willingness to sacrifice raw materials to better what is essentially a resource hinterland economy exemplifies the modernist theoretical approach to development (jobs at any cost to the environment) development as progress, expansion as modernism, and under-development as backward (Berger 1977).

The forestry sector expanded during the late 1950's, increasing pressure on the Lheidli traditional mode of production through forestry practices. By altering the integrity of the land through clear cutting and road building, traditional activities and travel corridors were impacted and altered, causing a ripple effect of change throughout First Nations culture. Initially, the Lheidli T'enneh participated and benefited initially from forestry development, but in the 1960's with the consolidation of hundreds of sawmills, large local Aboriginal participation became marginalized because a new form of skilled labour was needed. According to Mullins:

> the mill of the 1950's required neither a large nor skilled labour force. For efficient operation the highly capitalized sawmill, plywood plant and pulp mill of the 1960's need large pools of skilled labour. It has become impossible to engage and retain skilled men in operations remote from urban centres. (1967, p.119)

These urban mills were year-round multi-national operations, administered from outside the area (Christensen, 1989, p.112-113) that did not need or use Aboriginal labour. Post-World War II development ushered in the modern era of large scale resource projects in the north which were characterized by non-local ownership and decision making powers, cyclical boom bust economies, and poor economic returns to the region (Abele 1983, Berger 1977, Bone 1992, Canada RCAP 1996, Hudson 1983, Notzke 1994).

According to Christensen (1989, p.114), 1964 saw the first pulp mill open, creating what would be considered Prince George's main economic driver to the present day. The Lheidli Traditional Use Study (TUS) reveals that, "Large-scale logging has continued uninterrupted over the land, changing the habitation for animals. The knowledge of where to hunt or trap certain animals passed down for countless generations has been wiped out by one major clear-cut" (2000, p.13). When speaking to the Lheidli Place Names Project about how "progress" (development) ruined the beauty of nature (1988, p.5) and his trapline, Alex Paul (a Lheidli T'en Elder from outside the community, who married in) stated "this is my last trip. All my trap line is logged out ... they spoil that" (1988, p.13). Paul's statement illustrates that practitioners within Lheidli's traditional economy had difficulty in 1988 continuing in the face of large scale industrial activity.

The government's development agenda had major implications to other Dakelh First Nations communities in the direct path of "progress." This was exemplified by Alcan's Kemano Completion Project, which diverted water from the Nechako River in central British Columbia for a hydroelectric dam flooding the traditional lands of the Cheslatta Dakelh. The Cheslatta were notified of the development only after the project had started flooding their lands (Canada, RCAP, 1996). They were forced to move in conditions that did not allow many personal belongings to be taken with them. The Cheslatta Band lost ten reserve properties that were sold in 1952 by the Department of Indian Affairs to Alcan for $129,000; this was one-fifth the price non-natives got per acre (Byl, 1992, p.10). According to RCAP (Canada, 1996) relocation was a common practice that separated Aboriginal people from their land base and their economy. This directly contributed to the Cheslatta people's loss of self-sufficiency, loss of lands and loss of ancestral burial grounds (Canada, RCAP, 1996, Chief Marvin Charlie). Many Cheslatta people

suffered and died as a result of being forced off their lands. Aasen (1992, p.20) states that "Kemano I ... resulted in damage to the habitat on which Carrier rely, reduction in resources, flooding of lands, destruction of homes and harvesting areas, erosion of land, pollution, and damage to navigation."

The Lheidli Nation was also impacted by Alcan's Kenny Dam project, because their supply of fish was diminished from reduced flow levels and the flow reversal (westward) of the Nechako River which affected the temperatures in the river (Lheidli T'enneh TUS 2000). According to Chief Dominic Frederick (2010, personal conversation) the community also experienced flooding and soil erosion which impacted their traditional fishing locales. These impacts were brought by one mega-project to the area and did not provide any benefits whatsoever to the Lheidli T'enneh.

As development within British Columbia has continued, the focus of resource-extracting companies has shifted from timber to energy. Oil and gas development started in earnest during the 1960's, as accessibility increased and development moved northwards into northeastern British Columbia. By 1960, 68 oil wells and 200 gas wells were in production (Brody, 1981, p.130), and by 1965, 530 gas wells were capable of production (Rea, 1976, p.66). Rea notes (1976, p.64) that by 1967, the Athabasca tar sands at Fort McMurray in northeastern Alberta began producing the first synthetic crude from what is considered to be the province's largest industrial project in its history (Rea, 1976, p.64). This project is also infamous for being Canada's largest polluter both in terms of greenhouse gas emissions and potable water (Aasen and Hughes 2006). According to Aasen & Hughes (2006, p.67): "As oil and gas infrastructure developed, for example roads to wells, this infrastructure was being used by trappers. Cabins and the base camps were located on roads to oil leases" (see also Brody 1988). Major pipelines also

started to be built in British Columbia. In the northeast, this new wage resource was incorporated by local indigenous peoples into the mixed economy along with fur harvesting.

Brody's work in northeastern British Columbia with the Treaty 8 groups demonstrated the cumulative impacts the oil and gas sector, forestry sector, and agriculture had on the total land base of the communities with a special reference to local moose populations. The new well-head infrastructure of roads became utilized by outside hunters, increasing the impacts to the animal populations. Through the use of mapping, Brody (1981) demonstrated the primary Aboriginal argument against the site-specific route rationale of resource companies for their energy corridors and access roads.

Site specific questions are often asked to First Nations communities and are discussed by two of the Lheidli members interviewed in chapter 3 (Vanessa West and Daryl Seymour 2006). Questions of site specific use assume that the environment is static and does not take into account the seasonal changes in the environment or the seasonal movements of its inhabitants or that everything in an eco-system is inter-connected and any impact has unforeseen cumulative impacts. Early development in British Columbia did not consider environmental impacts, as demonstrated by British Columbia's past forestry practices, and the distinct lack of literature on the subject. Impact assessments in Canada were a result of the Berger Inquiry and industry's failure to properly account for its own effects on First Nations. For eample, Brody (1988, p.130, 208-209) notes that in the 1970's in the north east of British Columbia the land based economy diversified to include significant wage labour in the areas of guiding, outfitting, slashing and reserve work. Industrial expansion continued from the 1970's onward with increased mobilization of oil and gas exploration and pipeline development. Mineral extraction has also become a central tenant of the new northern resource economy (Notzke, 1994, p.216).

Today, the Prince George region has become a hub for industrial development in the central interior region. The Lheidli territory has open pit mining, two chemical plants, three pipelines, an oil refinery, power lines, three pulp mills, numerous sawmills, a plywood plant, bio-energy plants. It is also a railway and highway hub, and has over 70,000 people living in the city and surrounding area (Chief Frederick 2010, City of Prince George 2010, Province of BC 2009). Pollution from both industry and residential development has reached such extreme levels that the Prince George region is cited as having the worst air quality in the province with one incident having levels of formaldehyde 18 times the acceptable levels (Province of BC 2009, CBC 2010). As a result, more people die from air pollution in Prince George than any other community in the province (Victoria Times Colonist 2007). Another immediate concern is that inadequate environmental testing occurs (air, soil, vegetation etc.) and that the test results are withheld from the public, so both native and non-native citizens are concerned for their health and the environment (CBC 2010).

In 1989, the Lheidli T'enneh Elders were tested for chlorine based dioxins. It was demonstrated that the fish they consume had high levels of pollutants absorbed from pulp mills on the Fraser River. At that time Health Canada considered fishing risky and advised the community members to limit their consumption of salmon based on the dioxin levels found in the Elders body fat (Aasen 2010, personal conversation). The pollutants from pulp mills and other industry have been a problem for residents situated near or along the Lhatako (Fraser River) (Hatfield, 2005, p.16). Mining tailings and run off are also a concern, as industrial runoff pollutes waterways killing fish habitats. Chief Dominic Frederick has stated that with the increased use and industrialization of the Lheidli Territory fish stocks have diminished from past

levels and this is a real community concern, as new development might further impact the already low levels of fish (2010 personal conversation).

Further environmental damage has occurred from herbicide and pesticide spraying programs designed to eliminate plant growth around key industrial sites (CSTC Aboriginal Interests & Use Study on the Proposed Gateway Pipeline, 2006, p.16). These spraying programs have effectively, from the Elder's point of view, poisoned traditional plants that were once used on a daily basis and have made Lheidli users fearful about practicing their traditional medicine harvesting (Margaret Gagnon 2006). Rampant industrial use, the poisoning of the environment, and fear of contaminated resources are cited as reasons why the land is no longer trusted, undermining thousands of years of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (Lheidli TUS 2000).

Development projects have steadily increased as the then Liberal Premier Gordon Campbell opened the province for business in the 1990s. First Nation's development notifications have correspondingly increased.[8] Unable to keep up with notifications of development, Aboriginal nations have become disheartened by the process, as companies have the financial resources to over-burden the Aboriginal administrative system (Aasen and Hughes 2005). In a speech to the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, Don Bain (1999), a Lheidli T'en member and a former employee of the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation, described the Lheidli community's experience with the issue of capacity in trying to handle the large volume of development applications. He stated:

> In terms of consultation ... on the ground, what's happening in our community amounts to about a thigh-high pile of papers. We get letters, faxes, and phone calls. Mainly the letters and faxes are filled with such jargon that we can't understand them - talking about five year development plans all the way up to archaeological impact assessment permits to mining plants, hydrology permits. We're a small community of about 250 people. We just don't have the capacity within our community to address these consultation purposes. Consultation is a good step, but right now all we can do is respond with a letter.

Don stated that even when his office tries to pursue meaningful consultation with industry, devoting time and money, industry switches tactics and signs with another community, thereby wasting community resources in a futile attempt to secure economic certainty (Bain 1999). Development has yet to slow down in order for communities to even respond to claims the companies are making about wildlife and human impacts. Because of this onslaught of blanket applications, communities are feeling that resource companies are not honestly participating in meaningful consultation and are continuing the cycle of colonialism through resource development. This is a topic discussed further by the participants in Chapter 3.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that colonizer goals, systemic colonization, development and its attendant theoretical underpinnings and policies have shaped how industrial expansion occurred on Dakelh and Lheidli T'enneh Lands. Modernist thought led to programs such as *Roads to Resources* and the more recent policy that "opens the province for business" (Liberal Party of BC website 2010) at the expense to First Nations' goals, aspirations, traditional ways of life, and Aboriginal rights. The Lheidli T'enneh's geographical location in the central interior of British Columbia was a major factor in determining that their traditional lands would become a hub of industrial activity. The Lheidli T'enneh have not had any benefits from the expansion, and were not consulted on projects and yet their land base and traditional economies have been irreparably harmed. Modernism does not assign value to ways of life, world views and spirituality. Yet these are major factors for First Nations.

The following chapter provides the Lheidli T'enneh voice(s) on resource development, consultation and the changing context within which the community finds itself.

[2] *Keyoh* is an indigenous term for land or territory that was managed by family units and household heads. *Keyoh* territories were later encroached upon with the arrival of the first non-natives into the area and the successive influx of non-natives.

[3] According to Fiske (1983, p.:83) Kobrinsky argues that the traders became dependent on the fish the Dakelh women provided, "thus the women's economic and social roles were enhanced" (Kobrinsky 1973, p. 37, 39) "When the salmon failed, the people turned to small mammals, particularly hare, which were commonly trapped by women" (Fiske 1983, p.83). This position was somewhat undermined with the importing of European foods.

[4] The McKenna McBride Royal Commission 1913-1916 created cutoffs of Lheidli reserve lands on all of the allocated reserves #1, 2, 3, 4 to the benefit of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. See Stewart Lake Agency final report within the Royal Commission. Source: http://gsdl.ubcic.bc.ca/cgi-bin/library

[5] Lane (1978, p.4) states that in allowing special use of nets on river and lake systems "the Department of Marine and Fisheries recognized special Indian fishing rights". These are rights that cannot be ceded or diminished by treaty or altered or extinguished legally without the consent of the First Nations concerned.

[6] Christensen (1989, p.111) notes the annual lumber production from 1920-1940; the staggering figures of 160 million board feet for 1928 show the extent in which industrial logging was employed for maximum efficiencies of resource extraction and created maximum impacts on the local habitats that the Lheidli traditional economy relied on.

[7] Hudson (1983, p.145) notes that 1945-1964 represented the period where Aboriginal labour was most important to the logging industry. Knight (1978, p.147) also speaks about Aboriginal participation in the resource sector and the prominent role Indian labour had in owning and operating saw mills in the early 19th century in the coastal areas of British Columbia.

[8] Notifications take the form of documents describing the area that is to be used, type of industrial activity and company plan.

Chapter 3

What the Lheidli Participants Said in Their Interviews

The issues raised by the twelve Lheidli T'enneh members interviewed reflect the community's concerns with environmental impacts, employment and job capacity, community benefit retention, and meaningful community consultation. This chapter provides a snapshot of how the community participants felt about these issues in 2006. To highlight the differences in opinion between age groups I divided the participants into three groups; Senior Elders (70 plus), Elders (50 years to 69 years of age), and Adults (23 years to 49 years of age). Participant members younger than this age were not heavily involved in band governance and were largely absent from the community territorial decisions of the Elders and Adults. As such, they were not included in the interviews.

One senior Elder, Mary John, was interviewed shortly before her death and prior to this project.[1] Another senior Elder (Margaret Gagnon), the four Elders and the six Adults were interviewed in 2006. The four participating community members in the Elders group were Chief Dominic Frederick, Ron Seymour, Violet Bozoki and Frank Frederick. The six participants in the Adult group were Curtis Seymour, Vanessa West, Deryl Seymour, Rena Zatorski, Corinna Joseph, and Irvin Gagnon.

In general, I attempted to ask each of the participants the same five open questions (see below), but sometimes the interviewee would direct the course of the interview. For example, Margaret Gagnon responded with traditional answers based in story telling form (see also Margaret Gagnon in Crocker 2005). The questions I attempted to ask of each person were:

1. What do you think about oil and gas development?
2. Can you have development and protect the land?
3. Is there a difference in opinion between Elders and young Adults on development?
4. What do you think about the consultation from resource companies?

The four question headings are organized as:

1. Lheidli T'enneh Views on Oil and Gas and Resource Development
2. The Present Problems with Consultation as Seen by the Participants
3. The Difference in Opinion on Development between Senior Elders and Urbanized Adults
4. Problems with Development and Protecting the Land Base In a Pro-Development Environment

This chapter illustrates the participants' perspectives on development, what the Lheidli participants want out of development, the challenges of development and protecting the land. It also illustrates the different viewpoints between senior elders and urbanized adults, as well as the issues of consultation as viewed by the participant community members. I encourage readers to take the time to read all of the interviews in Appendix C, as some, such as the late Margaret Gagnon's, were more extensive and intricate in their tapestry of meaning and no summary or quotation can substitute for the direct flow from the source.

Originally when I went into the Lheidli T'enneh community to ask what the participating members thought about oil and gas development, I thought the answers would be straight-forward opinions, either for or against the Gateway pipeline. What I discovered was that the answers to questions that I considered simple were actually quite complex. Because the issues that were discussed are interlinked, the organization of their arguments was somewhat organic and circular rather than being differentiated into the four question areas. Themes about the need for jobs, consultation with Enbridge, generational differences, and the question of protecting the environment are inter-connected throughout the participants' viewpoints on development. As they are all connected, the participants did not speak about one issue without mentioning the other as the interviews in Appendix C show. It is also important to mention that not all the participants answered all the questions, as some did not have direct knowledge of the issues, such as the consultation process.

Heading 1: Lheidli T'enneh Participants views on oil/gas and resource development

When I went into the Lheidli community to find people who were willing to let me interview them, I had not considered what impacts past projects might have had, nor did I consider that First Nations today must accommodate two worldviews when participating in development. Rena Zatorski, a university-educated Lheidli T'en Adult and Band council member who became one of the participants reminded me: "You have to be able to live in both worlds to survive and continue to evolve and flourish". From an Aboriginal perspective, balance and stewardship is difficult in the face of mega resource development. The senior Elders' answers are presented first for their historical perspective of development on their traditional lands.

For the participants, the question of oil and gas development was not solely about oil and gas. Some participants did not separate oil & gas development from other forms of industrial activity that have also occurred within the Lheidli T'enneh traditional territory, such as forestry and clear cut logging. In fact, as Aasen and Hughes (2006) report shows, oil and gas exploration requires simultaneous development of supporting infrastructure including roadways, which leads to further development from other industries within the resource sector (see Brody,1988, p.236).

Because a number of studies have found the environmental and social impacts of development are considerable (Hudson 1983, Canada RCAP 1996, Lheidli TUS 2000, Aasen and Hughes 2006, see case studies chapter 1), I asked about how the Lheidli T'enneh participants viewed oil and gas development but found the answers also included other types of resource development. This topic is viewed through the participants' lens of past development impacts on their territory and the lack of benefit the community has experienced.

Mary John was born into the Lheidli community and related to Six Mile Mary.[2] Mary John was later married into the Saik'uz (Stoney Creek) First Nation. When she was interviewed in 2004 as part of a group interview project for Antonia Mills First Nations Studies 602 class, Mary responded to my question about how she would feel about oil and gas development in her area by saying:

> I wouldn't feel good about it. They were exploring some years ago, and then they said between here and the lodge up there, they said they found gas and nothing happened. Maybe it was just talk. I don't know what.
>
> That would be the end of us. Course I don't, anything like that, you know. Just like when the Minex (inaudible) ... people went crazy. When that, when did they open that, the Minex company, they were building this road, going to ... going to where was it now?
>
> Antonia: The Kenney Dam?
>
> Mary John: Kenney Dam, people were crazy, you know, women, the men went down, the boys that were working, take the women and drinking was going on, wild it was,... so anything like that I don't like that you know, it destroys everything, you know, the peaceful village you know...(pause)...Yeah, they said 'your sons were such a good, we're going to benefit from it,' it didn't benefit nothing. The only people that benefit, it was maybe three or four people that went to work there.

Mary John's recollection of a development project is a good example of the lack of benefit that large development projects have historically provided to the First Nations who are local to the development in the past. The Kenney Dam owned by Rio Tinto Alcan Company is a rock filled hydro electric dam, located on the Nechako River, approximately 93 km south of Vanderhoof, British Columbia (BC Parks 2011). Mary John's statement exemplifies the larger social impact that development has had for many First Nations communities.

Margaret Gagnon was the other Senior Elder who stated that her and the communities' activities on the land have been changed by the impacts of industrial development:

> they ruined everything there is out there. Just steady ruining things, since when I noticed anyway ... the things they have done and yet doing it's destroying everything out there ... now you can't do nothing because everything is sprayed. Now you can't [berry pick] because they spray everything with poison ... everything they touch ... they are ruining everything. So what is left for people, for their health and stuff like that ... and their kids? Pretty soon there will be no[thing]. (Margaret Gagnon)

Throughout the time the Lheidli T'enneh have occupied their traditional territory, they have seen many changes occur on their lands. Plants and areas that they traditionally used have become inaccessible due to industrial development, private ownership, or contaminated industrial sites. As stated in Chapter 2, the use of lethal pesticides to curtail bush growth caused Elders to ask to be tested in 2000 for pesticide contamination for the Lheidli Traditional Use Study (2000). Although the results were inconclusive, it did not reduce the concerns and fears Elders had over the issue. Margaret Gagnon said that they used to be able to hunt and gather out in the territory daily without worrying about their safety,

> then if we wanted grouse all we had to do is take a 22 (gun) go out in the bush ... see a grouse, you shoot one, and if you need two, you get two... Because everything was nice and clean out in the bush, what you eat. Look at now, with all that spray ... All the food and everything is gone ... nothing. .. now you can't do nothing because everything is sprayed. And the juniper tops, that was the best thing for flu.... Now you can't do that because they spray everything with poison out there. So what, everything they touch ... they are ruining everything. (Margaret Gagnon).

The participants' mixed feelings about development were most apparent in two particular issues: how the community should participate in development and how the environment can be protected (Heading 4). All participants interviewed within the community presented a need for economic development and job creation but also wanted to protect the environment and wondered if the environmental impacts would be worth the short term gain of limited employment. Some members also stated that they were unsure how to protect the areas for which traditional ecological knowledge had been eradicated from past development projects, presenting

a paradox of development for the Lheidli community (see Deryl Seymour, Vanessa West, Corinna Joseph).

Other members said that they view development as inevitable and impossible to permanently stop (Chief Frederick, Rena Zatorski). Chief Frederick stated:

> what we say...is they'll get their way anyway and we are going to try and make the best of it from what we can and make the best deal we can...we are trying to get a good deal with Enbridge...a share...but I think it is really big...because they can walk over everybody and at the end of the day, they can say no and the government will support it.

As a result, the Lheidli government is trying to steer and manage the process through joint ventures and partnerships to gain the greatest long-term benefits with the least harm to their lands. This exemplifies the Lheidli culture of stewardship (Lheidli T'enneh 2000) that is seeking a way to mitigate impacts, have the community's voice heard, and survive in a pro-development environment. When interviewed Chief Frederick noted that the community needed to build capacity and garner the necessary skills to become more self-reliant in all aspects of resource development. He summed up how oil and gas development was presented to the community by the Canadian Government:

> The way it was put to us [Lheidli Nation], [is] that we have first refusal of tenures and all that, and to bid on them or not within the territory. [But]... we don't have the resources for that, and that's the problem....It's hard to build capacity when you don't have resources ... we need something now ... some money now, to help us.... All the consultants won't be with us forever. So we are going to have to solve this sooner or later. That's the problem with oil and gas that we have, we don't have the capacity to take it on, we try to make deals wherever we can and get what little jobs we can...There will be a big impact and the risks are really high, because they cross two major rivers that go through our territory, that's the Salmon River and the Stewart River and those rivers ... cross into our territory, ...all the way from Burns Lake right down to Francis Lake and back down to the Fraser again ... the fish resource that comes through there is already depleting, and once fooled with, ... would wipe that [fish resource] right out and it would be no more. So the risk is high ... that was our concern with the Gateway. (Chief Dominic Frederick 2006)

From the participants' perspectives, development has not created many benefits or jobs for the community. According to Elder Ron Seymour, a Lheidli T'en councilor and former Chief:

> when the first two pipelines came through ... there was no employment created for First Nations. Any development that ever happened on reserves in the past never ever included the band membership, employment-wise...[but rather] put restrictions on what we [the Lheidli] could do with the land.

This omission of local Lheidli participation has led community members to view development as an activity that outsiders conduct for their own benefit and leave the community to deal with the negative consequences. Chief Frederick summed up what he thought about pipeline development and what local employment might be by saying:

> the impacts to the land ... [are] going to be great ... [and] there are not a lot of jobs coming out of it at the end of the day. Maybe 70 jobs ... Maybe less. It's just people looking after the line ... Watching it, and we get part time jobs ... and that's it. Do the job and then [industry] kicks you out.

In light of this, there is not a lot of incentive for the Lheidli community to sacrifice their territorial health to development. The jobs that are being offered to the community from other resource sectors are menial labour positions with little capacity or chance for advancement within the industry and usually terminate upon completion of the construction contract. Elder Ron Seymour expanded on this, stating:

> It is like any project that is going to be going through, the initial period while the construction is going on there will be a lot of employment. But ... after they put the pipeline in ... the ground and is all covered up, there would not really be any employment for our people, it would be their technical people that are running the pipeline, their own people so this is what I am saying our people need to be trained to do this. Even if it is just one member. For steady employment that could happen. But to have a pipeline run through here and hire 30 or 40 of our guys to go out there and make good money for a year, whatever time it takes for the pipeline to go through and then go back on the welfare line after that, I don't like that idea.

