

# RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND THE MI'KMAQ NATION

**Suzanne Berneshawi**

Environment Canada  
45 Alderney Drive  
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia  
Canada, B2Y 2N6

## **Abstract / Resume**

This paper examines the active and effective involvement of the Mi'kmaq Nation in the resource management process within Nova Scotia. Historical and, to some extent, current management approaches taken by government departments run counter to those traditionally practised by Mi'kmaq People. Resource managers are beginning to recognize the benefits of Mi'kmaq traditional knowledge, wisdom and world view as they relate to natural resource management, conservation and use. This paper examines the principles of both the existing system and the Mi'kmaq system and the implementation of an inclusive management system.

Cet article examine le rôle actif de la Mi'kmaq Nation dans le processus gestionnaire des ressources en Nouvelle-Écosse. Les anciennes approches gestionnaires et, des fois, celles qui sont actuelles et pratiquées par les départements gouvernementaux, contredisent les approches traditionnelles du peuple Mi'kmaq. Les gérants des ressources commencent à reconnaître les avantages des connaissances traditionnelles Mi'kmaq, de leur sagesse et de leur perspective du monde telles qu'elles s'appliquent à la gestion, à la conservation et à l'usage des ressources naturelles. Cet article examine les principes et du système actuel et de celui des Mi'kmaq, et il considère l'exécution d'un système gestionnaire compréhensif.

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Where the Environment is concerned, Nature's laws are paramount. But in the Western cultural tradition of the last century or two, "Man" has seen himself as paramount, and Nature has been relegated to a back seat (Peet and Peet, 1990).

Resource use, harvest and management intrinsically evolve and develop along with the needs and demands of cultures and societies which rely upon them for survival. This is especially true for First Nations communities who rely on natural areas within their ancestral lands for both resource use and cultural sustenance. Thus, this relationship between culture and resource is important to consider when developing programs, strategies and/or policies aimed at regulating natural resource activities. The increasing demand for both territory and resources within Canada presents irrefutable challenges to current resource managers who must negotiate with an increasingly complex myriad of user groups, stakeholders, First Nations, industries, governments and political leaders.<sup>1</sup>

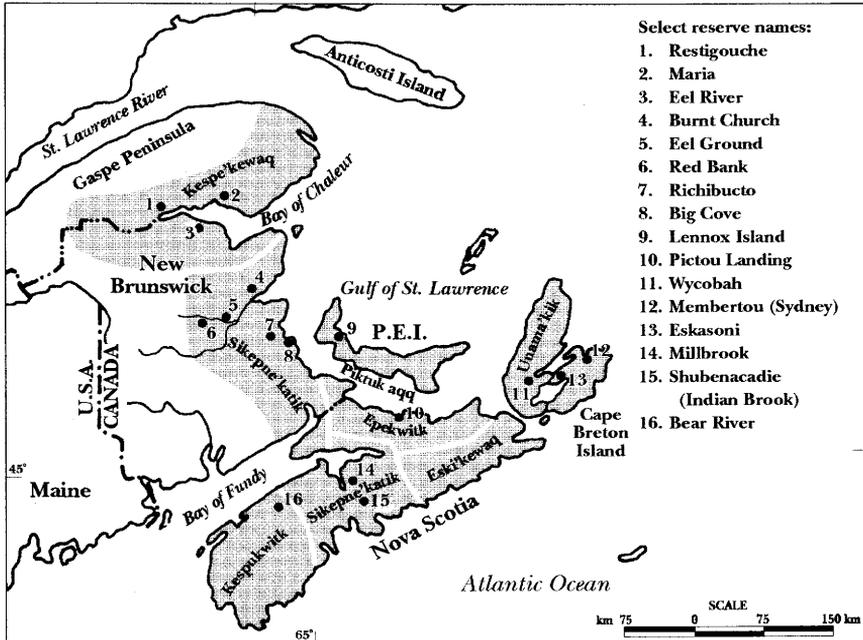
Historical environmental management practices in both the Atlantic region and Canada, in general, failed to consider the cultural, spiritual and social importance of both land and its natural resources to First Nations. This is a direct result of the insufficient number, or exclusion of, First Nations' representation in the resource management process. This, in turn, has led to negligent decisions where Native lands are concerned stemming from misconceptions and a poor understanding of the needs, concerns and interests of the communities.

The Mi'kmaq Nation, to date, has not been actively involved in government initiated resource management and conservation programs. Involvement must go beyond consultation or tokenism. Involvement, in the context of this discussion, is defined as equal representation, full participation and equal authority in decision-making, planning and policy development. This translates to the acknowledgement of Mi'kmaq people as a Nation with an ancestral relationship and inherent right to their traditional lands. Mi'kmaq representatives must be actively involved in the management process if it is to succeed.

This discussion begins with a brief introduction to the Mi'kmaq Nation, followed by a discussion on resource management and the involvement of Mi'kmaq representatives. This analysis is for the Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton in particular. Although the Mi'kmaq communities in Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Quebec and New Brunswick are all part of the same Nation, their political and environmental circumstances are too lengthy for this discussion.

## Background: The Mi'kmaq People and Their Land

The Mi'kmaq are a north-eastern Algonquian-speaking People who, along with the Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Penobscot, Wonenock and Abenaki Nations form the Wabanaki Confederacy of the eastern board of North America (Union of Nova Scotia Indians, 1976; Robertson, 1969). The Mi'kmaq Nation has inhabited the Eastern Coast of Turtle Island, the North American land mass, since time immemorial, and thus developed an intimate and ancient relationship with the land and sea. *Mi'kmak'ik* (ancestral Mi'kmaq territory) encompassed over fifty thousand square miles covering what is today all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, northern and eastern New Brunswick (outside the Saint John River Valley) and the southern and eastern shores of the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec (Upton, 1979; Bock, 1978; Robertson, 1969). *Mi'kmak'ik* was partitioned into seven distinct political districts (Native Council of Nova Scotia, 1993b) (Figure 1): *Kespukwitk*, *Sikepne'katik*, *Eski'kewaq*, *Unama'kik* (now Cape Breton Island, the "head-district" and residence of the Grand Chief and council), *Piktuk aqq Epekwitk*, *Sikniktewaq* and *Kespe'kewaq*.<sup>2</sup>



The traditional socio-political organization consisted of hereditary Local, District and Grand Chiefs. The Local Chief took care of village affairs within a given territory, along with a Council of Elders. The District Chief presided over all Local Chiefs within a given political district. The Grand Chief presided over all Chiefs and along with other Chiefs and their families, made up the Grand Council. The Grand Chief had the power to assign hunting and fishing territories and was the official spokesperson for the Nation with the power to make treaties with other First Nations and subsequently, with European governments (Christmas, 1988). As a result of