Ron also commented that if the Lheidli Nation is allowed to participate in the management plan then it would be a positive experience for the community, but if they are "not allowed to participate in the plan or the management ... then there would be an awful lot of opposition" to the resource project as it is essential to have the Lheidli voice heard on activities pertaining to their traditional lands. Chief Frederick related that industry promises community benefits but the jobs promised are short term, menial and any trained positions are often task specific, leaving trained individuals without local work. Chief Frederick asked "What do you do... with these guys after it's over when they're [industry] gone?" He concluded that community members that were trained in specific skills such as welding would likely follow the work and be pulled out of the community leaving no residual benefits or capacity building skills retained within the community. This concern was shared by another Adult participant, Corrina Joseph, who said that educated members should be giving back to the community to help build community capacity, rather than leaving the community to pursue work.

Elder Violet Bozoki expressed concern for the land and industry's ability for long term employment, yet presented optimism for the opportunities of training and education that the younger generations might be afforded. She concluded that:

> It's going to be bad for our land ... [and] [] it's going to affect all the wildlife ... and the medicines we make in the territory. I think they are going to be contaminated and the berries that we rely on ... That's the negative part. But the positive part I think is the greater opportunity for the band ... to participate ... and for the youth. I think it would benefit the youth more than the Elders. ... [but] I think it would be short term. Once they are out of our territory and ... are going to go through some other nation[s' territory] ... they are going to start hiring from there. So I see our people working just for a short [time] in our territory and ... letting our people go ... because they want to give the same opportunities to the next community. So I look at it as short term. I could see it being positive ... it would benefit our band ... it would financially benefit; I hope that it would help our band out. And if there is going to be education [and] training programs ... that would be beneficial to our young people. (Violet Bozoki)

According to the band's internal survey completed in 2003, the Lheidli T'enneh community is grappling with an economic crisis and an unemployment rate between 57% and 80% (Ryan, 2003). Frank Frederick and Vanessa West expressed this concern as well. Of the people who participated in the community survey there was a "major concern" expressed to increase education for all members of the community and for more on-reserve employment. The Lheidli study states that: "While the employment level and the availability of jobs remains low for those seeking employment on-reserve, the potential for employment in relation to available skills and education is high" (Lheidli, 2003, p.9). Elder Frank Frederick supports this conclusion in his interview, stating that "one of the goals we are looking forward to is putting the young and the youth to work. Right now our unemployment rate is so far up we can't survive there. If [developers] provide jobs, I am all for it." However, Frank tempered this comment by reiterating that environmental protection was a primary concern to him. Jobs that do not compromise the environment are therefore better. Adult Irvin Gagnon, who has worked within the resource sector, thought:

> there [are not] ... gonna be too many jobs out of it, there will be some jobs but not long term jobs, not gonna feed your family for the next ten years or whatever. [At the most a] Couple years job, maybe if that. After that they push you out of the picture, while they take all your ... oil ... and you're out of it.

While he conceded that the industry would create jobs, possibly for the community, he tempered this by stating that the impacts would be more profound, possibly outweighing the benefits of the project. Irvin was also concerned about the added pressure from people outside the territory coming into the area to further exploit the land.

Rena Zatorski illustrated the guarded optimism of the Adults in the community when she suggests that there are positive and negative elements of oil and gas development, with the negative ones being greater:

> In terms of job opportunities or opportunities for the band in general to make joint ventures or receive some kind of stipend it's negative, but in terms of, well, possibilities that can potentially go with it ... we could reap some positive benefits from it. Short term employment is negative because it is short term but at least it is employment. All in all I would say it's negative. (Rena Zatorski)

Another Lheidli T'en Adult, Deryl Seymour, who has training as a GIS Technician noted that the benefits and jobs that development companies promise to native communities only bring benefits to those companies proposing the development. The welfare of the First Nations community living in close proximity to the pipeline route is ignored. Deryl observed:

> I don't think we see any benefits, little to none have I ever seen ... come out of there. And they like to give you a lot of hopes ... 'we'll give you this, we'll give you that,' and a lot of promises but they are empty promises and as soon as they go through your land they kinda lose your number.

Vanessa West and Deryl Seymour added

> We've always looked at, these [as] short term jobs, the employment opportunities that they [industry] give us. And it's usually clearing of the land. (Deryl: Yeah..crap) you know, the prep work, and then the engineers and ...the specialists..come in and actually do [the long term job]....they're the ones that really reap the benefit (Deryl: Yes...) They're the ones for roads and access, and I think it is kinda opening up the whole territory.

A concern about the easy access was also expressed by Curtis Seymour and the difficulties in protecting the environment from habitat fragmentation.

Commenting on the lack of training offered by resource companies, Deryl said that the lack of information from companies about job training or qualifications for the jobs offered often means that the community members are unable to participate beyond the position of day labourers, leaving the danger of environmental impacts unaddressed. She went on to say:

> They don't ever offer schooling, they don't even tell you guidelines on where you should be going for school or what you should be taking up. You know ... It's very empty ... in terms of their information. They give you very selected information and ... make it sound really great but in actuality it's great for them to fill their pockets, ... and get millions of dollars and move onto the next ... [project]. But what about what ... they leave behind? What if there is ... [a spill]? (Deryl Seymour).

Deryl's observations about the lack of training or guidelines are not unique to the community of Lheidli. They are mirrored in the *Déne Gondie* study (Déne Nation 1986), the Norman Wells Monitoring project (1986) and the CSTC Report (Aasen and Hughes 2006). According to Ron Seymour, as a result of the lack of employment information, many in the community are training in general tasks because they do not know what jobs are going to be available. This lack of information makes it difficult for the community to create an economic plan that would be helpful in building job capacity within the Lheidli community.

Several participants (Mary John, Ron Seymour, Chief Frederick, Deryl Seymour) spoke about the language that resource companies use, promising jobs and benefits to the Lheidli community. Ron Seymour spoke of the rhetoric coming from resource companies, stating that:

> I don't have any qualms with... [companies hiring native people] if the people they hire are qualified, if they can train them... The people that are hired they'll know what they are doing. Not just hire them because they are First Nations, ...nobody wants to be the Uncle Tom Tom there on the work crew. I have been there and done that. ... I don't like being the token Indian at a job. If they are going to hire me they are going to hire me for what I know, what I can do. So if they are able to do that with the projects coming through ... if they are going to hire First Nations people, ok hire them but make sure those people are capable of doing the work. If they're not capable, train them.

According to the studies up to 2006, pipeline companies have not offered such training to First Nations communities, thus maintaining the marginalization of the local work force. It was Ron Seymour's hope that the Lheidli members who had received general training in the fields of welding and journeyman would be the first to benefit from development coming through Lheidli territory.[3] Many of the participants acknowledged that historically the promised benefits of

industry had not materialized for their community, making them look beyond the token gestures for a more meaningful stakeholder relationship.

Heading 2: The Present Problems with Consultation as Seen by the Participants

As consultation is still being defined by the court system, resource companies and Aboriginal communities each have their own ideas about what constitutes meaningful consultation. When asked about consultation, both Elders and Adults expressed the need to see protections put in place for the environment but also acknowledged that past industrial development has demonstrated a lack of community consultation and benefit. This lack of meaningful consultation is the lens through which the participants view industrial development on their traditional territory. Each person I interviewed had a unique perspective. This perspective was influenced by different background experiences and participation levels within the community. While they all acknowledged the inevitability of resource development on their lands, they had different concerns for the environment and what the impact of development meant for their community and its future generations.

From an historical perspective, senior Elder Mary John stated that consultation never occurred with her village when the Kenny Dam was constructed:

> ... they just went ahead, you could just see they improved the road alright, that was one good thing. But the machines, everything was going by, everything, the supplies, one time, I was not living in here, I was still living in our log house, near (inaudible) the village, not too close from the highway, and there was trucks going by, and they lost a big supply of meat, looks like, they lost all the cases of pork chops, we picked it up and after that we feasted on that. We had no fridge or anything, we had no electricity, we had pork chops day and night. That's all we got out of it. (Mary John 2004)

When discussing the lack or absence of consultation Chief Frederick experienced when dealing with Enbridge over the Gateway Pipeline, he spoke of the frustration of dealing with a company that refuses to acknowledge the Lheidli Community's own Protocol Agreement to access Lheidli lands. Instead, Enbridge presented its own generic Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) and expected the First Nations to sign. Chief Frederick suggests that when a First Nations community government drafts a protocol agreement, delivers it and then does not hear back, it speaks loudly. According to Chief Frederick, the protocol agreement: "... States ... how ... [the Lheidli] will proceed into an official agreement in terms ... [of oil and gas companies] coming into our territory and how we will work together, but as to date, we have not received any response from them". He added that Enbridge's contractors came back to the community after the initial meeting simply to get more territorial access:

> They sat here and talked about...what their plans were. I said, "Well you know that's your plans, we don't have any plans for you guys. So therefore...our meeting is over...until Enbridge signs the protocol agreement and I don't want you guys in our territory." And so [what] happened they went to the Treaty Council and got permission from the Treaty Council to come into the territory, to do what they wanted to do...it's sorta become a problem now. It's gone no place though.

The Lheidli T'enneh Treaty Council, unaware of the protocol agreement and the previous meeting with the Chief, allowed the contractor's application against the wishes of the elected Lheidli government.[4] Enbridge's contractor gained access to the territory through the back door. This is a classic divide and conquer technique used by both government and industry when attempting to steer the consultative process into hearing the voice of the community. Resource companies such as Enbridge have failed to recognize that the community's Council has their own consultative process Enbridge ought to follow.

Consultation is difficult because the whole community needs to be informed, as Elder Violet Bozoki said:

> all these big companies going through are not really ...consult[ing] with us...they never tell us anything about the benefits were going to get from them. We don't know if we are going to get anything....but for consultation, I think they should meet with the whole community and get the ideas from the elders and the youth and the in between ones. We just can't go chief and council, you know, and say well they consulted with that nation's chief and council. The people have to be aware what's going on too. It's their land, not just chief and council.

Violet's statement illustrates that consent from the Lheidli community goes beyond a few individuals, as development decisions impact everyone within the community.

The way consultation is presently orchestrated represents a failure to accept Indigenous culture, with development representatives seemingly not understanding the seasonal variations of the total ecosystem or the cumulative nature of environmental impacts as it relates to a proposed development site. For example, Corinna Joseph recalled that company officials came to look at a stream crossing during the dry season when water levels had diminished altogether:

> ... last year I went ...with Enbridge ... to go check out a stream, and we went there ... but there was no stream because it was the dry season. But they don't understand because [it] is the dry season .... When [the] wet season does come ... the water will be there and they think "oh no there's no water so lets just keep building a pipeline through there, that area." And I believe that with Enbridge and what they did there... I felt that was wrong. Because they didn't do proper work for that, they just went out and saw it and thought "oh well"
>
> And that was one of the problems I did have ... I believe that there was a stream there once upon a time and there will be another one, and fish do go there and spawn. And (have) habitat there. And I believe that that's very very important because there is ... [no consideration] for the salmon. Or anything else that is living in the river.

Corinna added that resource companies only view the area in the static terms of what they see at the time of their environmental assessment, thereby failing to take into account the full ecological knowledge of each individual area. These limited assessments only look at the immediate impacts while discounting cumulative effects and seasonality of the ecosystem, the

territory and its people. Her observation about the deficiency of environmental assessments is a common concern that many Aboriginal organizations such as the Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council members have with company-led assessments (Aasen and Hughes 2006).

Elder Violet Bozoki said:

> ...with the developments coming ...they should meet with the Elders and ask their opinion on how to protect it. Not just go and say well we should do it this way because the other nations did it that way. ...they have people with each individual territory and just can't be following every one. Our territory we have all the wildlife, medicines, the berries and all that on the land. Just west of us in the Vanderhoof area, because of the dam there, they lost a lot of their traditional medicines and they are coming into our territory and getting our medicines because they won't find it in their territory any more...because we are relatives and we share our medicine with them and we have a lot of medicines on our territory that they do not have anymore. Just a simple thing like Choke Cherry... they don't have Choke Cherry and they have to go about one hundred miles in our territory before you can find a bush.

In Violet's view the land is made up of different ecosystems that cannot be administered to in a homogenous way, as companies have done with past resource projects. Her example of the medicinal plants being destroyed by the Kenny Dam also illustrates the lasting impacts a project has on an Aboriginal community. This point was similar to Mary John's recollection of the building of the Kenny Dam and the chaos that it brought to her community. Violet's statement also echoes Margaret Gagnon's concerns.

The participating Elders and Adults agree that the current consultation process lacks sufficient community input. Consultation has long been a point of contention for First Nations communities (Aasen and Hughes 2005, CSTC 2010). One reason the community members interviewed view the consultation process negatively is that they feel the dialogue of consultation is a token gesture. Although the Haida and Taku Tlinigt (2004) court cases have defined what consultation should be like, there is still much clarification needed.[5] The loose interpretation of what constitutes consultation has allowed resource companies the ability to replace consultation

with notification. The community members interviewed see this as a legal maneuver to meet minimum requirements rather than a commitment to creating meaningful dialogue with the affected communities.

As noted earlier under Heading 2, the Lheidli T'enneh Nation is attempting to build strategic alliances, which are the initial stages of meaningful consultation through partnerships with industry. According to Chief Frederick, it has been difficult because industry has the necessary money and power to force their agenda; and the various First Nations communities who may share territorial development (for example: an energy corridor), have not come together to support each other in a unified front. "We tried to bring all the nations together and come to some sort of agreement and hear everybody's concerns. But it was hard ... and nobody came together" (Chief Frederick 2006). Chief Frederick believes the issues of being in favour of development or against development became muddled when some groups accepted money from Enbridge for studies, even though they were against the project. "How can you say you are against it. It was sort of a conflict ... of interest because you say no, yet they (other bands) say give me some money, give me some more money" (Chief Frederick 2006). The compromise from some groups also illustrates the economic need for jobs within the various communities and the difficulty different First Nation communities have in agreeing to establish a framework for cooperation on development projects. The lack of acknowledgment shown by resource companies over meaningful consultation begs the question of where the responsibility lies for proper consultation and how that is defined.

When asked if he sees consultation evolving to allow partnerships, Chief Frederick speculates that:

> With us ... well it might change or it might stop. We took it as far as we can and ... they have taken the protocol documents with them and they haven't responded. So it is what it

> is. We may block them...that's an option ... we want to force them to the table again and try and find a way to do that, but at this point [there is] no consultation with Enbridge. With consultation we took it as far as we can, and that's where it is.
> Geoff: And they dropped the ball?
> Chief Dominic Frederick: Ya.

Rena Zatorski stated that she views the consultation process as a negative experience: "I don't think the consultation process is appropriate and I don't [believe] the First Nation communities affected ... including us, have been accurately informed of anything ... and everything has been whitewashed and sugar-coated." Rena went on to state that Enbridge had visited the band offices but that "we've specified with them that with our talks that it's not consultation whatsoever and then you read in the media ...that they are consulting with First Nations and [that] is not the case as far as I'm concerned". Both Rena and Chief Frederick's statements illustrate the difference between what the Lheidli T'enneh think consultation should be versus what is presented by pipeline companies for oil and gas.

Rena related that companies rarely came into the community to discuss their development plans. When companies did come into the community, Rena has observed that community members' questions are more likely to be about employment and training rather than examining project partnerships or environmental impacts. Community members have seen "what's happened throughout our history [and] just kind of raise their arms in loss of hope ... it doesn't matter how big a stink they make ... things eventually go through anyways so I think in a lot of ways the system is futile, why waste your breath?" (Rena Zatorsky). Rena relates that the only time she has seen meaningful dialogue happen with resource companies is as a result of blockades instituted by First Nations. The Lheidli community is willing to participate with oil and gas development for jobs but is fearful that by speaking out and using blockades they risk those jobs. She believes: "we're more urban than say Takla and so I think we've had a history of

... joining in on things ... trying to get the best kind of deal that we can for the small population that we have" (Rena Zatorski). As Ryan (2003) wrote in the Lheidli internal survey completed in 2003, a high percentage of Lheidli community members relate to the resource economy more than to the traditional land based economy, and they want and need employment (Ryan, 2003, p.2).

Regarding consultation, Vanessa West said that oil and gas companies conduct archaeological impact assessments and state that if culturally modified trees are found within the pipeline corridor:

> it will be noted. But at the same time we realize that they are just going to tear them down anyways, [as] all it is going to be is a location, they are not going to go around the tree,... so ... it just seems like when there is any type of ... pipelines or oil and gas that they are just merely meeting with the First Nation based on their requirements, they are not really listening to anything we have to say.

Deryl Seymour added to Vanessa's point arguing that the companies:

> are just going through the motions of doing the consultation aspect of it, where they're [thinking] ... "Ok well we'll do this meeting here and there and we'll give you the information. But if they (Lheidli Nation) give us some [feed] back great, but even if they don't that's even better so we don't have to worry about coming and fulfilling our (obligations)" ...[at the] end of the whole deal is the way I think it is.

At the time of these interviews, a small minority of companies have started to recognize First Nation stewardship over their traditional territories. Both Chief Frederick and Ron Seymour praised Duke Energy and Trans-Canada Pipelines for their communication about economic opportunities for the Lheidli Nation and stated that this is what has to start happening to create meaningful participation between First Nations communities and the development sector.[6]

According to those interviewed, the Lheidli government only sees empowerment and meaningful consultation coming through project partnerships and co-management with oil and

gas companies. The community is hopeful that meaningful dialogues will begin with more resource companies, which would enable community capacity to grow and secure their community's future. When speaking about oil and gas development, Ron Seymour stated:

> in the future we should be able to benefit from ... a partnership or a kind of a joint venture or something like that. We will be able to benefit. But in the future there will be more development and likely it might affect our territory more. My opinion is get our feet in the door, be able to participate as partners, it will be beneficial to our nation. I don't think I would have any opposition to this development. This would be the development that the Lheidli T'enneh should be involved in.

The participant community members view consultation in its present form as an empty gesture with little respect for their community's rights and wishes. While the community wants to participate in development, they also want access at the decision-making level to ensure development choices that affect their lands create the least harm. Partnerships and co-management, not the meaningless dialogue that is presently taking place, is the only mechanism the Lheidli T'enneh see for obtaining the benefits that they want to be afforded and believe they are entitled to as First Peoples with constitutionally protected rights.

Heading 3: The Difference in Opinion on Development between Senior Elders and Urbanized Adults

When the participants were asked if there were differences in opinion between Elders and youth on development, all said that there were many different opinions between the two groups. Senior Elder Margaret Gagnon recalled that she had been warned by her elders of an generational change that was coming that would leave little consideration for anything else other than money, greed and power. The land would not be protected.[7] In her oral traditional story form she stated:

> they told us, ... what's ahead for you. "There's you," like us, "your kids, their kids, and their kids." In between this here, they must have meant generation. In between here. Your

> kids are gonna be completely lost, right out of this world. Sickness ... no ... what you're taught since you're a kid, you will try it, we taught you to all love one another. Everybody have respect for one another, the way you want to be respected. And the third is share what little you have with everybody else that needs it. Don't think "I'm gonna have more than you," don't ever think that. Because in that time there, this is what the white people is gonna do. What we taught you is completely gone. There is going to be no god, money is going to be the god of all people. Well it is here. Money is their god. The second one to them, is greed, third one is power. Those are the three your kids are going to get sucked into. And they are going to be completely ... lost, their life is finished there.

She expanded on this subject by relating how it was common that people used to help each other. Now some members have to pay for services from their own family that used to be considered a family obligation:

> It was really nice the way things were, because in them days everyone was helping one another. Today what I notice in them days all the old people they know the mothers of these kids like our mother have to do the garden work and the men are out trapping. ... So it was for our health they [elders] were looking after us and teaching us [...] at the same time. And these old people they took, [...] over when the mother[s] are busy, they took us to the small cows and teach us how to dry meat, dry fish and drying berries in different ways. All them things that they [elders] were teaching us.
>
> But today, ... one of the kids ... I looked after when they were small when we were berry picking we keep an eye on her. She's got grandchildren and great grand children now. And she ... was doing flower gardening ... her daughter came and she said she wanted to go to ... town, could she keep an eye on the grand children until she got back. She (her mother) stood there, she turned around, she stood up in her garden, she stood up and put her hand out. "How much you gonna pay me?" I said "Oh my goodness how can you charge" ... (mother) "well they are spending money why can't they pay me?" I said "that's your little grand children" .... I said "Remember how they used to look after us," I said, "when we were small?" "Yeah but that was a long time ago." So I told her daughter, I said I was going to be here all day I said I would stay and look after the kids for you until you got back. She said "I am not doing anything unless I get paid." And she went back into the house. But that's how things change. How can it be like that?
>
> What they taught us done good for me and all my children. And I showed them as they were growing up and that's the way they brought theirs up. But after that the government took over and they just walked into a person's place and pick their kids up and goodness knows what kind of place they stick them. According to the welfare office here, they have to pay these kids to fix up their bed. You don't pay kids. You're paying them by teaching them. But they don't ... I got into a lot of arguments with welfare. I couldn't

> keep my mouth shut to tell a person, parents, mother especially, come and tell them where they are gonna put the kids and they'll be well looked after. I said I have never seen welfare home look after any kids. It's the money they're after, I said. They're not after the kids. Oh no, they don't know nothing. I said look at how they even stop those old people year gone by, raising us too. We always had a little willow switch because that stings and if the kids we tell them not to do anything no matter whose kids because the mothers were not always there because she has got work to do, and if you tell them not to do something, and they try and be sneaky about it you go over and whip their legs. Put them back and tell them where to be and watch them. So that stings. Now you can't ...

Margaret made a point of stating that the younger generations seem to be under the influence of these western "values." When speaking about why she thinks the youth have changed, she states that many of the children were taken during their formative years and raised with different values from their community and culture, which was largely absent in Margaret's traditional upbringing:

> we have our kids, we carry them for nine months and that child hear nothing but our voices. And after they're born we look after them because we packed them upon our backs to do gardening and different things that we were doing every day. And we packed them with a shawl on our back so they hear just our voices. Born like we are talking about that. Just our voice there alone ... but nowadays they put them in place, they want to work they want to make money all the time, they don't get anywhere for what they work for it's just to get away from the kids.
>
> They put the kids in daycare and stuff like that and different people looking after them. And kids don't even know where that voice that they heard before they're born on the floor, while they had that, so they're lost. All different voices, different people, different ways. So they are not going to listen to all that. That's why they get out of hand. They just don't want to listen because they are lost.
>
> You don't shove your kids to somebody else to bring up. But that's the way it is nowadays now. A lot attend prison... every move they make with their own kids, their own homes, which way to live, how to live. Ah ... boy ...

Margaret's statement also illustrates what she has observed as a Senior Elder over an extended period of time. When there is an absence of Elders and parental influence over what

younger generations are taught, they receive different worldviews and mixed messages which, from Margaret's viewpoint, cause problems for those young people as they lack one stable identity or clear voice that the Lheidli culture formerly provided. In Margaret's viewpoint this would allow compromise in areas of traditional values, including developing the land base for the sake of money and economics.

Frank Frederick expanded on the generational differences noted by Margaret Gagnon, stating that: "Definitely, the Elders think of the living and the youth think about money...instead of saving [the] environment...cause they have not been brought up to speed by the Elders, so there is quite a difference there." Violet Bozoki, said that "The Elders are really close to the land and ... are trying to protect the land. The youth are looking more for work and training in that field. I think that there are a lot of different opinions from the youth and the Elders." Chief Frederick answered that the "Elders...are worried about the land and ...the resources...they worry about [the]... long term sustainability for the next generation" (2006). Ron Seymour addressed the difference between the generations, stating:

> there is a lot of difference in opinions, some elders are saying 'what do we need pipelines for, we are still wrecking the environment', they don't see themselves benefiting from this [Gateway] pipeline or whatever development goes on, they don't see any benefit for their families and that bothers them and how the development is hard on the environment, that bothers them quite a bit.... [T]he youth... [are] saying...it might do some damage but this is an opportunity for work, for employment. So that is [a] real different [position]... (Ron Seymour 2006).

When the Adults were asked about the difference in opinion between the Elders and the youth, Rena Zatorski stated that there was a vast difference: "the young people want employment opportunities, they want work; they want to make a living...they realize ...they have to be able to work and function within the greater society, that's just reality and some Elders ...are...more

progressive, but there are some Elders that are very traditional and don't want our traditional territory infringed upon in any fashion...." Adult Curtis Seymour stated that in his opinion "most of the youth...were in favour of development because of the jobs and the benefit to the [community's]...economy. The Elders...would be more concerned with the environment and the wildlife and the cultural impacts." When asked if you could reconcile the two positions, Curtis thought "that [it] will be quite challenging because Elders are set in their ways...and their own view on things, but they too, know the importance of employment and what it means to the community so I think there is the possibility to compromise". Curtis' statement illustrates one aspect of the paradox resource development presents from a Lheidli perspective. That is, the need for jobs, and the employment being offered compromise the community's cultural tenets of stewardship, respect and balance for the land. The community is being forced to accept the idea of jobs (and actual jobs) that undermine the very land base they are determined to protect.

With the various Lheidli T'enneh communities located in close proximity to a large non-native wage based commercial centre, the participant Lheidli Adults comment that they are now a relatively more urban reserve. The Adults, though cognizant of environmental impacts, also need an income to support their families. Adult Corinna Joseph commented that, in her opinion, traditional activities are no longer a central pillar of the community's economic survival and that the community has changed how they depend on the land:

> hunting for us ... we don't really do a lot of hunting, we just ... I think the only thing that we depend on the land [for] is probably just the trees what we have left and there is nothing there. The majority of our people don't depend on the land. Cause we are too urbanized, too close to Prince George. So why go out and shoot a moose when you can go into town and spend a hundred bucks on groceries or something. Because there are nations out there that are isolated like Takla, and they have no choice but to depend on the land, cause they are so far away from the nearest store. (Corinna Joseph 2006)

Corinna Joseph spoke of a void of knowledge that has been difficult for the community to overcome. Commenting on the loss of Lheidli Elders, Corinna stated that:

> with our band, our Elders ... we didn't have any Elders ... the 1980s we were down to seventy-five members after what my ancestors went through, small pox, the hungry thirties ... the relocation. Back then my Elders used to say from here to so far as we can go out of town there was that [many] natives living on both sides of the river. And now we are only at three hundred and something. So we are slowly getting up there but, our Elders were totally wiped out. So the younger ones that had seen Elders, they never got the knowledge the true Elders passed on. Their traditional stuff, we kinda lost all that, we lost our language, our culture, lost a lot of stuff. And today it's really hurting people.

Corinna said that the difference in opinions on development between Elders and young people has occurred because "the times have changed ... and Elders they think so far back to when they were raised and how their Elders told them to protect the land and what not". Corinna went on to relate that the youth of the community "we're just trying to get along.... Trying to make the best of what we have" and that archeological assessments helped ground the youth in their people's history on their territory. She added that "[u]ntil they went out into the field...[to see] with their own eyes ... then they realized how much that benefited them to ... find artifacts from our ancestors to say that...we were here". The rapid rate of development applications from the oil and gas sector typically do not give the community members sufficient time to assess areas affected by development. Archeological assessments are important to the younger generations and add some certainty to their future development decisions.

Deryl Seymour and Vanessa West said that, in their opinion, as urbanized adults, they currently view the territory differently than their land based Elders:

> Vanessa:I think Elders they had more of the traditional knowledge of what actually took place in the entire territory compared to even myself, who only look at the land base as the reserve boundaries.
> Deryl: Ya
> Vanessa: I don't have too much knowledge or historical ...
> Deryl: We don't use it beyond that

> Vanessa: ... usage ... I think there was a proposed pipeline ... from Summit Lake, for PNG... for me ... seeing Summit Lake I never really did anything [there] while if you talk to the Elders [who] ... historically fished there, [they say] "we've done this, we gathered berries".
> Deryl: Ya
> Vanessa: They have more usage in the land than we do.
> Deryl: Occupancy
> Vanessa: So we actually really occupied the land, whereas now ... youth are very limited ... [as] they will jump in their car and go and drive there rather than walk the trails. And they don't know all of the ... systems of the trails ... and the significance. Because there's many trails that we were looking for on the Traditional Use Study and we only found two of them. But we were looking for one that was major, [that] used to get all the way to Willow River from our south side reserve ... you could walk all the way there. And that would bring you right into going to your trap lines ... a major way of transportation ... and transporting their goods in and out ... so that was their way of life. That's how they lived and got everything to last. So I think that was their land, the way they had brought things back into the community and traded for different supplies. So ... I mean ... that has changed a lot compared to how we do things now. Where you go to the grocery store, we drive to Summit Lake. You are not aware of these trails. But back in the day they were very, very important, they were critical.

Their comments illustrate that, in their opinion, Adults today depend on the land differently than their Elders did historically, but that history and knowledge are still vitally important to their community and culture. This was a point made also by Corinna Joseph when she spoke about the value archeological assessments were to younger people of the community.

Vanessa West's and Deryl Seymour's statements highlight one of the issues contributing to the paradox of development the community is facing. Community members today have less time and opportunity to be out on the land. The statements by the participating Lheidli Adults show support towards traditional beliefs of stewardship while recognizing that they are being forced to develop out of necessity; this is one compromise that contradicts the senior Elders' traditional belief of unwavering stewardship for the land. Again highlighting a paradox of development where high unemployment has created mixed feelings about allowing further development, as jobs are desperately needed.

> Vanessa: it's a difficult question because you have these big companies coming forward and they are saying 'well we can provide you this and capacity development, we'll do some resource revenue sharing.' And you're looking at a First Nation and most First Nations are not ... especially in the interior of British Columbia, we're not in [a] position to turn down $500,000 dollars ... in a way they got us in a position where they are offering us financial compensation and as much as we'd like to say 'no, we want to protect our land, ... we're under-funded through the Department of Indian Affairs, we are always facing deficits. We have ... 80% unemployment rates, so ... as much as we'd love to be the stewards of our land and ensure these developments don't impact, when you have one of these companies shower you with money then it is a little bit harder to start saying no.
> Deryl: Yes
> Vanessa: Then you're thinking 'well we can sacrifice this area cause its really only 40 acres'
> Deryl: You start compromising with yourself
> Vanessa: Ya
> Deryl: Trying to say ... well you know ... We really could do without that ... we really don't mind it if you did it this way ... or you start compromising with yourself and others in your community
> Vanessa: ... and that's where the difference between the Elders and present day ... the Elders really would have no compromise. They would just say 'No.' But at the same time whenever they did say no in the past ... it happened anyway...

Vanessa and Deryl feel that it is difficult for Adults to turn down development proposals because jobs are needed within the community. But the difficulty is compounded by the compromise Adults must make, sacrificing areas of their traditional territory, compromising their spiritual values, for employment. Adults are working to try to reconcile the Lheidli T'enneh worldview with the requirements of a western industrial capitalist worldview.

Heading 4: Problems with Development and protecting the land base in a pro-development environment

When asked if you "can have development and protect the land?" Margaret Gagnon stated; "Oh I don't think so" and related the story mentioned earlier under heading 3 (lost generations) about the generational change that she was told would eventually happen to her peoples' Lheidli T'enneh descendents when she was older. I believe she related this particular story to illustrate

both the ideological change from one generation to the next as the generations change and to relate that younger people's consideration for the land's health would decrease.

As an active participant in the traditional bush economy as well as the logging industry, Chief Frederick highlights the conflict and paradox development presents with his culture's traditional beliefs of stewardship and the need for balanced development:

> We'd like to see the land protected ... because you see now the way the land is treated, it's going ... fast, even the resources, the trees, the forestry, it's a big thing, and it's all within our territory. And it's happening, a good portion of it, we take the hit on it because we're also loggers too ... and depend on logging, and this goes against [what] our Elders are saying, we're the protectors of the land and mother earth is the one that feeds us. And you have to return what you take out from the earth or it's gonna come back on you. (Chief Frederick).

Most of the participants interviewed from both the Elders and Adults are aware that industry has impacted their traditional lands in the past and have serious concerns about further environmental degradation. Elder Violet Bozoki concludes that she doubts that big development will respect the land:

> a big company ...is going to be just thinking of the money and not really protecting our lands. Money has a lot of affect on people and that's the main thing for big companies and they are ...ignoring the people and the land.... They might take care of it, but I still think they are going to damage the land.

Concerns for the environment were conveyed by all participants. Elder Frank Frederick stated that he supports oil and gas development for the community's employment as long as the environmental regulations are in place to protect the plants and animals. He said that many members of the Lheidli community still hunt to supplement their food supply "so we really depend on the territory" (Frank Frederick). Therefore, any negative environmental impacts

would be felt deeply by the community. Elder Ron Seymour commented that he really does not see industry protecting the land anytime soon:

> The environmental concerns of the First Nations are not being listened to... it looks to me they [industry] say 'now, we're doing it'... and they are not actually doing anything. [Industry wants to] give the impression that ... they care for the environment but they have their own agenda and they continue on with what they are doing. If they had anything to do with gas and oil development, if they want to try doing something like that within our territory I would be the first one up in the front lines fighting them.

Ron Seymour's comments highlight the perception that industry is not concerned with environmental protection beyond the lip service and token gestures it had given to communities in order to access resources on traditional lands and cover their legal interpretation of consultation.

The Adults hired by the Lheidli Nation for their educational experience in fisheries and forestry (Curtis Seymour, Corrina Joseph) cited environmental regulations that are in place provincially that they hope would guard against any negative impacts of development. This optimistic approach was distinct among the young professionals. Curtis Seymour, a younger Lheidli T'en adult and the band's first forester is optimistic that current environmental regulations can mitigate forestry impacts, citing the Forest Practices code[8] as an example of increased awareness from government of development impacts:

> ... you can, if you do all your assessments properly, if you survey the area thoroughly, find out the best route. I don't know if it's possible to do that, ... sometimes they might [have] to blast rock or just to get to a certain patch or whatever, maybe they have no choice, but I think it is possible to have development, if you look at logging ... 20 years ago their practices, there wasn't much legislation guiding logging so there was a lot of degradation to the soils and the salmon streams and to the environment, [and] wildlife habitat but in 1994 they put out the Forest Practices code so that really changed things, the way they practiced their activities. They're more accountable, they're more responsible the way they manage the forest. (Curtis Seymour)

Yet, as a forester, Curtis' biggest concern was and is the protection of wildlife habitat. Curtis' example illustrated he was hopeful that current environmental regulations would mitigate large impacts, but he conceded that some compromise was inevitable and impacts unavoidable. Specifically, he worried that the "fragmentation of the habitat" from increased access such as roads would make it "easier for the wolves to access their prey so ... that's gonna be one [of the] big issues" (Curtis Seymour). Similarly, ease of access will increase the number of non-native hunters in the back territory "[be]cause they have an ATV trail in there so they have access and there's a lot more [non-native] hunting now days." Curtis said that this increased access to the traditional lands has the potential of "obstructing migration pathways for salmon and other fish species that are important to native people." He added that large scale industrial development also poses the "possibility to deliver sediments or salt to the stream it feeds and that could plug up the spawning grounds ... [which is a] major concern." Although optimistic that the forestry environmental laws would help mitigate impacts, Curtis doubted that fragmentation and access of the land base could be prevented. Legislation, therefore, would provide minimal protection for the land.

Corinna Joseph, a Lheidli T'en Adult who has training in fisheries programs, believed the community can have balanced development as long as informed individuals (ie. professionals from the Lheidli community), such as fisheries technicians, are able to ensure procedures are followed and areas are protected. Both Corinna and Curtis agreed that policies may protect the environment and concluded that if there is clear legislation and industry adheres, it is possible to have development while minimizing the impacts on the environment. They did not discount their environmental concerns for their community's lands or the potential risk of a pipeline oil spill.

Irvin Gagnon, a Lheidli T'en Adult with a background in fisheries and forestry acknowledged that:

> ... you probably could if you have got the right people in there ... [but it would probably] be ... best to say the hell with it and keep it in the ground ...[really I don't think I would want the pipe going through] with that piece of land they chopped all up and dug up for the rest of ... time... it ain't gonna grow in ... it will always be there... couldn't they put the pipe beside the other pipe that's going through our land right now? Instead of making another chunk somewhere else.

Irvin was very concerned that the environment would be further damaged and doubted that you could have development and protect the land. He wondered why industry does not use existing energy corridors, which had already been impacted, thereby decreasing the cumulative impacts[9] new corridors might present. He also questioned who would really benefit from such a project, and doubted it would be the Lheidli community, but rather the state that received the larger benefit, leaving the impacts behind for the community to live with.

Rena Zatorski saw no balance between environmental protection and current development. She concluded that resource development is "rape and pillage, that's all it is ... I think that there isn't a choice ... who ... runs the international world, is it really government? ... no it's multinational corporations, right? And this is a worldwide epidemic." Rena was stating what other participants (Chief Frederick, Deryl Seymour, Vanessa West) had voiced, that industry is perceived as always getting their way, where development is concerned.

Deryl Seymour conveyed through a story what she and her community's concern was over a pipeline through their territory she doubted that the land could be protected:

> This one Elder was really upset ... I had heard, that had listened to one from Enbridge. And he was just so irate about whole thing and saying "well have you thought about leaking, and (you know) it's only this thick and what if there is a natural disaster? What if there's this? What if there's that?" And they could not really say for sure that they had that covered. They could not guarantee their safety, or their land safety and the well being of the community and the community's are the ones that are going to have to live around it, and accept it in their community. So I really

> think that it's ... more for their benefit, and more to fill their pockets, and then they will be moving on.

Summary of the Responses

The participant community members' statements about oil and gas development provide a clear picture of a community that is fighting for more control over the consultative process with resource companies and, hence, more control over what happens on their land base. The embodiment of this is the Lheidli T'enneh's own Protocol Agreement which represents the hope the community has in mitigating environmental impacts, having their voice heard, and creating fair and meaningful partnerships with industry (Chief Frederick).

When interviewed Chief Frederick best identified the issue: "We'd like to ... work together with industry because we'd like to build a relationship with industry now, so that we can be partners in the long term." But the frustration that Chief Frederick expressed with the oil and gas sector illustrates the problems of how consultation is interpreted by industry, government and First Nation communities. Many of the participants related that the Lheidli community needed to build capacity and garner the necessary skills to become self-reliant in all aspects of resource development, but they doubted that Lheidli concerns would ever be fully recognized under the current system. Participants also stated that the Lheidli community needed to become their own consultants to keep the money within the community. Members would guide the projects, thereby enabling the Lheidli T'enneh worldview to be addressed. Today they feel that outside consultants benefit, non-Native workers benefit, and corporations benefit, leaving nothing for the Lheidli community.

Participants argued that protecting the land is different than development and that there has to be a balance and this is difficult in a pro-development environment. Though Curtis

Seymour conceded that the land is used differently today than it was in the past, he argues that it is important to maintain the connection to the land and protect it for both the lands' sake and for his culture's sake. He states that development impacts might not be seen immediately by the Lheidli community because they are not using their whole traditional territory to the same extent as his Elders. However, Adults are trying to reconnect with their culture and live up to the Elders' point of view on sustainability. This reconnection would provide balanced development under the guidance of the whole community with the proper laws to enforce the community's environmental and cultural standards.

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[1] Mary John, who was born within the community, was interviewed two years previous to this project for FNST602 The Practice of Research and was not asked all the questions but rather about what she thought about development. She related her experience with the construction of the Kenny Dam. Bridget Moran's book about Mary John, "Stoney Creek Woman" was also utilized in constructing the Lheidli history as Mary John's voice is the most documented Lheidli elder on record, with Margaret Gagnon's oral histories recorded by Crocker (2005) a close second.

[2] Six Mile Mary was a well known Lheidli T'enneh lady who became famous for walking six miles to town every day to sell her fish and tobacco; see Moran 1988.

[3] Journeyman is a person who has finished their apprenticeship but not yet considered a master.

[4] The Lheidli T'enneh Community Treaty Council is comprised of representatives of all the families within the Lheidli Nation. It is a civilian community organization meant to represent the concerns of the community members over the issues involved with the current process of treaty negotiation with the government.

[5] Two important cases (Haida and Takla) cited in Chapter 2 addressed issues of Aboriginal consultation and the obligations of government and industry towards Aboriginal groups. Though government was found to be responsible for proper consultation, they are able to delegate these procedural aspects to a third party i.e. Industry. Industry is not liable for defining what this consultation should look like and government has not created guidelines that adequately address First Nations worldviews.

[6] Duke Energy (who employed a few people short term, donated some money for a dinner) and Trans-Canada Pipelines (hydro-electric project – opportunity information sheet given to community)

[7] Additional reading on Margaret Gagnon's thoughts on this subject are covered in Crocker's (2005) Masters thesis in First Nation Studies, *Strength and Resiliency in the Narratives of Margaret Gagnon.*

[8] Forest Practices Code is a set of environmental guidelines for the forest industry to protect areas sensitive to development (ie. Riparian zones, Culturally modified trees etc.)

[9] Illustrating a no win situation: A existing energy corridor would then be incurring cumulative impacts whereas a new route in a pristine area would have recieved only one impact absent of the cumulative values reached in areas reused. Aasen personal conversation 2011.

Chapter 4

Summary, Comments, and Conclusions

The research question I posed in this thesis was "How do the Lheidli T'enneh participants view oil and gas development?" When I began my interviews I was looking at one particular segment of oil and gas development: the Gateway Pipeline that is proposed to traverse the Northeast portion of Lheidli T'enneh traditional lands. During the interview process I realized from the participants that I had been addressing too specific a project and needed to realign my scope of inquiry as set out by the participants.

Examining why Lheidli T'enneh Adults have developed somewhat divergent cultural viewpoints from their Elders and especially from their Senior Elders, several factors were suggested by the participants, by community records, by the historical record and by the literature. Traditional activities were modified by colonial policy, non-native in-migration, disease, the establishment of private land ownership, and industrial impacts, all under the ideology of an evolving capitalist economy. Changing geographic spaces, due to the reserve system, altered land use patterns that impacted traditional use, and the loss of Elders as teachers changed the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Inevitably, cultures also change overtime to adapt to the new challenges each generation must face. With this shift, younger Lheidli T'enneh individuals have less extensive land based experience than their Elders. Yet, to a striking degree, they retain their Elders concern for the environment and the spiritual perspective of their culture.

Throughout the interview process the participant community members brought to light the problems of consultation, their concerns about jobs, employment, training, cultural change and what I now refer to as the paradox of development. The dominant paradox is that community

members are torn between land stewardship and securing development jobs which undermine their traditional economy, land tenure and cultural tenets. They feel the conflicts between the indigenous world views of sustainability and the views and needs of a development driven capitalist economy.

I was not expecting to focus on the change of knowledge or its transmission from generation to generation, but that is what was presented in the interviews. The participants have observed the decrease in the intimate knowledge of the land, even while upholding the tenets of stewardship of the land within Lheidli culture. Past Lheidli T'enneh Elders were out on the land constantly and saw the diversity of the ecosystem to which they are integrally linked. They were practicing land management.

Development companies fail to take into account First Nations culture or its deep connections with the land. This is a point raised by Violet Bozoki and Chief Dominic Frederick. The 2000 Lheidli Traditional Use Study highlights how those intimate connections have been undermined when conducting assessments:

> There is an inherent danger in focusing on traditional use activities on a site-specific basis as it limits the Lheidli T'enneh perspective of our relationship to the land and resource use to simple circles on the map. Thom states succinctly that "Traditional uses of the land are not like archaeological sites - they cannot always be simply summarized as points, lines or polygons on maps. In instances where small-scale, non-comprehensive 'traditional use studies' have been conducted under the guise of considering the traditional use of a particular area in order to meet provincial obligations to consult First Nations, these studies have failed to provide adequate information to determine the presence of Aboriginal rights in the areas in question" (Thom 1997).
>
> Patterns of use focus at a larger level than the site and involve complex, interacting social and ecological dynamics. Many of these places cannot simply be mapped and "logged-around." Once again, Thom states clearly that the "complex nature of the relation of First Nations people to the land and resources must be placed in context in traditional use studies, weaving together factors of practice, tradition, custom, and belief. First Nations must maintain control of the *interpretation* [his emphasis] of their traditional use studies in resource management." (Thom 1997 as quoted in Lheidli TUS 2000: 8-9)

Although the participant community member's opinions varied, many key ideas united their thoughts about resource development. All felt development was inevitable, as past instances have illustrated the government's power and pro-development agenda for the provincial north (see also Hudson 1983; p.34). Whereas some traditional ecological knowledge (Lheidli T'enneh 2000) has diminished or been altered through colonial policies (residential schools, loss of language, place names) and although ways of making a living have changed and been altered, much knowledge and concern for the integrity of the environment and the health of the fish and other species of plants and animals is still retained by the community. The problems with how assessments are conducted and interpreted and the desire to control the assessment process were echoed by all of the interviewed participants.

Though traditional economic activities such as trapping have diminished since the 2000 Traditional Use Study, active traplines still exist, as do numerous gathering areas, and should be a source of knowledge (Chief Dominic Frederick 2010). The community relies on the land in a different way, but they still rely on the land, plants and animals, water and fish, nevertheless.

Reporting that some individuals no longer use the land does not reflect the continued use of wild meat and fish. It should also be noted that no one has evaluated the contribution of bush foods to the Lheidli T'enneh mixed economy. A study needs to be completed in order to better understand the interplay between the capitalist mode of production and the traditional mode of production for the Lheidli T'enneh. Although the Lheidli T'enneh Adults are less reliant on the bush economy relative to their Elders, I would also like to point out that articulated economies are not necessarily uni-directional. Just because a community is participating (or desires) wage labour does not mean that they have irrevocably given up using the land forever. For First

Nations the very nature of a boom bust economy means that the land and its health must be preserved into the future. The Adults continue the Elders' respect for fish and other life forms.

When asked "can you have development and protect the land?" the overall consensus from the participants was that it depends on who controls the development and how the consultation process with the community is conducted. It is difficult to find a balance between development and conservation in an environment that is pro-development. This being said, many participants concluded that if you have the right people in key decision-making positions you might be able to attain the necessary balance that would be acceptable to the community. In order to facilitate this balance, the future consultation process must include the consent of the community to create meaningful consultation. Elder Violet Bozoki posits that consultation for consent of a community goes beyond a few individuals in leadership positions:

> Maybe they (industry) met with the chief and council but for consultation, I think they should meet with the whole community and get the ideas from the Elders and the youth and the in between ones. We just can't go chief and council, you know, and say "well they consulted with that nation's chief and council." The people have to be aware what's going on too. It's their land, not just chief and council.

Violet's statement also illustrates the traditional Lheidli T'enneh Elders' desire for a communal decision making process, that stands in contrast to the typical top down decision making paradigm used by western culture and imposed on First Nations, particularly by the Department of Indian Affairs but also by all other western institutions. Consultation and decision making is something that resource companies need to address. For example, it is important to note that Enbridge did not respond to the Lheidli T'enneh Community Protocol Agreement.

The greatest disparity in answers to the research questions was between Senior Elders and Adults on ideas of how to develop their economy. This was not unexpected. According to Abele

(1983, p.161), during community consultations about the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline less than 5% of the local community spoke in favour of the pipeline. Of this less than 5% group in favour of the pipeline, many lived within towns where more emphasis was placed on wage based activities rather than traditional activities. Hence, Abele suggests a correlation between wage based individuals who are less active within the land based economy, (i.e. traditional activities) and the acceptance of resource development. I concur with Abele's findings based on what the Adults I interviewed said. The Lheidli T'enneh Elders are uncompromising. The youth want employment, however not at the expense of the integrity of the land base.

The participants are cognizant of the impacts from oil and gas activities and infrastructure and want to strike a balance. Two young professionals were the most willing to believe that the current environmental legislation will be enough to protect their lands, although they were speaking to forestry regulations more than to the environmental issues of the Enbridge Gateway Pipeline or other pipeline projects. Others were more guarded about whether impacts from development could be mitigated. All shared the thought that the environment matters as many members of the community still depend on the land spiritually and for their country food production. All participants within both groups wanted proper stewardship on the territory, but their thoughts on how that could happen varied between participants. The community participants also want meaningful, longer term local employment that allows for advancement, sustainable beyond the initial phases of development. They also want jobs that can support the values of stewardship held by their community and culture while providing an income within the community. Unfulfilled promises from industry of community benefits have led the Lheidli government to question the modernist approach and ask for a new dialogue that is meaningful and that will enable more capacity building jobs while respecting their wishes of stewardship for

their traditional lands. The answers given by the Elders and adult participants offer a critique of modernist theory, from the perspective of a small sample size of a native community local to development.

Changing landscapes, scope of use, and participation in wage-based employment have altered the Lheidli T'enneh perspective to accommodate what they refer to as two worldviews. I would argue that it is the nature of the employment that is the problem. People need cash to live in the 21st century. This reality has created the paradox of development the community faces. I think it is important and appropriate to end this thesis with a quote that illustrates the strength and resiliency of the Lheidli culture. Curtis Seymour eloquently sums up what he thinks of the community's present situation and what he hopes to see in the future:

> As far as our traditional uses right now I think we're just trying to get back to our original ways [of] our culture …because this is the most crucial point for the Lheidli as a people. We're at a crossroads right now and we have the ability to go in one direction but we still have to maintain our balance with culture and our own spirituality.

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Appendix A - Ethics Approval Forms & Information Sheet

UNBC UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

APPLICANTS ARE REMINDED THAT RESEARCH WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERTAKEN PRIOR TO APPROVAL BY THE RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD.

APPROVAL FORM

Please check ☑ one of the following options before completing the rest of the application.

○ This is the protocol statement of a routine undergraduate class project that is usually employed in your class. Please submit 8 copies to the Office of Research for full review by the Research Ethics Board (REB).

☑ This is a research project and a full Research Ethics Board review is requested. Please submit 8 copies to the Office of Research.

1. Researcher's Name Geoffrey E.D. Hughes

2. Address (including postal code) 11638 92 Street NW, Edmonton, Alberta

3. Phone No 780-479-2878 E-mail glassboat@gmail.com

4. Supervisor's Signature & Name (if Researcher is a student)
Wendy Aasen and Antonia Mills

5. Program First Nations Studies

6. Title of Project Survey of Lheidli_T'enneh First Nation Community's interpretation of the Gateway Pipeline

7. Type of Project _____

☐ Class Project (Class projects are normally reviewed by professors after a protocol has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Board).
☑ Thesis
☐ Faculty Research

8. Source of Funding (if any) Self

9. Is this project a replication of an earlier project or protocol that received ethics approval?

☐ Yes (Attach copy of the Certificate or letter and submit to the REB. You need not complete the remainder of the form)
☑ No (Go to Question 10)

10. Purpose of Research To survey the opinions of select Lheidli_T'enneh community members on the Gateway Pipeline proposal within their traditional territory to be used in MA thesis for First Nations Studies.

11. Expected Start Date for Data Collection: June 2006
Completion Date: July 2006

12. Does this project require any physically invasive procedures (e.g. blood tests), potentially harmful physical regimes (e.g. special dieting) or potentially harmful psychological or social experiments (e.g. illusory perception tests)?

☐ Yes

☑ No

13. Summary of Methods: In the space below give us a brief summary. Sufficient information must be given to assess the degree of risk to participants.

This community based research will involve 8 individuals such as elders, young people and the Community Treaty Council. Participants will be interviewed using open ended questions about their opinions about the Gateway project and developing oil and gas within their traditional territory. Their responses will be digitally recorded and stored in a password secure environment.

14. Please append a complete copy of the research project proposal, including any interview protocols or questionnaires. (see attached)

15. How will participants be recruited? In the space below give us a brief summary.

During my internship project within the community I made several valuable contacts while interacting with the community members. Participation will be voluntary. Participation will be sought both through the Community Treaty Council and through the governmental band structure, as both groups are interested in the results of this study.

16. Will participants be competent to give consent?

☑ Yes (Go to Question 17)

☐ No (e.g. Children and cognitively impaired people.) How will the issue of consent be addressed? In the space below give us a brief summary.

17. Will participants be compensated?

☐ Yes How?

☑ No (Go to Question 18)
In the space below give us a brief summary.

Small gifts and meals may be given to say thank you.

18. Will consent be obtained from each participant either in writing or recorded?

☑ Yes Please see attached copy of the Consent Form & the questions/ statements to be recorded. Each participant will receive one copy of the signed consent form at the time of signing.

☐ No Please attach information which will be provided to participants and/or participant communities.

Note: Checklist of items to be addressed in your Information Sheet or Consent Form is provided at the end of this Approval Form.

19. Does the project involve any deception?

☐ Yes Justify the use of deception and indicate how disclosure finally will be addressed.

☑ No (Go to Question 20)

20. What is your plan for feedback to participants? How do you propose to distribute results to participants?

Participants will review their transcribed answers prior to use in the study creating a feedback loop to correct or omit any areas as the participant sees fit. A presentation to the Community Treaty Council will be made where the heads of each family within the community are represented. Copies of the thesis will be made available to the band government and the Treaty Council.

21. Will the research participants be from an institutional population; e.g. company, agency, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, prisons, etc.

☐ Yes (Go to Question 22)

☑ No (Go to Question 23)

22. If the answer to Question 21 is yes, attach a letter of consent for access from the institution: e.g. company, agency, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, prisons etc.

23. Will the research participants be participating as representatives of, or on behalf of, an Aboriginal group?

☑ Yes Attach letter of consent from appropriate authority, e.g. Band Council, etc.

☐ No Go to Question 24)

24. Does this project require any other ethical approval, e.g. Hospital, First Nations Band, Health Board, etc.? If so, please ensure that all guidelines are followed.

☑ Yes Please specify the agency Lheidli_T'enneh Band and Community Treaty Council and attach letter of consent/ethical approval from the appropriate authority. See attached letter.

☐ No

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

MEMORANDUM

To: Geoff Hughes
CC: Antonia Mills

From: Henry Harder, Chair
Research Ethics Board

Date: June 1, 2006

Re: E2006.0523.067
Survey of Lheidli T'enneh First Nation Community's interpretation of the Gateway Pipeline

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Thank you for submitting the above-noted research proposal and requested amendments to the Research Ethics Board. Your proposal has been approved.

We are pleased to issue approval for the above named study for a period of 12 months from the date of this letter. Continuation beyond that date will require further review and renewal of REB approval. Any changes or amendments to the protocol or consent form must be approved by the Research Ethics Board.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Henry Harder

Information Sheet
Survey of Lheidli T'enneh First Nation Community's Interpretation of the Gateway Pipeline

The purpose of this study
The purpose of this study is to survey community members of the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation on their thoughts on the proposed Gateway Pipeline Project. The goal of this research is to discern current community member's feelings on pipeline development within their traditional territory.

The respondents
The respondents will be chosen on a voluntary basis and approached because of their participation within the Lheidli nation's daily activities. This study has the approval of the Lheidli T'enneh Community Treaty Council (CTC) and Band administration. Copies of the research will be distributed to the CTC and band administration.
For this study, respondents will be asked a series of questions, and their answers will be digitally recorded. Upon completion the participants will be asked to review their transcribed responses prior to use and any public release of their statements within the thesis document. If they do not give permission, the recorded responses of the community members will be archived with the researcher until the project is complete, upon which the data will be deleted. The respondents' responses will be available to the Lheidli T'enneh community, band administration and Community Treaty Council if the volunteers give their consent.
Participation in the study is on a volunteer basis and no person is obligated to participate within the project.

Benefits of the study
Benefits of the study are both to the Lheidli T'enneh community and the academic arena of First Nations Studies. Sharing information about how communities feel about oil and gas development and how this feeling has changed, or not, since the early 1970's is an important issue as nothing has been written about Lheidli T'enneh community member's thoughts on oil and gas development on their traditional lands.
There are no risks to the community from this research if any risks are perceived by the individual it will be dealt with through anonymity, and their right to withdraw from the process at anytime.

Privacy
If the participant wants to remain anonymous, a code name will be used to identify their thoughts expressed and any markers of identity will be digitally removed from their interviews. Information will be kept with the researcher in a password secure digital environment for the period of the research (less than 2 years) and will be disbursed to either the participant or the band upon project completion depending on the wishes of the participants. Access to the material will be held in confidence and only reviewed by the participants, the researcher and his supervisors. If the participant wishes, the data will be permanently erased upon completion of the project. The participant can omit any information from the record, at any time during the project.
If a participant wants a copy of the research results, they can get a copy from the researcher, their Community Treaty Council or band office.
If there is a problem or complaint the respondent can notify the researcher's supervisors:

Wendy Aasen or Antonia Mills at the First Nations Studies Dept. of UNBC 250-960-5595
or contact the Office of Research at UNBC. Tel: 250.960.5820 Fax: 250.960.5746
E-mail: officeofresearch@unbc.ca

List of original questions as submitted on proposal

The questions are as follows:

4. Do you know that oil and gas exploration and development is coming into your territory?
    b. What do you think about this?
5. Do you think that development can occur while protecting the land and maintaining traditional livelihoods to reflect the beliefs of the community?
6. Do you think oil and gas development will generate jobs for the Lheidli T'enneh community?
    b. Do you think the jobs related to oil and gas will be long term jobs?

Appendix B

Survey of Lheidli T'enneh Community Member's View On Oil & Gas Development Actual Questions Asked Each Participant

Rena Zatorski June 21 2006

How do you perceive the oil and gas development? Do you think it's positive or negative?
Have many people in the community been employed by the gas sector?
You've heard about the Gateway project?
Do you think there will be any spin-off projects? Has Enbridge talked to you about anything?
Do you think there's a divergent belief between Elders and the youth?
Has anybody spoken out against development?
Have you seen the path of where the Gateway is going through the territory?
About oil and gas development in general, have you seen anything positive happen ever?

Ron Seymour June 22 2006

What do you think about the oil and gas development that is happening?
So do you see it as a negative, a positive or both?
So do you think you can have development while still protecting the land?
In the past developments, did the pipelines that they put through, ... create any jobs for the community?
Has Enbridge offered ...what the opportunities might be for the different businesses for the nation or?
What about long term employment? Do you see any long term employment with oil and gas? Is there a possibility of that?
Do you perceive a difference on how elders are perceiving oil and gas development versus youth?

Violet Bozoki June 23 2006

I am going to be asking your feeling on oil and gas, and do you see is it as a positive or a negative, and if it has caused issues within the community, are there differences between Elders and youth, ideas of oil and gas?
Do you think you can have development while protecting the land?
Do you think that jobs will be ... the band will be getting jobs from that or do you think any jobs would be garnered if they are going to be long term or short term or?
Do you only see jobs as being the opportunity or do you think that there could be some kind of toll that they could give back to the community for going across the land.
For the consultation, you said they came to the community.
As an Elder, I am just curious, for traditional beliefs like mother earth, how do you protect mother earth and have ..., I don't know if you want to call it, "healthy development"?
So for yourself, do you see it as a positive or a negative, oil and gas?

Curtis Seymour June 26 2006

I'm just wandering what your thoughts are on the oil and gas development in the traditional territory?
Are you concerned about outside hunters? Does that give them easy access?
So can you have development while protecting the land?
For you saying about jobs for the nation, how are you going to get long term jobs?
Do you notice a difference between the youth and the Elders and what they think about the activities in the territory?
Can you reconcile the differences?

Irvin Gagnon June 26 2006

So I was wondering what you think about oil and gas? Do you think it will create jobs, do you think it will be an impact? Is it good or bad?
Do you think it will affect the fisheries or?
Do you think jobs would be created for the community?
So do you see a difference in opinion between Elders and youth?
So for the Gateway Pipeline, have you heard about it?
If they came to you and said we would it be ok to put this pipeline through, would you have to read up on it?
Would you support a toll? A toll on the gas going through?
Can you have development and protect the land?

Deryl Seymour and Vanessa West June 27 2006

Ok so I am just going to ask you, if you have heard about oil and gas development on the territory, I know that you have heard about it, what do you think about it?
So no jobs?
So what would you suggest for retention of jobs, for ... so the community can work longer?
Could you get jobs that last?
So do you think you can have development while protecting the land?
do you see a difference in Elders opinions and youth ?
So if they say here's $500,000 dollars where's that money going to go? Where would you want it to go?

Corinna Joseph June 29 2006

I was just wondering what you think about oil and gas, are you for oil and gas, are you against it?
So can you have development and protect the land?
do you think the jobs that are created are going to be long-term, short term, are they going to last?
So do you think there is a difference between how Elders view development versus how young people view development?
So what's the most important thing for the nation, that they have to do to create long term jobs?

What do you think the nation has to do to create long term jobs for their members?
So do you think the education system, the way the bands got it set up now, is working?
So for the Gateway pipeline, what do you think the main impacts are going to be?
Would you be concerned about outside hunting coming in through the roads the pipelines are going to be putting in?
What about non-natives coming in using those road ways?
Do they depend on the land or does the land depend on them?

Chief Dominic Frederick June 29 2006

I wanted to know what your opinions were on oil and gas for the territory
Do you think you can have development and protect the land?
The Gateway Pipeline, do you think there will be a big impact with the road and the pipeline or?
So do you see consultation changing?
For Elders in the community, do you see a difference in the youth and the Elders in their opinions on development?

Frank Frederick Sr. June 29 2006

Is there a way to have positive development and healthy development without impacting the land?
Do you see a difference between the youth and the Elders and what they think about oil and gas?
So you're saying that the youth think more about cash?
So for the Enbridge gateway pipeline um ... would negative impacts, do you see negative on that?
Do you think it will create jobs for the community?
What kind of jobs do you think that it would provide?
Do you think they will be long term jobs or short term jobs.
What do you think about the whole consultation process?

Margaret Gagnon June 30 2006

Originally I was looking at the Gateway Pipeline that Enbridge was talking about that goes over the north eastern corner of the traditional territory.

Margaret: Uhuh

Geoff: Now I am more looking at development in general for oil and gas and how community members view oil and gas development. ... some of my questions are; can you have development while protecting the land and what do you think about oil and gas development on traditional territory.

So do you think that oil and gas development is good or bad for the territory?
Do you think you can have development and protect the land?
What do you think the biggest hurdle for the Lheidli T'enneh community is right now?

Mary John February 2004

I was just wondering, if oil and gas was found within this area, how would you feel about that?

Tara Marsden: Do you remember if they talked to the people in the community, like the leaders, the Elders at all, when they were building the dam?

APPENDIX C
Survey of Lheidli T'enneh Community Member's View On Oil & Gas Development Transcripts

Participant Interview Data

Mary John, Also Present: Antonia Mills & Tara Marsden, Mary John's Home Saik'uz, February 2004

Rena Zatorski, Fort George Park, Prince George, British Columbia, June 21, 2006

Ron Seymour, Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia, June 22, 2006

Violet Bozoki, Prince George, British Columbia, June 23, 2006

Curtis Seymour, Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia, June 26, 2006

Irvin Gagnon, Prince George, British Columbia, June 26, 2006

Vanessa West and Deryl Seymour Interview, Prince George, British Columbia, June 27, 2006

Corinna Joseph, Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia, June 29, 2006

Chief Dominic Frederick, Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia, June 29, 2006

Frank Frederick, Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia, June 29, 2006

Margaret Gagnon, at her home in Prince George, British Columbia, June 30, 2006

Transcript of Mary John Interview (Elder Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Course: First Nations Studies 602 Research methods
Also Present: Antonia Mills & Tara Marsden
Mary John's Home Saik'uz
February 2004

Geoff: I was just wondering, if oil and gas was found within this area, how would you feel about that?

Mary John: I wouldn't feel good about it. They were exploring some years ago, and then they said between here and the lodge up there, they said they found gas and nothing happened. Maybe it was just talk. I don't know what.

That would be the end of us. Course I don't, anything like that, you know. Just like when the Minex (inaudible) ... people went crazy. When that, when did they open that, the Minex company, they were building this road, going to ... going to where was it now?

Antonia: The Kenny Dam?

Mary John: Kenny Dam, people were crazy, you know, women, the men went down, the boys that were working, take the women and drinking was going on, wild it was,... so anything like that I don't like that you know, it destroys everything, you know, the peaceful village you know (pause)

Yeah, they said your sons were such a good, we're going to benefit from it, it didn't benefit nothing.

The only people that benefit, it was maybe three or four people that went to work there.

Tara: Do you remember if they talked to the people in the community, like the leaders, the Elders at all, when they were building the dam?

Mary John: No, nothing, they just went ahead, you could just see they improved the road alright, that was one good thing. But the machines, everything was going by, everything, the supplies, one time, I was not living in here, I was still living in our log house, near (inaudible) the village, not to close from the highway, and there was trucks going by, and they lost a big supply of meat, looks like, they lost all the cases of pork chops, we picked it up and after that we feasted on that. We had no fridge or anything, we had no electricity, we had pork chops day and night. (laughter) That's all we got out of it.

Transcript of Rena Zatorski Interview (Adults Group 2)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Fort George Park, Prince George, British Columbia
June 21, 2006

Geoff: I'm here with Rena Zatorski who is a councilor (Rena: howe) of the Lheidli T'enneh and I'm just going to ask a few questions about Oil and Gas development on your territory

Geoff: My first question is ... how do you perceive the oil and gas development? Do you think it's positive or negative?

Rena: Specifically for Lheidli T'enneh right?

Geoff: Yeah, for the community and the territory

Rena: (laughs)....It's a little bit of both, frankly you have to be able to live in both worlds to survive and continue to evolve and flourish but in terms of job opportunities or opportunities for the band in general to make joint ventures or receive some kind of stipend it's negative, but in terms of well, possibilities that can potentially go with it... we could reap some positive benefits from it. Short term employment is negative because it is short term but at least it is employment.

All in all I would say it's negative.

I don't think the consultation process is appropriate (01:20.80) and I don't the First Nation communities affected at all, including us have been accurately informed of anything ... and everything has been whitewashed and sugar coated so.

Geoff: Have many people in the community been employed by the gas sector?

Rena: No, it's relatively sporadic (01:47.36); I believe duke energy or ..., is it duke still?, has employed a couple of people for a couple of days but no ... there isn't much involvement at all.

Geoff: You've heard about the Gateway project?

Rena: Yup

Geoff: Do you think there will be any spin-off projects? Has Enbridge talked to you about anything?

Rena: Yes Enbridge has come to the community and spoken with us about potential spinoffs but the gateway project isn't really affect our traditional territory it's just a very small portion of it and so in that respect, I mean I think the offer was ..., I don't know very minimal in terms of any kind of financial contribution the band would receive but again, we've specified with them that with our talks that it's not consultation what so ever and then you read in the media and stuff like that they are consulting with First Nations and is not the case as far as I'm concerned.(02:54.76)

I don't think it'll benefit our community at all. But that's just our community, you know the project that goes through other communities and impacts them in greater ways, it's dependent upon the community right?

I mean it could benefit the other community if they negotiate a good agreement and kind of take a proactive and partnership approach to it but Lheidli not really affected to any great degree anyway.

Geoff: Do you think there's a divergent belief between Elders and the youth? I know you're kind of caught in the middle. I consider you a youth so ....

Rena: Half way Elder, junior Elder

Ah Yeah completely ... the young people want employment opportunities they want to work; they want to make a living. They realize they have to be a part of, and it's not assimilation but they have to be able to that they have to be able to work and function within the greater society, that's just a reality and some of the Elders have some vision and are a bit more progressive,(04:11.46) but there are some Elders that are very traditional and don't want our traditional territory infringed upon in any fashion and if it is they want to see large, very large sums of money contributed to the nation.

Geoff: Has anybody spoken out against development?

Rena: Has anyone from the band or Elders in particular?

Geoff: Yeah, just has there been a voice saying hey we shouldn't be doing this or ...

Rena: No there hasn't been and I think there hasn't been because um there's very, there's very few times that the companies have actually come out to the reserve or even asked to speak with the band in the first place, and the few times that it has occurred the questions that are mainly asked of them are employment and training opportunities. I think some people, due to the location of our reserve because it's borderline an urban reserve, (05:21.76) I think some people and through history too what's happened throughout our history just kind of raise their arms in loss of hope I guess that it doesn't matter how big a stink they make that things eventually go through anyways so I think in a lot of ways what's that saying ... join em, that's what it's called ... I don't know ... whatever I'm tired.

Geoff: I know what you're talking about … you know what you're talking about. Yeah if the system seems like it's futile why waste your breath.

Rena: Exactly, and I mean the only thing that I've ever seen occur that in which an Aboriginal nation has been able to completely stop development or at least halt it or actually bring both parties to the table for … negotiation and talk about their differences is when blockades are put up … that's the only time you see it … and Lheidli, A) doesn't have the capacity for …, well I shouldn't say the capacity but maybe Lheidli, I don't feel really have the passion for that, like I said we're quite urban, we're more urban than say Takla and so I think we've had a history of just kind of joining, joining in on things and just trying to get the best kind of deal that we can for the small population that we have.

What was the question … I can't even remember what it was? (laughter)

Geoff: I was wondering if there was a voice in the community that was speaking out against development

Rena: No not so much, not so much. Which is too bad, I think if there was a greater united voice speaking out against development then we could potentially receive more benefits versus take the first offer kind of thing … but again it's a small nation and people have to be passionate, there has to be a passion there.

Geoff: Have you seen the path of where the Gateway is going through the territory? It's going through the upper corner of your traditional territory. Are there any sacred spots that would be an issue for that?

Rena: Let me think. I can't remember if it touched on the Harrip, I don't think it did, did it? I'm not sure, I can't answer that question um an Elder would be able to answer more accurately.

Geoff: Ok. Anything else you want to add?

Rena: Rock on … (laughter)….

Geoff: About oil and gas development in general, have you seen anything positive happen ever?

Rena: No I don't, it's rape and pillage, that's all it is. But you know it's a fine balance rape and pillage our land and in order to get…

Geoff: Can you balance it?

Rena: I don't think, I think that there isn't a choice, I mean realistically, who kind of runs the international world, is it really government … no its multinational corporations right? and this is a worldwide epidemic so …..

Interview ended with an aunt coming to the table to see Rena

END

Transcript of Ron Seymour Interview (Elders Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia
June 22, 2006

Geoff: So I am interviewing an elder, Ron Seymour, and I just have some questions about oil and gas development, you are obviously aware it is happening on your traditional territory, what do you think about the oil and gas development that is happening?

Ron: Well today, we have two proposals of oil and gas lines going through our territory, north side, north end of our territory. Doesn't cover that much of our territory but it is still there. In the past we've had pipelines come right through our reserve. Put restrictions on what we could do with the land.(00:53.60) So, we have our hands tied for stuff like that. Well, I know of some reserves, gas reserves that are quite hard to get to or get at. Fairly close to where our traditional territory ... close to the lands that we are getting from treaty, within our traditional territory. So in the long run, in the future we should be able to benefit from that, a partnership or a kind of a joint venture (01:32.50) or something like that. We will be able to benefit.

Probably what I am saying, about the gas lines going through or the oil lines going through our territory and not being too ... (sigh) ... opposed to it ... but doesn't bide very well with the other First Nations. Like the Nacoslie, the lines going right down the middle of their territory, they have more concern about that than we do. For ours is only going through the northeast corner. But in the future there will be more development and likely it might affect our territory more (02:27.40). My opinion get our feet in the door be able to participate as partners it will be beneficial to our nation. I don't think I would have any opposition to this development. This would be the development that the Lheidli T'enneh should be involved in it (03:06.20).

Geoff: So do you see it as a negative, a positive or both?

Ron: Well if the Lheidli T'enneh are allowed to participate in it, I see it as a positive, if we are left out in the cold, not allowed to participate in the plan or the management of what's going on, then there would be an awful lot of opposition to it. This (garbled) if you have a house and the city where you live decides they want to develop, put in a some sort of development and its going to affect your property in some manner you should be able to voice your opinion, your concerns, that's what I am talking about (04:23.30)

Geoff: So do you think you can have development while still protecting the land?

Ron: I think that could be the case if, I don't really seeing it happen today (04:40.60), if what I hear about the mining that's been going on. Or the concerns, the environmental concerns of the First Nations are not being listened to. They are ... I don't know how you put it, it looks to me they say now, we're doing it, we are doing it, and they are not actually doing anything (05:15.10). They give the impression that they are doing it they care for the environment but they have their own agenda and they continue on with what they are doing. If they had anything to do with gas and oil development, if they want to try doing something like that within our territory I would be the first one up in the front lines fighting them. (05:40.50)

Geoff: In the past developments, did the pipelines that they put through, did they create any jobs for the community?

Ron: Well when the first two pipelines came through we had the ... west coast transmission, what's it ... natural gas, that went through, there was no employment created for first nations, when the oil pipeline went through there was no employment created (06:16.65) Any development that ever happened on reserve in the past never ever included the band membership, employment-wise.(06:32.65)

Now you hear them talking about it, that's one of the first things they do, is hire the First Nations people. Now, I don't have any qualms with that if the people they hire are qualified, if they can train them. (06:59.95) you know they have a ... mining development, if they can train the people to work on the mine site there, they are trained for that particular mining project. The people that are hired they'll know what they are doing. Not just hire them because they are First Nations, you know ... nobody wants to be the Uncle Tom Tom there on the work crew. I have been there and done that.

Back in the 60's I got hired on to the pulp mill because I am native. I wouldn't have got a job there if I was not a chief. So they accomplished two things, they hired a First Nations people and they hired the leader, so they could pat themselves on the back for that. What they weren't expecting back then was that I had aspirations of furthering myself in the work. (08:18.67)

So when time came up for advancement they would not allow me to advance, so I just told them what I thought and I left. You know ... I don't like being the token Indian at a job. If they are going to hire me they are going to hire me for what I know, what I can do. So if they are able to do that with the projects coming through ... you know ... say they hire, if they are going to hire First Nations people, ok hire them but make sure those people are capable of doing the work. If they're not capable, train them (09:05.30).

Geoff: If the opportunity was available would a lot of the community members, the young people take that opportunity?

Ron: Ah ... they might, they might ... there's quite a few of them out there now in different fields. Getting their training, and most of their training is general training, not specific tasks or a specific project. I am sure if there is ... the pipeline comes through here and they look good for them, to employ First Nations people it would be one of our guys looking for work there. But they don't know what the jobs going to be. (10:05.20) there are a few accepting ... we have people here that are journeymen and welded trades and stuff like that and those people will be the first ones hired. (10:26.50)

Geoff: Has Enbridge offered ... uhm ... these are what the opportunities might be for the different businesses for the nation or?

Ron: Ah ... I have rarely sat in on what Enbridge has been doing at their meetings, I have rarely sat in on their meetings. We had a project for the river and Harick Valley, a hydro electric project there proposed by Trans-Canada pipelines. Thing is about Trans-Canada, they came over to us and explained what the project is all going to be about. And then they gave us a list of opportunities of how people could gain employment and also the economic opportunities that could come with the project. So Trans-Canada I saw that but like I say, Enbridge I have not really been to any of their meetings (pause)

Geoff: What about long term employment? Do you see any long term employment with oil and gas? Is there a possibility of that? (12:17.70)

Ron: Hmm ...

Geoff: Or toll charges or something that would benefit over a longer period of time, not just construction

Ron: Ya this thing here, is like any project that is going to be going through, the initial period while the construction is going on there will be a lot of employment (12:40.67). But after that ... let's say it's a pipeline, after they put the pipeline in, ... the pipes all laid in the ground and is all covered up, there would not really be any employment for our people, it would be their technical people that are running the pipeline, their own people so this is what I am saying our people need to be trained to do this. Even if it is just one member, (13:12.77) for steady employment that could happen. But to have a pipeline run through here and hire 30 or 40 of our guys there to go out there and make good money for a year, whatever time it takes for the pipeline to go through and then go back on the welfare line after that (13:38.17) I don't like that idea.

Geoff: So proper training programs in place.

Ron: Uhuh ... ya that would be just great ... I don't know what kind of work there is once the pipelines are installed. And they are in operation; I don't know what sort of work there would be. Like I said before the initial stage when they are doing all this construction the opportunities for employment and economic development for our people to be there, (14:33.91). people running catering services for feeding those people that are working there, or supplies, delivering supplies. Running trucking outfits and stuff like that. All that will be there. But after the pipelines [crew] leave there will be nothing left. (14:58.61). So what I am saying about the training, is that you have to have a trainer to do the work not just training from the company for the construction end of it but after the thing is on site, after the thing is built, pipeline whatever, like this trans Canada thing here, their talking about ... hydro electric, I am sure that they will be needing people on site after it is built (15:35.90). why not train one of our guys, for that job or one of the women ... right now I have 2 or three of the members working at Cones mines, they are working there. Couple people there working up in Tumbler Ridge working out in the bush doing ... what cha call ... [seismic] ... lines ... so if there are going to be doing any training, it should not be just training for a construction site. But a worker that is going to be following it (16:26.10).

Geoff: Do you perceive a difference on how elders are perceiving oil and gas development versus youth?

Ron: There is a lot of ... lot of difference in opinions, some of the elders are saying what do we need pipelines for, we are still wrecking the environment they don't see themselves benefiting from this pipeline or whatever development goes on, they don't see any benefit for their families and that bothers them and how the development is hard on the environment, that bothers them quite a bit. (17:34.50)

Talk to the youth, their saying well, so what it might do some damage but this is an opportunity for work, for employment. (17:56.20) So that is a real different part.

Geoff: That's it, unless you want to add anything else.

Ron: No not really.

End.

Transcript of Violet Bozoki Interview (Elders Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Prince George, British Columbia
June 23, 2006

Geoff: So I am here with Violet Bozoki and I am going to be asking your feeling on oil and gas, and do you see is it as a positive or a negative, and if it has caused issues within the community, are there differences between Elders and youth, ideas of oil and gas?

Violet: Well I think it goes both ways. It could be good, it could be bad. It's going to be bad for our land I think. It's going to affect all the wildlife, I think would affect all the wildlife and the medicines we make in the territory. I think they are going to be contaminated and the berries that we rely on, I don't think it will affect those. That's the negative part. But the positive part I think is the greater opportunity for the band and to participate in that and for the youth I think it would benefit the youth more than the Elders. The Elders are really close to the land, and I think the Elders are trying to protect the land. The youth are looking more for work and training in that field. I think that there are a lot of different opinions from the youth and the Elders.

Geoff: Do you think you can have development while protecting the land? (1:39)

Violet: I don't know if ... I kinda think that with big development going through they're gonna be lacking respecting the land because a big company that's coming is going to be just thinking of the money and not really protecting our lands. Money has a lot of affect on people and that's the main thing for big companies and they are kind of ignoring the people and the land. I don't think ... well with the environmental, you know, protection on the land, the government being involved, they might take care of it, but I still think they are going to damage our land.

Geoff: I think you're right

Violet: Yea

Geoff: Ok you have heard about the gateway ... gateway project ... pipeline proposal?

Violet: Yes.

Geoff: Do you think that jobs will be ... the band will be getting jobs from that or do you think any jobs would be garnered if they are going to be long term or short term or?

Violet: I think it is just [...] touching on our territory and if there is going to be jobs for the community (2:53) they have to go with them who look for the work and once they are out of our ... I think it would be short term. Once they are out of our territory and they are going to go through some other nation and they are going to start hiring from there. So I see our people working just for a short in our territory and if they go

further on different communities they are start hiring at that level and kinda letting our people go.

Geoff: Uhuh [agreement] (3:26)

Violet: Because they want to give the same opportunities to the next community. So I look at it as short term. Some of our young people out there are going to be, wanting to learn the trades and that could turn into long term for them. I am hoping it would go into long term for them and we'll get some training done with them. They might find a field they are interested in, anything to do with the gateway project. And maybe in the future they ... They can be doing things like that. That will earn them, really wanting to get a trade in that field. I will think it will be long term then. It all depends on the individual. If they have the get up and go to stick with it, you know, I think I could see some future in that program.

Geoff: (4:28) Uhuh, so do you only see jobs as being the opportunity or do you think that there could be some kind of toll that they could give back to the community for going across the land.

Violet: (4:41) I think there should be something going back to the community from such a big project. You know, all these big companies going through are not really ... consult with us, but they never tell us anything about the benefits were going to get from them. (4:59) we don't know if we are going to get anything. I would hope they are going to give us something for the use of our land, our traditional territory. I mean the governments taken so much from us now there's bigger companies coming in they're thinking they could do the same with us, [because] the government got away with it. I would like to see benefits for our community. You know, put something in it for our young people so they can get more education. That's what I would like to see. (5:39)

Geoff: For the consultation, you said they came to the community.

Violet: We really haven't had anyone from gateway, maybe they did and I missed the meeting, but I don't remember them coming to us yet.

Geoff: For past consultation has there been.

Violet: Maybe they met with the chief and council but for consultation, I think they should meet with the whole community and get the ideas from the Elders and the youth and the in between ones. We just can't go chief and council, you know, and say well they consulted with that nation's chief and council. The people have to be aware what's going on to. It's their land, not just chief and council.

Geoff: Uhuh, a lot of that you were saying earlier that chief and council don't , the new council and the old council don't really talk.

Violet: Yeah, no that's a problem with our former chief, he was right involved with, you know, different projects and our new chief comes in and he doesn't know what's going on. And they should have a training period with the former chief and council, even if it's a three month period, you know. So that the new one going in, knows what is going on. Not just walk in and taking over things that they don't even understand. It puts our band in jeopardy. Our former chief made a lot of deals and we don't even know what's going on now. A lot of them have fallen through because of his pride because he doesn't want to go to the former chief and say, well do you know anything about this? They should have a training period with the new and old chief, you know, and have a three month training period. It would solve a lot of problems. (7:38)

Geoff: As an Elder, I am just curious, for traditional beliefs like mother earth, how do you protect mother earth and have ..., I don't know if you want to call it, "healthy development"?

Violet: Well with the developments coming and they should meet with the Elders and ask their opinion on how to protect it. Not just go and say well we should do it this way because the other nations did it that way. (8:09) you know ... they have people with each individual territory and just can't be following every one. Our territory we have all the wildlife, medicines, the berries and all that on the land. Just west of us in the Vander hoof area. Because of the dam there, they lost a lot of their traditional medicines and they are coming into our territory and getting our medicines because they won't find it in their territory any more. Because that reserve there was so closely related, you know, there's ... we have ancestors there and they have ancestors from our band. We kinda share with them (9:05) because we are relatives and we share our medicine with them and we have a lot of medicines on our territory that they do not have anymore. Just a simple thing like Choke Cherry, you know they make medicine out of Choke Cherry they don't have Choke Cherry and they have to go about one hundred miles in our territory before you can find a bush. (9:25)

Geoff: So have you noticed any diminished

Violet: Not yet, but if they don't take care of it they are going to lose some

Geoff: That would be interesting for a program

Violet: Yeah for traditional medicines. That's always a good one. There is a lot on our territory.

Geoff: So for yourself, do you see it as a positive or a negative, oil and gas? I hate to be black or white.

Violet: I could see it being positive, it would mean ... it would benefit our band. If it was ... it would financially benefit, I hope that it would help our band out. (10:16) And if there is going to be education involved in that, you know if they're going to be training programs with that, that would be beneficial to our young people.

Transcript of Curtis Seymour Interview (Adult Group 2)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia
June 26, 2006

Geoff: I'm here interviewing Curtis Seymour, the Nation's first Forester. I am going to call you a forester because you are on your way.

Curtis: Ok I am good with that.

Geoff: I'm just wandering what your thoughts are on the oil and gas development in the traditional territory?

Curtis: Ok ... Well I think it would be both beneficial to industry and the nation as long as they do their assessments right. I think the environment they will have to conserve and preserve especially wetland areas like riparian areas. I think that's crucial for the ecosystem and wildlife habitat, so I think the biggest issue would probably be if the wildlife habitat(00:47.39) especially for the moose and caribou because it will allow for more access for the wolves and that's their main predator so depending on how much development there is maybe we'll see a decrease in the moose population and a rise in the wolf population and they've already experienced that east of Prince George in the Rocky Mountains where the mountain caribou reside, that's where their habitat is and with all the roads and logging development that makes it easier for the wolves to access their pray so I think that's gonna be one big issue.(01:33.19)

Curtis: I think that would probably be the biggest issue, also fragmentation of the habitat, depending on ... I don't how big the of right of ways

Geoff: They are pretty big ... there's also a road used to maintain the pipeline ... right,

Curtis: Oh ok ...So along with the wolves that will allow hunters more access (02:04.09) but hunting really isn't a problem right now, it's more of a ... I think that's one way of managing the animal population is hunting, cause without hunters, you know ... we'd see a rise in certain populations of certain species ... so I don't know if they'd be really affected by hunting.

Geoff: Are you concerned about outside hunters? Does that give them easy access?

Curtis: Yeah ... that's a little bit of a concern, cause I know cross river you see a lot of non-native hunters out there, especially in the back cause they have an ATV trail in there so they have access and there's a lot more hunting now days

Maybe another think that might be affected might be fish habitat I don't know how much, ... there might not be much spawning ground out that way where they're gonna have their development but every spawning ground we have is crucial and we're always losing spawning grounds to logging and development and what not,

anytime you put a road or something it's gonna has a possibility to deliver sediments or salt to the stream it feeds and that could plug up the spawning grounds, I think that's probably one of the major issues too. (03:23.89)

Obstructing migration pathways for salmon and other fish species that are important to native people (03:40.59), um I think that's crucial ... um let' see, ... well with all the logging of the lodge pole pine, I think that's going to affect the eco system, like it will get wetter and that might be damaging to the soils cause it might be more easily compacted and what not um ...

As far as our traditional uses right now I think we're just trying to get back to our original ways our culture ... because this is the most crucial point for the Lheidli as a people, we're at a crossroads right now and we have the ability to go in one direction but we still have to maintain our balance with culture and our own spirituality (04:35.19) but right now like, yeah I think that's, I don't how it's going to affect that.

As far as jobs and that are concerned I think it will be really beneficial to the community and I think there's the potential there for long term sustainability ... sustainable economy.

When you look at the other bands up North and Alberta, I think their communities have really benefited from all that development but along with all that development and money comes other social problems, like substance abuse, alcohol abuse so it's just a matter of getting our people to invest wisely and thinking about their future and their kids future (05:32.39), so yeah ... like the environment is definitely going to be impacted there's no doubt about that.

Geoff: So can you have development while protecting the land?

Curtis: Yeah I think you can, if you do all your assessments properly, if you survey the area thoroughly, find out the best route (05:59.99), I don't know if it's possible to do that, I mean sometimes they might to blast rock or just to get to a certain patch or whatever, maybe they have no choice, but I think it is possible to have development, if you look at logging ... 20 years ago their practices, there wasn't much legislation guiding logging so there was a lot of degradation to the soils and the salmon streams and to the environment, wildlife habitat but in 1994 they put out the Forest Practices code so that really changed things the way they practiced their activities. They're more accountable, they're more responsible they way they manage the forest so I think if they have a clear policy and legislation laid out I think that it is possible to have all this development with minimizing the impact on the environment. (07:10.99) So as long as the legislation is there and the companies adhere to that policy I think it is possible.

Geoff: For you saying about jobs for the nation, how are you going to get long term jobs?

Curtis: Well hopefully we could get Elders and we could get heavy equipment operators, maybe we could get a geologist and geoscientists and stuff like that and get them trained in school so they could fill these positions that are needed up there and maybe secure a position with one of the companies that want to do development within our territory and if we could have a joint venture with them and say that they have to hire so many people and train them I think that would be good.(08:04.79)

Geoff: Do you notice a difference between the youth and the Elders and what they think about the activities in the territory?

Curtis: I haven't really talked to very much people about it, but I think most of the youth that I talk to they were in favour of the development because of the jobs and the benefit to the local economy the community's economy (08:33.39) so I think that was our main concern just employment.

The Elders would have a different opinion, I think they would be more concerned with the environment and the wildlife and the cultural impacts. So … well yeah the youth seem to be.

Geoff: Can you reconcile the differences?

Curtis: Well that will be quite challenging because the Elders are set in their ways and they have their own bit and their own views on things, but they too, know the importance of employment and what it means to the community so I think there is the possibility to compromise. (09:22.99)

Geoff: Find a middle ground

Curtis: Yeah

Geoff: That's basically all I wanted to ask you. I wanted your view point as a young person.

Curtis: OK

Geoff: I've talked with some Elders already and am going to talk to some more sorta middle, I don't know ... my age … not young anymore its middle (laughter)

So thanks very much

Curtis: Ya, no problem that's excellent.

Transcript of Irvin Gagnon Interview (Adults Group 2)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Prince George, British Columbia
June 26, 2006

Geoff: So I was wondering what you think about oil and gas? Do you think it will create jobs, do you think it will be an impact? Is it good or bad?

Irvin: It's got its ins and outs I guess. It will create some jobs I guess, but will leave a bad impact eh. Like you were saying. Pretty bad impact really. I don't think really worth the jobs. (00:24.66)

Geoff: Do you think it will affect the fisheries or?

Irvin: Ah ... well depends how close they are to the rivers and that.. I imagine it would though, taking that out and having to put all the water back in there your saying, pressurize ... like that ... so that would be an impact on the fish...

Geoff: Do you think jobs would be created for the community?

Irvin: Well I don't think much [jobs] eh ... and once it's done it's pretty much done then eh, not much jobs after that. (00:50.06) it's pretty much done then so ... maybe for a few years you'll have a job and after that you are pushed out of the picture more or less. I don't think it's worth it for the impact it's gonna leave. Like you were saying. It's gonna have roads all over the bush to access it. So if it's going all through our territory well that's much more people going to be using it.

Geoff: Uhuh.

Irvin: (1:112.36) At least right now you have got to walk through there wherever you are headed right ... so ...

Geoff: So do you see a difference in opinion between Elders and youth?

Irvin: Uhm ... not really, I imagine they would think the same eh. Like I was saying there ain't gonna be to many jobs out of it, there will be some jobs but not long term jobs, not gonna feed your family for the next ten years or whatever. Couple years job, maybe if that. After that they push you out of the picture.(1:42.86) while they take all your ... what cha ma call it ... oils that out of it and your out of it. Do you get paid for your oil taken out of the land? Or? How does that work?

Geoff: That's what the guys at treaty were talking about so.

Irvin: So there's no benefit in it right now then eh? ... (laughter) except for the public for the oil and that. But not for us. Unless we can make a good buck off it and maybe be like some of the bands up north (02:08.49) where they are making good money off

the oil land, oil field but couldn't see us getting much oil anyway as they would have been here anyway. (laughter)

Geoff: Well with new technologies opening it up, too right, they just beat the land harder.

Irvin: Ya I guess, don't think there is really much of a benefit (2:31.39) maybe for the public there would be but not for the band themselves, they can go purchase their fuels and that somewhere else and leave our land alone.

Geoff: So for the Gateway Pipeline, have you heard about it?

Irvin: No, just a little bit from Deryl that's it

Geoff: If they came to you and said we would it be ok to put this pipeline through, would you have to read up on it?

Irvin: I would have to know more about it, where exactly it's going through and their area study to see what kind of stuff they are going to be killing there ... like the plants, what kind of water system they are going through and stuff like that. I would have to know a lot more about it I imagine before I said yes. In my opinion anyway.

Geoff: Ya, ya, you brought up an interesting point about access to the area,

Irvin: Ya, there would be a lot of access eh,

Geoff: So how do you ... if there's access, a road going in for the pipeline ...

Irvin: It would be more just like the power lines I guess, just one big sloppy road (cell phone rings, garbled recording) and where is that pipeline going to?

Geoff: The top north eastern corner of the territory

Irvin: That would be toward Heric (4:00.60 sp?) that way, heading out that way.

Geoff: I don't have a map on me on my computer, at home I do, but for the shape of the territory it kinda cut through the corner probably about 200 miles in (Irvin: huh) maybe 400 it's a big map and a big territory.

Irvin: Ya, well if we could open up things for animals to then, then the caribou and all travel along there now so ... maybe migrate some more animals ...I don't think it is much of a benefit really for us. Ya (laughter) I couldn't see the point of it, it would be a shame, maybe a job for a couple of beer and that's about it.(4:42.00) Nothing long term, nothing to benefit us. Except to sell our land which is our land so ... maybe we will keep that and get double the buck for it twenty years down the road or something. Just leave it where it is. (laughter) Like you said its not really worth it to take it out of our land if its only that much for the impact it going to leave.

When they got other lands that are pushing out ... (child interrupts) ... not for the other territories that have got like loads of oil on their land where they can supply them like hundred barrels a day or whatever. I don't think it would be good in my opinion anyway. Not much of a benefit really. Like you said just for a day for the industry to use and that's the end of that. And that stuff with that piece of land they chopped all up and dug up for the rest of the time or whatever it ain't gonna grow in or whatever ... right?, it will always be there

Geoff: Would you support a toll? A toll on the gas going through?

Irvin: Not really I don't think I would want the pipe going through, couldn't they put the pipe beside the other pipe that's going through our land right now? Instead of making another (laughter) chunk somewhere else.

Geoff: Different areas ... well this one goes from Edmonton to Kitimat, (Irvin: ya) so I am not sure where the other line ...

Irvin: ... Will run through our res anyway.

Geoff: Oh ... ya I know I saw that.

Irvin: There's no way they can connect it back ...

Geoff: Different company.

Irvin: Ya, it's like a different transmission line right, so ... they don't share, they don't share well with others. (laughter)

Irvin: aah (laughter)

Geoff: What else is new eh?

Irvin: Ya, it wouldn't be so bad if it was close to the power line (06:37.46) and the pipeline that is going through already eh. That wouldn't leave such an impact if it was pretty close to it anyway. It would be just like putting in another power line really,

Geoff: I think that they would be afraid to put it near a power line because of sparking or anything [like that] would be an issue..

Irvin: Ya

Geoff: Is there anything I missed ... (Irvin: no) ... ok

Geoff: Can you have development and protect the land?

Irvin: You probably could if you have got the right people in there (7:24.20) you're doing the study what do you think, what's your opinion on it? (laughter)

Geoff: I am not going to tell you my opinion ... I have no opinion. (laughter) ... I have seen both sides.

Irvin: Are they all pretty much the same?

Geoff: If you're going to protect the land it's different than development. A lot of people are doing this to me (hand movements) you have got to balance, and its difficult to balance especially in an environment that is pro-development.

Irvin: So I'd be the best to say the hell with it and keep it in the ground basically. (laughter)

Geoff: It's always worth more.

Irvin: Pull it out in the future ... right ... (laughter)

Geoff: Thank you very much.

Irvin: Yup

END

Transcript of Vanessa West and Deryl Seymour Interview (Adults Group 2)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Prince George, Alberta
June 27, 2006

Geoff: Ok so I am just going to ask you, if you have heard about oil and gas development on the territory, I know that you have heard about it, what do you think about it?

Deryl: I think that it does bring some benefits for the group that is proposing it and I don't really think there is any benefit for the nations that are the First Nations or the people that live that close to the pipelines. I don't think we see any benefits, little to none have I ever seen anything come out of there. And they like to give you a lot of hopes, and you know ... we'll give you this, we'll give you that and a lot of promises but they are empty promises and as soon as they go through your land they kinda, lose your number. (laughter)(00:50)

Vanessa: Uhuh

Deryl: That's what I think

Vanessa: Can I say ditto

Geoff: Oh yea of course.

Vanessa: Well I think that's the same thing, sitting on council we have had presentations from, well I have sat in on the Enbridge meeting, I have sat in on the PNG meetings and they gave a description of what would take place, they provided, you know, what would be ... the pipeline is this dimension, we need this, there is going to be buffers on each side. They do state well there will be opportunities for jobs

Deryl: Yea

Vanessa: And give us a list of some generic jobs that will be available in association with, I guess the clearing and whatever.

Deryl: The preparation.

Vanessa: Yea the preparation and then they really play up the archaeological impact assessment (Deryl: the EIA) so if we say ok what if we do identify culturally modified trees where this pipeline is going to go through? and they say "it will be noted" but at the same time we realize that they are just going to tear them down anyways, all it is going to be is a location, they are not going to go around the tree, (Deryl: no) so ... it just seems like (you know) when there is any type of, I guess pipelines or oil and gas that they are just merely meeting with the First Nation based on their requirements they are not really listening to anything we have to say

Deryl: I think that they are just going through the motions of doing the consultation aspect of it, where they're (you know), ok well we'll do this meeting here and there and we'll give you the information. But (you know) if they give us some back great, but even if they don't that's even better so we don't have to worry about (you know) coming and fulfilling (you know) our part of the end of the whole deal. Is the way I think it is.

Geoff: So no jobs?

Deryl: No ... there's menial, minimum to none there is (sic) no long term jobs for sure, because most of our people are very limited in seismic or any engineering, we don't have any of those people that are that advanced. They don't ever offer schooling, they don't even tell you guidelines on where you should be going for school or what you should be taking up. (3:11)

You know it's a very um ... It's very empty, (you know), in terms of their information. They give you very selected information and they make it sound really great but in actuality it's great for them to fill their pockets, and line their pockets and get millions of dollars and move onto the next one. But what about what do they leave behind? What if there is ... like .... this one Elder was really upset, that I had heard, that had listened to one from Enbridge. And he was just so irate about whole thing and saying "well have you thought about leaking, and (you know) its only this thick and what if there is a natural disaster? What is there's this? What if there's that? And they could not really say for sure that they had that covered. They could not guarantee their safety, or their land safety and the well being of the community (4:10) and the community's are the ones that are going to have to live around it, and except it in their community. So I really think that it's like ... more for their benefit, and more to fill their pockets, and then they will be moving on.

Geoff: So what would you suggest for retention of jobs, for ... so the community can work longer? Could you get jobs that last?

Deryl: Um ... I think you would have to get more into the decision making and have that ... option and that kind of ... back up, you know support from that specific group. Because if they are not willing to put money where their mouth is, like support you and make sure that you get where you want to go and say you need this kind of engineering course. You need this, this and this in order for us to hire you.

End of part 1

Geoff: So do you think you can have development while protecting the land?

Deryl: I don't think you can. Because even when they consult with you and you identify the areas of interest and you're looking at medicinal plants, berries, whatever ... you know, culturally modified trees, historical trails. I think we identify trails and you know the development happened regardless of what we identified. Until, I guess, somehow there is a shift in perception then it's just going to continue to happen. As long as they do their consultation they really don't care [about] a trail that has no historical value to them, none of that information ... no capital value.

Vanessa: Means anything to them.

Deryl: No, it doesn't, well for us we could hear about a trail our grandfather used in the 1930's , that he traveled in the territory on, and that has value to us. Not monetary though, cultural value.

Geoff: Uhuh

Vanessa: So I don't think whatever development happens it will ever take recognition to (1:11) (garbled) the past use of the land traditionally or even present day. It will just go on regardless of the value.

Deryl: Yup, if it doesn't bring any money, or you know, anything to them, that's capital or otherwise, then they would rather sacrifice cultural or heritage for that. I think that they think that it is a small price to pay for their (you know) pipelines and stuff to get through is to deal with the natives kinda quiet them down long enough to punch it through and then their gone for good, they don't even have to go through your land again.

Vanessa: What we thought was funny, we live down south was that they are doing a development just outside of mission and I can't remember if it was hydro electric, whatever it was ... but they identified some culturally modified trees ... so ... they said ok we will respect that and they cleared out the entire area except for the three trees. Well these trees are not going to survive. Because everything around it is being logged.

Deryl: I seen that in Vander hoof!

Vanessa: Ya it's just ridicules. I mean, you know, ya you are (Deryl: saving it! laughter) but you acknowledge the fact that they have some significance but you completely destroy their habitat that there are not going to survive. So ...

Geoff: Uhuh

Deryl: And for the impacts, you know, from just even putting the pipeline through and all the damage it's going to do on the landscape it will affect all of our, the animals in the whole eco-system is going to be disrupted and even if you're thinking of that is not to close to that creek or something [2:57.73], the riparian zones and that, I don't think are adequate enough to save the streams and the water system to be cool enough for the fish and these are ... bears rely on those things, that's their main staple of food.

So they don't see the whole picture of what affects, it's kinda like a domino effect. Once one thing goes down they all kinda follow after that.

Geoff: So what would you do to change that?

Vanessa: To change the ...? Well I think that means that First Nations have to basically lobbying to affectively disallow the developments to take place. (you know) and I don't know whether it would be things such as a number of First Nations have done blockades, and I think First Nations can become a very strong political lobby. If it underlies solutions and alternatives to the problems that are the potential problems, not just saying (you know) that's wrong ... that's wrong ..., but come up with different scenarios as to ways that you can go around. (loud crashing sound edited out) (4:16.22) So you looking at that type ... like how would we deal with ...

Geoff: Opinions ... I mean do you see a difference in Elders opinions and youth ?

Vanessa: I think Elders they had more of the traditional knowledge of what actually took place. In the entire territory compared to even myself who only look at the land base as the reserve boundaries. (Deryl: ya) I don't have too much knowledge or historical ... (Deryl: we don't use it beyond that) ... usage ... so when they say (you know) I think there was a proposed pipeline, I think from Summit Lake, for PNG (you know) for me I was like ok seeing Summit Lake I never really did anything while (there) if you talk to the Elders while we historically fished there, we've done this, we gathered berries (Deryl: ya) they have more usage in the land than we do.

Geoff: Uhuh

Deryl: Occupancy

Vanessa: So we actually really occupied the land, where as now ... youth are very limited or they will jump in their car and go and drive there rather than walk the trails. And they don't know all of the ... systems of the trails and stuff and the significance. Because there's many trails that we were looking for on the traditional use study and we only found two of them. But we were looking for one that was major, used to get all the way to Willow River from our south side reserve.(5:45.78) like you could walk all the way there. And that would bring you right into going to your trap lines. (you know) was a major way of transportation ... and transporting their goods in and out ... so that was their way of life. That's how they lived and got everything to last. So I think that was their land, the way they had brought things back into the community and traded for different supplies. So ... I mean ... that has changed (6:19.28) a lot compared to how we do things now. Where you go to the grocery store, we drive to Summit Lake. You are not aware of these trails. But back in the day they were very very important, they were critical. (6:32.58)

Vanessa: and I think when you get back to when you asked the question of what would you change with regards to developments being proposed, it's a difficult question because you have these big companies coming forward and they are saying well we can provide you this and capacity development, we'll do some resource revenue sharing. And you're looking at a First Nation and most First Nations are not ... especially in the interior of British Columbia, we're not in positions to turn down $500,000 dollars, ya know ... in a way in its ... they got us in a position where they are offering us financial compensation (Deryl: ya) ... and as much as we'd like to say no we want to protect our land and we have to look at ... we're under funded through the Department of Indian Affairs, we are always facing deficits. We have (you know) 80% unemployment rates, so (you know), as much as we'd love to be the stewards of our land and ensure these developments don't impact, when you have one of these companies shower you with money then it is a little bit harder to start saying no. (Deryl: yes) then you're thinking well we can sacrifice this area cause its really only 40 acres.

Deryl: You start compromising with yourself.

Vanessa: Ya trying to say ... well you know ... We really could do without that, (you know) ... we really don't mind it if you did it this way (8:07.78) (you know) or you start compromising with yourself and others in your community.

Vanessa: And that's where the difference between the Elders and present day ... the Elders really would have no compromise. They would just say No.

Geoff: Ok

Vanessa: But at the same time whenever they did say no in the past, well it happened anyways.

Deryl: Yes so ...

Geoff: So if they say here's $500,000 dollars where's that money going to go? Where would you want it to go?

Vanessa: Well you look at what Deryl said, you know, the capacity development. We've always looked at, these are short term jobs. (8:39.88) The employment opportunities that they give us and it's usually clearing of the land. (Deryl: yeah ... crap) you know, the prep work, and then the engineers and I guess the specialists is what they are, come in and actually do ... they're the ones that really reap the benefit (Deryl: yes...) they're the ones for roads and access, (you know) and I think it is kinda opening up the whole territory ... (9:03.05)

Due to the mike having an issue in the last 2 minutes of the interview, only static was recorded. But what was said by these participants at the end was basically that the nation needed to become their own consultants to keep the money within the community, with community members guiding the projects rather than outside consultants.

Transcript of Corinna Joseph Interview (Group 2 Adult)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia
June 29, 2006

Geoff: So now we are recording and I was just wondering what you think about oil and gas, are you for oil and gas, are you against it?

Corinna: I am for it and I am also against it, because I know there is a lot of territory you guys will be going through and that has a lot to do with the fisheries and streams. Going through streams ... rivers, and creeks. I believe that ... because I used to be a fisheries tech and (learned) how important it is not to disturb the streams, creeks, or lakes. It's very important that no one goes through those.

For them to build a pipeline that long ... I know you guys are going to go through a lot of streams and all that when it's, ... It will disturb the streams.

(1:12) Fish have been there for so long, they migrate back to where they spawned, and some of those areas, I believe that they shouldn't be even near ... (pipeline development)

On the other side is that it will benefit a lot of members and a lot of non-members for work, and its good money and that's the bottom line ... (laughter).

Geoff: So can you have development and protect the land?

Corinna: Well ... yea ... you can as long as you get a fisheries tech to go in there and make sure the areas that you guys are going through that it's being protected. That's the way I look at it.

When ... last year I went and did one with Enbridge and we wanted to go check out a stream, and we went there and checked out the stream but there was no stream because it was the dry season. But they don't understand because is the dry season that .... When wet season does come ... it will ... the water will be there and they think "oh no there's no water so lets just keep building a pipeline through there, that area'. And I believe that with Enbridge and what they did there was pretty ... I felt that was wrong. Because they didn't do proper work for that, they just went out and saw it and thought "oh well"

Geoff: They didn't look at it year round.

Corinna: Yea, all year round. And that was one of the problems that I did have when I did take that job there, I believe that there was a stream there once upon a time and there will be another one, and fish do go there and spawn. And (have) habitat there. And I believe that that's very very important because there is not that much count for the

salmon. Or anything else that is living in the river. It's been so long, you know, that no one has disturbed the territory for so long and then pipelines are coming through.

Geoff: (3:39) So do you think the jobs that are created are going to be long-term, short term, are they going to last?

Corinna: It all depends on the person that how motivated the person is willing to go, to the extreme to get more educated to go out ... and do stuff after doing a short time job to further their education. I believe that is really important.

Geoff: So do you think there is a difference between how Elders view development versus how young people view development?

Corinna: Oh yea for sure.

Geoff: How?

Corinna: Because the times have changed these days and Elders they think so far back to when they were raised and how their Elders told them to protect the land and what not. (4:37) well with our band, our Elders ... we didn't have any Elders, you know ... the nineteen eighties we were down to 75 members after all what our, my ancestors went through, small pox, the hungry thirties,

Geoff: The relocation?

Corinna: Yea the relocation, back then my Elders used to say from here to so far as we can go out of town there was that much natives living on both sides of the river. And now we are only at three hundred and something. So we are slowly getting up there but, our Elders were totally wiped out. So the younger ones that [] had seen Elders, they never got the knowledge of the true Elders passed on. Their traditional stuff, we kinda lost all that, we lost our language, our culture, lost a lot of stuff.

And it's hurting today. Today it's really hurting, people. Because now we are trying to bring our numbers ... membership up. So we are basically taking in natives that are not from the territory, that are married into the band or have spouses somewhere else, and they come on in. Trying to get that membership up, but its really hard.

Geoff: Uhuh

Corinna: For the true like Lheidli members that have been here or their ancestors have been here all their life, it's really hard to try and communicate with the new members because there is a lot of stuff that, I don't know, I guess it's been going on for so many years that with the youth these days they were just trying to get along. It's what we have. Trying to make the best of what we have. But as for, I believe, ya a lot of youth think it, a lot of youth out there are willing to go the extremes. When I first started doing archaeologists (sic) there was not that much people (7:12) out here that

did- like archaeology work, until they went out into the field and seen with their own eyes what they had to-do, then they realized how much that benefited them to go out and find artifacts from our ancestors to say that, you know, we were here. (7:32)

Yeah the youth are pushing a lot of this for the new age to come through. Try not to go back.

Geoff: So what's the most important thing for the nation, that they have to do to create long term jobs?

Corinna: Well right now it's, the pulp mill and mill work is not going nowhere so the lumber prices are down. But that was a big industry in BC and Prince George. (unknown) What was the question again? (laughter) Sorry (more laughter)

Geoff: What do you think the nation has to do to create long term jobs for their members?

Corinna: To get the people educated and certified in areas that they should be certified in. (8:36) forest tech, forest tech is a big one because it has a lot to do with oil and gas, the wood a lot of that. And I believe that once the youth get their stuff together and you start motivating our youth to become, what to you call those, not industrial workers but just to be a labourer, go out and get certified. Forest tech, fisheries, I believe those jobs in the long term once you get them certified. They'll be motivated. (9:19) to do it for the rest of their life.

Some of them, like some of our band members that's natural to them, you know, they go out and walk around in the bush to find artifacts, they always used to do that, and they never used to get paid for it, now they get paid for it. So the benefits in some areas. But for long term, yea I think we need to get educated. We just need to be educated and fill in the positions that we do need.

Geoff: So do you think the education system, the way the bands got it set up now, is working?

Corinna: Yes it is but ... it's because of the funding that we don't, we do receive a lot of funding but it is not enough funding to fund everyone. There is only a majority [means minority] certain few that get funded every year. And to look at ... ah ... what the youth or anyone to get funded for I believe that should be looked at by the Elders, somebody to say (10:43) you don't want to take up something that won't benefit the band, right, why should we sponsor them and are they going to come back to the traditional territory and teach the youth and bring it down to the next generation.

And how important that is. That's one thing that, it's being looked at, and I kinda stress that out because there was a majority few band members that got funded for school, but they never came back. They never came back to the territory to motivate the next youth and the next generation to ... its so easy ... it would be a lot easier for

the youth to bring them out into the field and show them by hand instead of in a book. (11:39) A lot of them learn more hands on.

Geoff: A more traditional form of learning

Corinna: Yea

Geoff: So for the Gateway pipeline, what do you think the main impacts are going to be?

Corinna: What do I think of what?

Geoff: The main impacts might be?

Corinna: Main impacts?

Geoff: Or what you are concerned about … fisheries?

Corinna: Like I said, the fisheries the streams the (can't hear word) well the trees that's kinda like not in our hands. You know. I believe that the great creator is taking over and every thing here is for a reason and for our pine trees to be taken away out of the forest has no affect on anything that … with the pipelines and that I believe because the damages already done. So log what ever you can log out. And for them, and for them to go into a territory and see streams and that, it's a big issue for me. Cause again it has a lot to do with disturbing the spawning areas and all that for the fish to come back. That's the only, my main concern is any projects that are going on to our territory. You are trying to protect it as much as we can. Because I believe one day there is not going to be any salmon left. That was my main concern about pipelines. (laughter) As I learned that last year going through Enbridge. What??

Geoff: From experience

Corinna: Yea, I'm like "you guys have never been here in the wet season, come here in the wet season bet cha you'll see a stream or a pond." And those were fish habitat. During the winter they lose ponds and that, that's the habitat.

I am strongly for that. Other than that I don't have any problems with pipelines going through our territory. (14:08) probably benefit in some ways. But I think that is the only down fall is those rivers and streams. How important it is.

Geoff: Would you be concerned about outside hunting coming in through the roads the pipelines are going to be putting in?

Corinna: Not really because natives, they hunt everywhere eh. You can go anywhere and hunt. With our nation we don't depend on, we don't depend on that.

Geoff: What about non-natives coming in using those road ways?

Corinna: They shouldn't be anyways, because they have to have a freaking license to do that, but yea I do see that too. And you have to that's why we should have certified game wardens going out there getting these people that are breaking the laws, they shouldn't be hunting or fishing in these types of seasons.

But hunting for us … we don't really do a lot of hunting, we just … I think the only thing that we depend on the land is probably just the trees what we have left and there is nothing there. The majority of our people don't depend on the land. Cause we are to urbanized, to close to Prince George. So why go out and shoot a moose when you can go into town and spend a hundred bucks on groceries or something. (laughter)

Because there are nations out there that are isolated like Takla all them and they have no choice but to depend on the land. Cause they are so far away from the nearest store.

Geoff: Do they depend on the land or does the land depend on them?

Corinna: Probably goes both ways but more likely I am guessing that the natives probably depend on the land more in isolated areas. Especially for fishing and hunting, traplines. I think trap lines are a big issue in isolated areas because there is a lot of territory that people go through. And for it to be a trap line, for someone to go in there to disturb it, that's not right. That's the way I feel (laughter)

Geoff: Those were all the questions I wanted to ask you, thank you very much for allowing me to interview you.

Corinna: No problem

Transcript of Chief Dominic Frederick Interview (Elders Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia
June 29, 2006

Geoff: So sir ... I am here with Chief Frederick and wanted to know what your opinions were on oil and gas for the territory

Chief: We have had some dealings with Enbridge, ... we have gone as far as to draw up ... well they represented to us a MOA, a memorandum of understanding, which we refused to sign.

And but in turn we have tabled with them the protocol agreement which (ah) states in there, how we will proceed into an official agreement in terms to them coming into our territory and how we will work together, but as to date we have not received any response from them.

Well at one point, let me go back a little bit, At one point about two months ago we had information from the vice president of Enbridge that they will sign the protocol, then they had hired ... um ... Robin Workman who then came in , he sat right here with me and we talked about what the next steps were. And that was his first question and only question he had, "what was our next step ... chief?" I said well our next step is your next step. So go back to your officials and president and vice president and tell them that we want to sign the protocol as soon as possible. And arrange a date for that. We are ready to sign. And that was the last I heard of them.

Geoff: Uhuh (2:24)

Chief: But before that we got a number of small contracts that we did for them. In terms of collecting information for them on the territory using some of our people, I wasn't really pleased with payback, because we used our own money for these projects and we waited practically to the new year to get paid.

And last year this is approaching March of 2006 we got paid just before the end of the fiscal year. That was about 22 thousand bucks which we spent that they paid us back.

Then there was another group that came in from ammich (sp?), a contractor for Enbridge, they sat here and talked about, you know, what their plans were. I said well you know that's your plans, we don't have any plans for you guys. So therefore ... I didn't want to be rude to them, you know, so I said our meeting is over, you know ... until Enbridge signs the protocol agreement and I don't want you guys in our territory. And so happened they went to the treaty council and got permission from the treaty council to come into the territory. To do what they wanted to do,

collecting of information. But I don't know if they have any ... members working for them. So ... it's sorta become a problem now. It's gone no place though.

We have a number of dealings with PNG and I think there is another one beside PNG. But they want to put another pipe through our land, our territory too. PNG and the other companies, those are small companies, they want to help, and of course then you have Duke Energy. They have always contributed to the band, any way they can, through donations. And helped a couple times. I think they are the only ones ... that do that.

Geoff: Uhuh

Chief: ... And exploration and gas and our territories, ... I tried to get into that and collect as much information as I can, when I first got in, a year ago, it was pretty hard, you know, because I didn't really understand what it was about, and we received through referrals, many referrals in terms of (you know) ... exploration, and in the sale of tenders to different companies. (6:07)

The way it was put to us [Lheidli Nation], that we have first refusal of tenures and all that, and to bid on them or not within the territory. And we don't have the resources for that, and that's the problem eh, when you don't have resources to follow up on stuff like this. It's hard to build capacity when you don't have resources, you know if you look, people are looking forward to treaty and building capacity through treaty through the years, but we need something now or some money now, to help us, like what I am doing now is in forestry I have Lola, and we're building capacity right now through all of it with him helping Curtis and giving him proper direction and what he needs to do. Because Lola is not going to be with us forever, you know. All the consultants won't be with us forever. So we are going to have to solve this sooner or later. That's the problem with oil and gas that we have, we don't have the capacity to take it on, we try to make deals wherever we can and get what little jobs we can and even in the mining industry, those mining people came to us (757) an they want to do a coal mine up in the ... past the willow ... they want to out a coal mine up there, they came and approached us in terms of land, you know, what they want to do is to put a shaft 400 metres under the river bed, they said ... we asked them when are you gonna start. (8:38)
(*Garbled) well they say "we get our permits in, you know and just waiting for approval and meeting with you guys here to show that we met with you people, had a community dinner and stuff like that ... eh.

Then we asked some of the community members, asked in terms of jobs, let's start with jobs. If we are doing any drilling, the test drilling that they are gonna do there, they are gonna hire members for that. That was basically it anyway. I guess they weren't to ... (unclear) ... [eager?] ... to put the mine in and ... I asked [them] how long is it good for, well it's probably good for a hundred years. A hundred years? ... we'll wait ... we have the main spawning grounds for our Chinook in the Bowron (garbled ... around the Bowron?) and they say well we know about histories and your concerns and we would still like to put a mine in. you know ... so.

(10:08) There might be some fall out from their drilling in terms of what comes back into the river and the clean up. The drilling they use some stuff, I don't understand, that has to go back into the river. Whether or not it affects the fish or not, I don't know. (10:37)

Geoff: I understand, so do you think you can have development and protect the land?

Chief: Uhm ... we'd like to see that, we'd like to see ... and work together with industry because, you know, really we don't have anything, you know, to begin with and we'd like to build a relationship with industry now so that we can be partners in the long term. So that the next generation can benefit from that.

We'd like to see the land protected, you know because you see now the way the land is treated, it's going ... fast, even the resources, the trees, the forestry (you know), it's a big thing (you know), and it's all within our territory. And it's happening, a good portion of it, we take the hit on it because we' re also loggers too, you know and depend on logging, and this goes against our Elders are saying we're the protectors of the land and mother earth is the one that feeds us. And you have to return what you take out from the earth or it's gonna come back on you. (12:39)

Geoff True ... so ... the gateway pipeline, do you think there will be a big impact with the road and the pipeline or?

Chief: Well, there will be a big impact and the risks are really high, because they cross two major rivers that go through our territory, that's the Salmon River and the Stewart River and those rivers, they cross into our territory, and go right through our territory and all the territories. From all the way from Burns Lake right down to Francis Lake and back down to the Fraser again. And the resource, the fish resource that comes through there is already depleting, and once filled with this would wipe that right out and it would be no more. So the risk is high, the risk is high.

That was our concern with the Gateway. (13:48)

Geoff: It's not just one pipeline, it's two with the condensate

Chief: Yea it's two lines that's going in, but there others, there may be four or five pipelines going in with PNG and the other one and Gateway, you know.

Geoff: You might have feeder pipelines also going in.

Chief: Yea, so … the impacts to the land is going to be great. I mean it's ... there's [] not a lot of jobs coming out of it at the end of the day. Maybe 70 jobs and that's about it. Maybe less. It's just people looking after the line, you know. Watching it and we get part time jobs from it and that's it. Do the job and then kick you out. (laughter) (14:54)

Geoff: And the pipeline moves along.

Chief: Yea, and the pipeline moves along.

Geoff: And somebody stays with the pipeline they are not staying with the community; they are going to be following it

Chief: Yea. They said well we (Lheidli) are going to be building capacity and training people to weld and stuff like that. Basically that what is it just welding, welding and operating machinery. You know, to build a pipeline. What do you do? Like with these guys after it's over when they're gone?

They will go to Winnipeg after where they got their training, the money is good and they are gone. It does not do us any good. Unless they learn to drill. Then we can start our business as a company off Lheidli and start putting in bids for drilling. But we are trying to get a good deal with Enbridge, like a share, a share … but I think it is really big, it's huge. Just thinking about it ... it's scary because they can walk over everybody and at the end of the day they can say no and the government with support it. And the bands they don't stick together. That was one of the things we tried to do was we tried to bring all the nations together and come to some sort of agreement and hear everybody's concerns. But it was hard, you know. And nobody came together.

We had CSTC, CSTC got involved and were mandated through the West Coast Tribal Treaty to take on this project. (17:20)

And ok well my concern there was that get everyone together and set everyone meeting up so that we can hear all the concerns from the coast right to Treaty 8 in Alberta and it never happened.

CSTC was meeting in Prince George and Treaty 8 and all their bands were meeting in Vancouver and they were saying different things, they were saying we're for it. And Treaty 8 was saying no not for it. And then the bands from, other bands like us

were asking CSTC, why are you saying you are against it when you took $400,000 dollars from Enbridge to hold this meeting. And to participate in your heritage stuff, you know, investigation collecting information for Enbridge. How can you say you are against it. It was sort of a conflict there. To us it was a conflict of interest because you say no yet they say give me some money, give me some more money.

Geoff: Right (18:48)

Chief: And they were using the money for their advantage cause they hired a top notch lawyer to put stuff together for them.

We just stayed neutral and did our own thing with Enbridge. It's not going anywhere. But we still interact. (19:16)

Geoff: So do you see consultation changing?

Chief: Um ... with us ... well it might change or it might stop. We took it as far as we can and like I said they have taken the protocol documents with them and they haven't responded. So it's what it is.

We may block them, you know, that's an option (unclear ... business) we want to force them to the table again and try and find a way to do that, but at this point no consultation with Enbridge. With consultation we took it as far as we can, and that's where it is.

Geoff: And they dropped the ball?

Chief: Yea

Geoff: For Elders in the community, do you see a difference in the youth and the Elders in their opinions on development? (21:02)

Chief: Um ... well the Elders they are, from listening to them, they are worried about the land and they worried about the resources, its resources that's what they worry about, you know.

And then they worry about their next generation. They say "if you guys make a deal with Enbridge what's in it for our kids and our grand kids?" you know.

When it gets up to that, in the long term for long term sustainability for the next generation and that's what we are trying for, to get something long term.

Geoff: One of the problems with resource development is they become depleted.

Chief: Yea

What we told Enbridge, we're here forever, we are not going away, once your pipeline goes in it will be there till whenever and that's not going to go on, (mumbled) ... what we say, even as a small band is they'll get their way anyway and we are going to try and make the best of it from what we can and make the best deal we can.

I think at one point the Treaty 8 bands were trying to put a plan together for ... they were saying "well lets buy into it, buy into the pipeline" everybody, all the bands put down $50,000 dollars towards buying into buying a percentage of buying the pipeline, we thought about it and went into partnership with Macleod Lake and we said "no". We are not going to give $50,000 dollars to you guys.

If we wanted to give $50,000 dollars to put $50,000 dollars on the table we will see to it that we spend it the way we want to, not to support you guys.

It seemed like to us it was a big scam. Lets get all this money together and put some of our own guys to work cause of Treaty 8 and we didn't want that. (23:57) so we turned it down.

There was a lot of stuff going on in the back ground between Treaty 8 and CSTC. A lot of this (gesture with fist banging together) bumping heads.

Geoff: Yea that's typical with different organizations though

Chief: Yea

Geoff: That's basically all I wanted to ask you, about the differences and your opinions, thank you very much for your time.

Chief: You're welcome.

End of interview.

Transcript of Frank Frederick Interview (Elders Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
Shelley (IR#2), British Columbia
June 29, 2006

Interviewed in his front yard on a beautiful June day.

Geoff: I am here with Frank Frederick, I am just going to ask you, I know I asked you in the park but we had a lot of back ground noise (Aboriginal day Festival) and I want to make sure that I have got your words clearly about oil and gas development you were talking about, it's a good and a bad thing. And it's kind of a balance and is there a way to have positive development and healthy development without impacting the land?

Frank: Without impacting the land? ... yea I guess so, I'm ... like I said before I was kind of 50/ 50 on the project (Gateway) all the animals and the plants and so forth are protected then it's ok with me but if it is going to impact living tissues then I am against it.

I think our people the Lheidli live off the land quite a bit so we really depend on the territory. Kind of iffy with me right now.

Geoff: Do you see a difference between the youth and the Elders and what they think about oil and gas?

Frank: Definitely the Elders think of the living and the youth think about money. So? (train whistle) haha (pause) (1:40)

Geoff: So you're saying that the youth think more about cash?

Frank: Ya, they think of money instead of economics and saving (environment??garbled) or environmentalism, whatever ... cause they haven't been brought up to speed by the Elders, so there is quite a difference there. We need to get more involved with them (youth) because they are our future eh. They are the ones that are going to impact, not us. Don't think we'll be here that long but here comes (??) I will converse with him. (2:25)

Geoff: So for the Enbridge gateway pipeline um ... would negative impacts, do you see negative on that?

Frank: Well as far as uh when I went over the project and everything, it's not bad, it's looking good. But there area where they are going to pass through our territory is kinda far away. couldn't be too bad, but you never know.

Geoff: Do you think it will create jobs for the community?

Frank: I hope so, that's one of the goals we are looking forward too is putting the young and the youth to work. Right now our unemployment rate is so far up we can't survive there. If they provide jobs, I am all for it.

Geoff: What kind of jobs do you think that it would provide?

Frank: Probably just labourers but I hope it gives them an opportunity a chance to see what they really need for schooling even get a trade job or something an incentive so they can go to school and be more prepared for next time.

Geoff: Do you think they will be long term jobs or short term jobs. (4:02)

Frank: I would hope long term, I mean once they have a trade and they are successful in it, then it is better for them than if they only work for pipelines, there would be lots of opportunities for them once they get a trade. Hopefully they will provide jobs with training to get the youth working.

Geoff: What do you think about the whole consultation process?

Frank: It's good. Good so far. We are talking quite a bit with them, and I talk a lot with the treaty staff, they know what is going on. Especially Mike Bozoki, he is up to snuff on everything that boy, he is pretty smart. So he keeps us informed quite well so I am kinda proud of him.

End of interview Frank has car waiting for him.

Transcript of Margaret Gagnon Interview (Elders Group 1)
Conducted by Geoff Hughes
At her home in Prince George, British Columbia
June 30, 2006

Geoff: The study that I am doing is looking at how community members view development of oil and gas on their traditional territory. Originally I was looking at the Gateway Pipeline that Enbridge was talking about that goes over the north eastern corner of the traditional territory.

Margaret: uhuh

Geoff: Now I am more looking at development in general for oil and gas and how community members view oil and gas development. And can you have ... some of my questions are; can you have development while protecting the land and what do you think about oil and gas development on traditional territory.

Margaret: I don't know ... they ruined everything there is out there. Just steady ruining things, since when I noticed anyway. From the time that, like I was not brought up in Fort George, my mother was. I was brought up in South Fort George. It was a town. Later on I lived in Shelley on the north side and I didn't leave there until 1943. It was really nice the way things were, because in them days everyone was helping one another. Today what I notice in them days all the old people they know the mothers of these kids like our mother have to do the garden work and the men are out trapping. Or working somewhere in the willow so that left the women to do all the food and stuff that and gardening and everything was done. Then their own hunting like moose, and deer whatever they needed bear especially the grease of it. So it was for our health they were looking after us and teaching us anyway at the same time. And these old people they took, take over when the mother are busy, they took us to the small cows and teach us how to dry meat, dry fish and drying berries in different ways. All them things that they were teaching us.

But today I was visiting here a few years ago when I was able to get around and how one of the kids say I remember when I looked after when they were small when we were berry picking we keep an eye on her. She's got grandchildren and great grand children now. And she ... she was doing flower gardening, she had a lot of flowers in her yard, her daughter came and she said she wanted to go to get ... she wanted a ride to town, somebody was going to town, could she keep an eye on the grand children until she got back. She stood there, she turned around, she stood up in her garden, she stood up and put her hand out. "how much you gonna pay me?" I said "oh my goodness how can you charge?" ... "well they are spending money why can't they pay me?" I said that's your little grandchildren and even little other kids I said remember how they used to look after us I said when we were small? Yeah but that was a long time ago. So I told her daughter, I said I was going to be here all day I

said I would stay and look after the kids for you until you got back. She said I am not doing anything unless I get paid. And she went back into the house. But that's how things change. How can it be like that? What they taught us done good for me and all my children. And I showed them as they were growing up and that's the way they brought theirs up. But after that the government took over and they just walked into a person's place and pick their kids up and goodness knows what kind of place they stick them. According to the welfare office here, they have to pay these kids to fix up their bed. You don't pay kids. You're paying them by teaching them. But they don't ... I got into a lot of arguments with welfare. I couldn't keep my mouth shut to tell a person, parents, mother especially, come and tell them where they are gonna put the kids and they'll be well looked after I said I have never seen welfare home look after any kids. It's the money they're after, I said. They're not after the kids. Oh no, they don't know nothing. I said look at how they even stop those old people year gone by, raising us too. We always had a little willow switch because that stings and if the kids we tell them not to do anything no matter whose kids because the mothers were not always there because she has got work to do, and if you tell them not to do something, and they try and be sneaky about it you go over and whip their legs. Put them back and tell them where to be and watch them. So that stings. Now you can't even touch your kids.

Geoff: Uuhuh

Margaret: You can't even slap them ... none of that. How small they are. I am gonna tell the world what a thing to teach kids in school. Make what you are told that we have our kids, we carry them for nine months and that child hear nothing but our voices. And after they're born we look after them because we packed them upon our backs to do gardening and different things that we were doing every day. And we packed them with a shawl on our back so they hear just our voices. Born like we are talking about that. Just our voice there alone ... but nowadays they put them in place, they want to work they want to make money all the time, they don't get anywhere for what they work for it's just to get away from the kids. They put the kids in daycare and stuff like that and different people looking after them. And kids don't even know where that voice that they heard before they're born on the floor, while they had that, so they're lost. All different voices different people, different ways. So they are not going to listen to all that. That's why they get out of hand. They just don't want to listen because they are lost. You don't shove your kids to somebody else to bring up. But that's the way it is nowadays now. A lot attend prison every move they make with their own kids, their own homes, which way to live, how to live. Ah ... boy ... me I can't keep my mouth shut I tell them right off. If they want to put me in jail they'll have to pack me there anyway.

When we were working with the inmates up at (mumbled ... Tahar?) ... lake oh they would look after us good enough to get around. Those boys were good they were right there for everything. Every little thing we were going to do, I'd do it, and they were right there. So when they are able to do all those things for us. We went fishing they'd come with us fishing. They cleaned the fish with us. So I don't know, things

like that they should put them somewhere to get the younger set to show them how to do all these things. Not keep them in jail.

Geoff: Uhuh

Margaret: Sure they do wrong but that's why I think that they get worse and worse and go into drugs and everything. Where before they, well I guess drugs were around from different people but we were told not matter what they do in school we do not have to follow them and Granny told us, she said, "you're gonna start a white mans school in South Fort and there's going to be white people teaching you, whenever they speak to you don't you ever put your head down, that's what they want. They want you to be ashamed of what you are, when we speak to you, we tell you to listen very carefully, and stories something that you think is the best thing we tell you to live by. And then you keep that in the back of your mind but you don't share it. Cause you all hear it, you don't share it with outsiders like ... that's why we want you to listen very carefully and not to answer or ask questions, you think about it. But when a white person's speaking to you, you look at them straight in the face and think in the back of your mind I am just as good as you and maybe better than a lot of you. Keep yourself there, and don't ever put your head down for nobody." so that's what we done, I turned out good.

Geoff: uhuh

Margaret: But (laughter) it sounds so funny telling Yvonne she laughed, well the things we hear on TV about kids, how they are now ... I said for every ... they all had names. My aunty, my dad's sister was married to Captain Brown when he was running the B.X. from Quesnel ... and everybody they used to call his kids ... niggers, black, black niggers. Get away don't come close to me, you dirty nigger. And natives ... you dirty native don't come close to me I don't want to smell you. Like dry meat and dry fish what you eat. Stuff like that you know (laughter) we just laugh at them that was it. And then finally they got tired of it we're outside playing and the principle was standing outside, I guess, on a porch and we're out in the field there, we just play with one another cause none of them want us, like the dark ones and the natives and they do that with the Germans ... oh they had names for everybody those kids. they must have got it at home. Cause they can't think of all those things. And the principle heard them and he hollered and told them, we just got out to play when we heard them, he hollered he said, "no more recess back to classes", (kids) "but we just got out" He said, "I know but I want you up here right now". So anyway, he go them all, he told us to come in first, we were out in the hallway there, he put us on that side against the wall. Line us all up there and he was standing on that side and then he hollered to the other kids that were calling us down, and he lined them all up on the other side and he had the big strap in his hand. He said, "what did you call these kids here that you're going to school with?", (kids) oh we're just fooling around, he said, "no not that way." But he said, "I heard you say different kind of names and you got a name for everyone, even those kids with you there." On the white side. "well what's wrong with that?" that one boy said. He said "I'll show you what's wrong

with that." He said, "get up in front here." Got him in the middle there and strapped him, he was just screaming, strapped him good. "Now", he said, "go over and apologize to every one of them and shake hands and hug them and tell them you love them," which he had to do (laughter) one by one he done that (laughter) to all them, there was no classes that day because he was busy strapping. And we was standing there waiting to be strapped too because they were getting strapping and we thought we would, cause we were laughing at them when they were calling us names. And then when Captain Brown's oldest boy Yuri, he said, "Mr. Lynch you want me to come up there for my strapping now?" "No", he said, "you don't need a strapping." He said, "I want these kids to know the difference and I want you all to be alike. You're playing together, you're going to school together, it doesn't matter what colour you are." And when we went home, we got home early. Granny said, "what happened? Somebody got sick in school?" we told her no, then we told her about it. And she started laughing. She said, "it might work out" she said, "I hope it does." "But anyway," she said, "I will tell you something," (she said,) "you look at the bible stories your aunty reads to you every night, Sunday you go to Sunday school, then she reads it to you when we come home." (kids) "Yes" (grandmother) "alright does it say on the bible your black you stay right here, you ... you're white you stay right here. The four corners of the earth. Did god say on the bible you are to stay there and not mix up with the other? ... no, god done that, placed them, he wants everyone to mix like the water on the ocean shore. And that's what god wanted everybody to mix with one another. Not to stay in that corner, not to come back. He wants them all together that's why he done that."

So that was ok, and then when going to school, teacher asked us if the kids were kinda bad on the way to school, we told them no, a few of them but not all of them they don't ... but Granny told us not to listen to them. (teacher)"Are you all staying at your grandmother's place?" There's 32 of us, I said, "yes, she's got that big place at the end of Queensway and South Fort.' Got a great big field there and barn and everything." And I said, "we help her with animals and stuff like that" ... I said, "she teaches us all kinds of jobs, fishing and all that. How to do food, berries everything," I said, "she's showing us what to do, that's why she's looking after us." So he just stood there, couldn't get over it. He said, "how old is she? ... boy that's a big job 32 of you."

"Oh Granny said not to tell anything to anybody, but if you want to ask her, you have to go down there, she's always sitting outside. You'll have to go down there and ask her then she'll tell you what she does."

So he came home after school with us, and she was sitting outside doing moccasins with horse hair on it. "Oh", he said, "you're sewing away Mrs. Seymour." She says, "Yeah" (teacher) "is that what you teach your grand children?" "Well,"S she said, "everything I do they watch me and by watching me," she said, "they pick it up and start doing that, whatever they want to do, bead work, embroidery or horse hair weaving." (teacher) "And they figure it out and they do it?" she said, "Yes" she said, "kids are smart," she said, "you don't realize how smart they are when they watch."

And then when I went to Lejac School, my sister, two sisters and I, like we had no business in there after mother died, my step father couldn't look after us, he had to work. So the older ones, the old priests knew my grandparents so the priests and nuns got together and what they earned they put it, they paid our way staying there, which was ... I never expected. And we were there we went ... mother died ... like in December and January we went there. So we went and got to school January, February, March, April, May, June ... we were there six months. And then he brought when school was over, the priests and two of the nuns they came in with us. And they spoke to Dr ... Dr. Lions, his wife was the head nurse in the hospital, he asked the Dr. he said, "the nuns and I will pay you so much if you can take the kids here, we had to pay their way in school anyways so we can pay you to teach them something to learn something." And (doctor) he said, "No, I wouldn't want pay" ... so he took us the three sisters. (doctor) "I will take the three girls they can stay with us right in the house and we'll teach them as much as we can about medical stuff and things. We'll teach them all we can in the evening, so they can pick it up from there." "Then if they want to go for higher education", the old priest said, he said, "oh then we'll make it up somehow amongst the nuns and them." Well he said, (doctor)"We'll save as much as we can, my wife and I and we'll put that into their education to get them ahead so they can have a good start."

That's what they done, and here that [Residential School settlement] lawyer came and told me all the stuff that's been going on and I said, "how can you believe that?" ... (lawyer) "well the kids said" ... I said, "even the old people are stepping in lying." I said, "we were all so poor during that heavy depression years ... we worked so hard for what little we could get, as young as we were." Everything was rationed like ... and we never got enough ration books to put us through. And now I said, "It is you that's going to make the money, you're the one that gonna make the money that we are talking about," I said, "count me out because I don't want to lie for money, I don't believe in lies." (lawyer) "Yeah, but you were there." I said, "I don't care. I was only there six months," and I said, "learned a heck of alot more than I did in public school. The things they taught me and what they done for my sisters and I ... " and I said, "Dr. Lions and his wife put my second sister to me, put her through school and sent her to Vancouver and put ... she used to like cooking and so he put her in school for that and that's what she taught all the rest of her time up till she died.

Geoff: hmm.

Margaret: And then my sister Doris, she was with me most of the time ... with Granny. And I taught her all what they taught me in Lejac school, cooking and ... making clothes for those little orphan kids, how to look after little ones, so when we had kids we did not need anybody. We got along good and we start cooking for camps and ask for jobs, then we get cooking for different camps and when we had kids and they wanted to pay us and we told them we didn't want pay.

"Well you can't work that hard" (camp administrator)

Well our kids are going to have enough to eat and we're going to have enough to eat. And we told them we get a truck load of food weekly, the food that's hard to get, and it's all left there for us. The truck what little we ... like we tan hides and moccasins we made, what we can sell, gloves gauntlets ... when we sell that we take the money and all we buy is jars because they taught me how to can food. So we had ... oh ... gee ... we had a lot of jars, and when the camp closed spring break and fall break, that's when we start canning all that food that's left there and what we get when we kill a moose then we smoke some of it in the smoke house and the rest we can. So we always had enough food ahead, always ... we never went short and then we helped a lot of other people with a bunch of kids too. Like when they got sick Granny told us to try this and that and then she'd make some kind of medicine she try different things ... like when the kids got whooping cough. There was a lot of kids there, like choked, and she made ... she boiled something anyway, she said try that on the kids, ... we done that so we mix it, warm it up juice, and mix it with bear grease so it wouldn't get stuck in their throat. Even if they don't like it we opened their mouth and we put it on their tongue and tip over by the spoonful. And they don't cough but they started vomiting and all that junk comes out of them and in no time they are over it. They are over whooping cough ... our kids. And then on the north side in Shelley reserve, Granny told them what to do because there is lots of that stuff over there so they made that and all their kids there ... oh and there were a lot of kids dying in town. And there was a lot of white people with a bunch of kids on the south side of Shelley. So what we done is we (inaudible)(laughter)

Geoff: There's a serviette right here

Margaret: Oh my eyes, yes they all had farms out on the south side. So we went and told Mrs. Maclean maybe she said all the kids are over it on the reserve, we told her "Yes" Granny boiled something up and told us what it is. And she said it might not work for white people, but we can try it it's not going to make it worse. And you have a lot of these trees on your farm. "Oh my goodness ... really?" and we said, "yes" and we went and showed her. So she helped us she cut the bark balsam that pitchy stuff. And she said, "What do I do?" We brought her back to the house and showed her what to do with it and we stayed there until we boiled that big pot.

And then she ... Doris ran back to our place and she got the pail of bear grease, and I told her "You have to use that Mrs. Maclean, don't ... just cause they don't like the taste, they are going to spit it out, it's bitter." But I said, "Open their mouths and put that spoonful on their tongue," I said. "Push it down and tip it and they have to swallow it." Then I said, "they start vomiting that junk out. When they quit coughing and stuff like that, I said, "Then it's over with." She said I will try anything, I don't care what and after she tried that her kids got over it. She had two girls and a boy and then she told the rest showed them what she used. So that's how it went and when we told Dr. Lions ... his wife to tell these people what to do, what we used. So that's what they done and they saved the rest of the kids.

But there's quite a few that died, they tried everything I guess ... don't know their medicine but it didn't seem to work. So there's a lot of things that used to be out there ... good. But now ... like the jack pine pitch, you know how it used to look like little balls on Jack Pine, we used to take sap off and then that ... it drips there and goes into lumps on the Jack Pine, that ... we used that. We pick a lot of it and we boil that, Granny showed us how to slowly bring it to a boil, mix it half and half with bear grease and put it in jars, not big jars but those face cream jars white people throw in the garbage. We go to the garbage dump pick a bunch of that up, wash it, and we put it in there. After it settles in there, it's like a face cream, you know. And then after we get all those little jars filled and sometime the kids break out on their skin, like measles and chicken pox. We used to rub that right in and it used to draw it right out. So different things were good but now they went and put paint on all those things ... you can't use it. You are poisoning everything out there, like those fir, all the fir trees. We were always out camping the whole summer with Granny and they grew winter food. And we could see these old fir trees, great big ones. Even see where the bugs were, you could hear them chewing in there, we'd get a long stick and squishing them in there. And oh my goodness ... did she ever give us a strapping. Whipping. She said, "Don't you ever do that. It's chewing all the insides of that tree." She said, "that's what it was put on earth for. Every little thing is put on the earth for a purpose. Leave them alone they are starting to chew, yes. But they go down to the end of the roots. Slowly chewing away, and then they go up inside the tree. You can't see it from the outside, just the holes and you can hear it and after it chews away, and it takes years and years and that tree is quite weak by that time, its old," she said, "like me, I am gonna die anytime, I am old. And that's what that tree is." She says, "strong wind come along and knock it down." And those bugs are going to be right inside of there, yet chewing away on it cause a big tree is down." And she said, "It's gonna take years and years for them to chew the whole tree, bark and all. After they chewed it all up into saw dust, it's like dirt you walk on. It's mixed with the dirt. It's just like seeds you plant, you see. And these bugs and going to look for another old tree." Look what they do today, they put paint or stuff on there or spray it. Chasing all these bugs into the good trees, the first trees they get to. So they're spreading it themselves. It's not the bugs itself. If they'd leave it alone and not spray anything on it, it would find another old tree to start chewing on it. But they don't do that.

Geoff: So do you think that oil and gas development is good or bad for the territory?

Margaret: Oh yes ... everything they are doing is ... the things they have done and yet doing it's destroying everything out there. Like the old people, if they run out of tobacco ... there was little red berries, I don't know what they called it in English, out in the bush. They grow about that high and are just covered with little red berries. Those berries we used to pick it and they make jelly and stuff out of it ... jam. and the leaves, we would pull that off and then they bring that to the old people, then they would spread it out on a clean canvas, out in the sun, just spread it all out and let it dry up there, and after it's dried, they break it up like tobacco. And they put it in a basket, a birch bark basket they make. With a cover on it, they put it in there and

that's what they smoke. So things like that ... now you can't do nothing because everything is sprayed. And the juniper tops, that was the best thing for flu. We boil it on the stove, slowly simmer it, and the steam, steam from that, that you're breathing in, in the house. That's good for the sickness to get rid of it. Now you can't do that because they spray everything with poison out there. So what, everything they touch, ... they are ruining everything. So what is left for people, for their health and stuff like that ... and their kids? pretty soon there will be no ... well we're dying as fast as it is, different ways, drugs, alcohol and now old people, real old people, like Ronny (sp?) was 107 when she died. Most of the old people, I guess, were over a hundred. They never sit around, always busy doing things, working, working on garden, tanning hides. Then they go for walks, take kids for long walks, not on pavement, gravel road, but then they say gravel is hard on legs, hips and knees. So they take us out in the bush, where the ground is soft, with spring when you walk on it, you could walk all day and never get tired. Which is, you find a difference. (laughter) on pavement you can see the steam coming out of it. Oh ... and kids have too ... well most of them run around with no shoes, barefooted and stuff.

I don't know there isn't anything worthwhile ... we used to have canvas runners with rubber on the bottom. And then they tan the hide, ready tan hide, they cut the shape of that shoe, and then they put it in our shoes so it'll be soft, springy when we're walking with it. So thing like that, they had different things for different ways of doing things. But not anymore, look at those big heavy things kids wear on their feet, how ... I don't know. I feel sorry for when I see them try to walk ... big thick soles (laughter) but I guess that's the style they like, that's all they can get anyway. And same with the clothes.

Geoff: Do you think you can have development and protect the land?

Margaret: Oh I don't think so ... because that's another thing they told us there again. They must have meant generation ... we were just young kids, never thought about family. ... going to school and everything and they told us, they tell you something, what's ahead for you. There's you, like us, your kids, their kids, and their kids, in between this here, they must have meant generation. In between here. Your kids are gonna be completely lost, right out of this world. Sickness ... no ... what your taught since you're a kid, you will try it, we taught you to all love one another. Everybody have respect for one another, the way you want to be respected. And the third is share what little you have with everybody else that needs it. Don't think I'm gonna have more than you, don't ever think that. Because in that time there, this is what the white people is gonna do. What we taught you is completely gone. There is going to be no god, money is going to be the god of all people. Well it is here. Money is their god. The second one to them, is greed, third one is power. Those are the three your kids are going to get sucked into. And they are going to be completely get lost, their life is finished there. So how did they think of all those things ... way ahead of time like that. And then while having children is the same thing have all when you are old enough and get married you have all the children you can have, because they will up keep this land for you. This is what you have to do and teach them the right thing,

and not being greedy. Teach them how to do all the things we told you to do, try and keep them away from those three things that's going to be out there. And that's just the way it is now. So I had to be generation. The way she was putting fingers out and telling us stuff like that. But ... like before we could go out as young as we were, we go out and set snares, if we catch a rabbit we bring it home, that's our food. Big family everyone. ... (end of side one tape)

Side two B side

Yea there was always good foods and what they taught us and schooled us in a way and then we passed it on to our kids and so on, so everything was good. And then if we wanted grouse all we had to do is take a 22 (gun) go out in the bush ... see a grouse, you shoot one, and if you need two, you get two, then you come back. Because everything was nice and clean out in the bush, what you eat. Look at now, with all that spray ... All the food and everything is gone ... nothing. Then they kick for that little bit of fish that person, that's it. The only thing that person can live by. You can't go out and kill a moose, you get in trouble. And if you do kill that moose you don't know what ... what they shoot into them. So you're not safe anyway. This is what makes it so bad for everyone now, I don't know. I really feel sorry for her. And all this war, always killing one another. There again all this flu and stuff going around, Spanish flu they said when that war broke out. That's when Spanish flu hit. Cause all these rotten bodies there, they're rotting and they're not going to bury them all, they are rotting out there and the wind picks the fume up, and the wind blows anywhere it wants to blow. And that's the one the spreading all this sickness, it's not people bringing it in, because most of them are dead. It's the wind that carries that, so if they can stop the wind ... or stop the water while kill and kill and kill. Oh boy, it's heart breaking to see those little kids. Kills small little kids for no reason at all. And the second world war it was the same damn thing. That's it. Killed a lot of people there again. So everywhere, I don't know, every way you turn and then that pitch, that jack pine pitch we made cream out of it and then we eat mostly dried meat, dry fish and dry berries and it gets stuck between our teeth. So after we eat, after we get through eating, they give us one pebble and oh is it ever sticky, and they make us chew at the table. Chew and chew and then it starts softening up, and then a little softer by the time it picks out all the stuff between your teeth that was stuck, it looks like ... what the heck you call it, chewing gum ... Dentyne. and it's sweet like Dentyne is, it turns like that. Then you throw it away and it takes all that. That was another thing again in school in South Fort. The teacher used to have our name on the board on the far side. Up on the board and she would stick a little star next to it everyday, she'd look at our teeth to see if we had clean teeth. And all the natives, (laughter) captain brown's dark kids, we had all the stars, and all the stars sometime the other names, so when the dentist came to check once a month, he was talking to the teacher. He said, "You know, all these two tribes like natives and dark ones, they got nothing but stars and the others had the odd star, I wonder what kind of toothpaste they are using." "Geesh" she said, "I never asked, but you can ask them." So he got up and he asked the natives and the dark guys, "what kind of tooth paste do you kids use?" and then we said, "we don't use toothpaste." (Dentist) "How come

your teeth are all ... after he checked it, how come your teeth are nice and clean like that, you know what I am talking about, those brush the tooth and paste?"(children) "Oh yea, we see that in the store" (Dentist) "Is that what you use?" we told him no, (Dentist) "What do you use then to keep your teeth so nice and clean?"and my cousin Bernice, she said, "you have to go ask our Granny, the ones that is looking after us, she told us we can't say anything about things, you have to ask her first." (Dentist) "You mean you're all at that old ladies place?" (children)"Yes our parents are working elsewhere and they can't stay home and look after us. They got their homes in South Fort but they are out somewhere working." So he said, "I think I will take them back to the old lady, and ask the old lady, cause they wouldn't say anything. Might as well close the school for today." So he came down with us, Granny was still sewing away. He said, "I came back with the kids." (Granny) she said, "I see that, were they bad in school?" (Dentist) "No, it's about their teeth and we asked them what kind of tooth paste they use and brush, cause they have got nice clean teeth and solid teeth." She looked at him and laughed, she said, "You're the dentist you should know all them things." (laughter). She said, "I am not a dentist, but" (she said) "I look for things something that can help them. (Dentist) "Yes, but what is it?" She told my cousin, "get that tray over here." So she brought out that pitch balls, you take down ... rub your teeth with it." "Granny" he said, "is something wrong with your head?" (laughter) She said, "No, you have got to rub something like that on kids teeth." Then she told him what she does, make us do. Oh boy he couldn't get over that one. He said, "Where do you pick up all these things?" She said, "We tried different things, not only me, a lot of the old people my age. We are always finding something that's good for things, find different ways." (Dentist). "Well you must have a lot of sure cures for different sickness." She started laughing, "You think you are gonna live forever?" she said, "We're all gonna die, there's a time where we are all going to die. When its time for us, we die." She said, "You don't need ... You can rub all the pitch gum on your teeth and stuff like that, and drink all the medicine." She said, "Its not going to make you live forever," she said, "We are made to die, even Christ died, do you remember that." (laughter) so that was the end of that.

But things like that was, it was good because it came in handy in a lot of ways, and UNBC they asked me a lot of questions, but Granny said "don't give them to much out when they ask you," "what will happen," she said, "They always write and write and what's going to happen is you give too much out. They'll write a book. Make up something and say 'I found that and I thought about this and I made it.' And she said, "who makes all that money?" Here it goes ... so all those things she said are true. (laughter)

Margaret: Ya she used to think about all kinds of things.

Geoff: What do you think the biggest hurdle for the Lheidli T'enneh community is right now?

Margaret: Oh boy ... I don't know ... they're having problems with everything and one another, if you don't get along. You got to get along and talk things over. And see which way

is the best way to do things. There's none of that up there. This ... there no good for it, for us here ... always putting one another down and I don't know why they are like that. It would be nice if they were all, if they all worked together and see which is the best way out and discussed it. But when will that be ... it's too bad. And the younger set they hear these things, the thing they use to talk about at home, so naturally they're going to pick it up and they are going to be the other way around too. So there's ... yes, it would be nice if all just get down together and discuss things nicely and not argue about things. You never make anything go right if you are arguing about every little thing that happens. Things happen different ways happen, but after it's discussed, you find out well this was wrong, we shouldn't have done that, we shouldn't have said that. And straighten that out, that would help a lot.

Yes, it's too bad, I wish, just hope and pray that they do things the right way. Because they are all together and they have to work together. That was another word Granny used to say, "Don't ever use that word, that you hear other kids use, or even the older ones you hear, 'I hate that person, I hate this, I hate that,'" she said, "That's a deadly word, that word hate. Say I don't like it like that, I don't think I want it that way." But she said "Don't use the word hate." That was the other thing she used to tell us, "it's a deadly word for everybody that" ... which I believe. And the other thing again that she used to always tell us, if somebody says something about you, which there is a lot of that on different reserves, you're watching one another, she watched this person doing or something like that ... oh another said that about you. Telling ... passing the word to somebody else. So that person would be told to that, and she said "that's the worst thing you can do." She says, "Somebody comes and tells you, 'Well that one said that about you,' just smile and say 'That's ok' 'If I were you I wouldn't talk to that one because she said that about you.' 'No its ok." And next time you meet those people that were supposed to put you down, what you were told, you meet them with a smile, talk to them nicely, and if they did, they will think "Gee ... I said that about that one and I shouldn't have done that, and she says "Some of them will come around and apologize and it would always work out somehow. And that's another thing that they have to learn how to do. They don't hear them only what they hear other people say that what they say and stuff like that. They start having problems over nothing. Maybe its not even true".

Geoff: When did you meet the queen?

Margaret: When ....

Geoff: She opened the university?

Margaret: Yea

Geoff: What was your impression of her?

Margaret: We were out at the airport when she came. She was nice, very nice friendly (laughter) she asked Phyllis, my niece was with me, she asked Phyllis if there was a

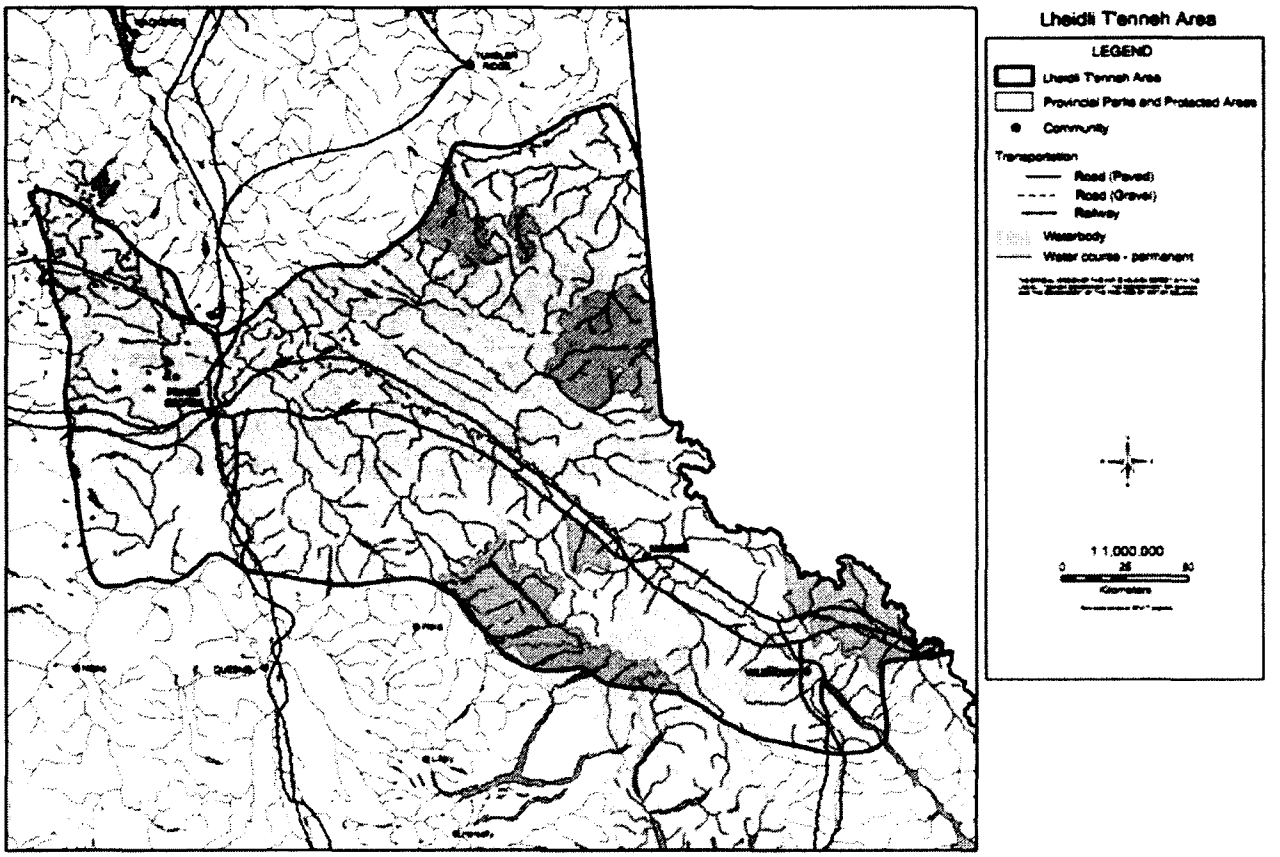
name in Indian for Queen. Phyllis looked at me and said "Is there?" "No", I said, "but they just say that you are coming and you are telling the old people that you are coming, they didn't say queen, they said, 'that woman with a higher name than us.' I said that's the way they were discussing it. (Queen) she said, "Yes it's my name that is higher, not me, it's my name." and she laughed about it and that's all. She was nice.

Yes and that first year I went there to the university, I had to get after these young people in First Nations ... as soon as the principle was coming through that door, he liked to joke, coming through that door in the morning, laughing like heck, he comes through the door and started teasing me. And I tease him back. He turned and walks to talk to these younger girls and they turn to the wall with ... they don't want to say hello, good morning or nothing. And then when he goes close to them asking them what they think about certain things, they dropped their head and that's where their heads stayed. They wouldn't look at him. They wouldn't answer him. That why I had a hard time with it all and it never worked out for him. I said, "Why, why do you do that?" and you know what they told me, "Because I am an Indian." I said, "that's what I am, he knows we are all natives. He knows what we are." I said, "Everybody knows who we are." I said," "Would you like it if he comes running in here, 'Good morning you Indians." I said, "Would you feel better that way." (girls) "No" ... "well don't be like that" I said, "Don't, meet him with a smile and joke with him. Like he does with you. When he asks you a question, tell him what you think or which way you want things." I said, "You can't drop your head every time somebody comes in to ask you something." Bruce [Allen] and I had a hard time with them we couldn't get them to, it's always because of this. Everybody knows what we are.

So what else. Can't think of anything else.

Appendix D

Lheidli T'enneh Territory



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Appendix E

Definitions

Band: A group of people for whom lands have been set apart and for whom money is held in trust by the Crown. Each band has its own governing council usually consisting of a chief and several council members who are elected through either Indian Act or custom elections. The term band is used interchangeably with First Nation.

Band Council: The band council comprises those members elected pursuant to the regulations to hold the offices of chief and councilor, who are empowered to act on behalf of the "First Nation" according to the inherent powers and authorities and pursuant to the Indian Act. band member A band member is a person who is registered as a member of a particular band. This membership is pursuant to the band's membership code.

CHIEF: The chief is the elected leader of a First Nation community and is brought to office through either custom or an Indian Act election.

FIRST NATION: A First Nation is a band under the Indian Act if one of three criteria applies: it has a reserve; it has governance trust funds for its use; or it has been declared to be a band by the federal cabinet.

INDIAN RESERVE: A tract of land, the legal title of which is held by the Crown, set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian band. The reserve has its own local administration.

The Definitions of Terms are from:

Voyageur, Cora. (2008). FireKeepers of the Twenty-First Century: First Nations Women Chiefs. Montreal, QC: McGill- Queen's University Press. p. xx, xviiii, p 20.

Appendix F- Oil and Gas Impacts Table

Wildlife	▪ Altered animal migration patterns and changes in the behaviour of species ▪ Wildlife population decline (animals move away or die) ▪ Loss, damage and/or fragmentation to wildlife habitat ▪ Loss of fish and fish habitat ▪ Deterioration of the natural environment ▪ Disruption of food webs ▪ Encroachment in areas of potentially high bio-diversity ▪ Contamination and degradation of natural water supplies ▪ Animals and plants contaminated -- cumulative impacts on the food chain, from soil to human
Harvesting	▪ Development conflicts with harvesting practices and activities ▪ Restricted access can disrupt harvesting activities ▪ Loss or damage to property or equipment used in wildlife harvesting (for example, poaching, vandalism to traps and trap lines) ▪ Sports hunters impact an area by taking game from the region ▪ First Nations hunters must travel greater distances for traditional economic activities ▪ Disconnection between youth and elders due to loss of traditional activities and culture change ▪ Erosion of the mixed economy ▪ There is a point where development can completely undermine life on the land
Social Fabric/Health	▪ Negative effects on human health, well-being, and quality of life ▪ Accelerated culture change ▪ New living patterns will result in the loss of the old patterns ▪ Dislocation of well-established traditional social obligations and domestic responsibilities ▪ Social cohesiveness issues (e.g. increased alcohol and drug abuse leading to other impacts such as child neglect) ▪ Increased hardship among people who rely on resources as a primary or secondary source of diet and income (ie. loss of trapping-related income) ▪ Negative impact on the ability of future generations to care for themselves in either the traditional way on the land or in the cash economy ▪ Increased stress on the existing infrastructure from in-flow and out-flow of non resident worker migration

Aboriginal and/or Treaty Rights:	▪ Decrease in land base, fragmentation, and contamination causing adverse impacts to the practice of rights ▪ Excluded in the planning of development, in management, and in protection of land where Aboriginal and Treaty rights are practiced ▪ Infringement to Aboriginal treaty rights where development impairs the ability of Aboriginal Peoples to continue with traditional hunting and gathering activities ▪ Long-term alienation/depression ▪ Spiritual connection to the land and other important values are impacted ▪ Frustration in consultation, land use planning, failure to recognize rights ▪ Fatigue from constantly fighting for rights ▪ Roadblocks and court challenges as a result of frustration
Employment and Training	▪ Training was "too little too late" ▪ Skilled jobs go to "outsiders" ▪ Training often highly bureaucratized (funding agents, industrial representatives, various levels of government) ▪ No skills or employment training that could provide lasting long-term benefits because there are few jobs after the construction phase of many oil and gas projects ▪ In Fairbanks, youth were employed in low-paying jobs as others left to work for industry -- both positive and negative effects felt ▪ In Fairbanks, youth found employment in wage labour can undermine the traditional forms of economy, and impact other areas of life, for example education ▪ Norman Wells Project produced little benefit in terms of increased employment for youth and Native men ▪ Abele (1989) reports that during the construction phase of the Norman Wells project, Esso Resources accepted work experience in lieu of formal academic qualifications, but during the operations phase, all employees were required to have completed secondary school ▪ Women had a difficult time finding full-time employment during the construction phase of Norman Wells ▪ Racism, tokenism and discrimination often occurred during training and/or employment
Spills and Accidents	▪ Often a lack of quick co-ordinated emergency response ▪ People living in fear around gas plants and pipelines

	▪ People have experienced danger as the result of oil and gas surrounding communities ▪ Polluted environment that is difficult to cleanse after a spill has occurred ▪ Pipelines and gas facilities are vulnerable to vandalism making them a dangerous neighbour

From Aasen and Hughes, Development Leads to Development, unpublished CSTC Report, 2005.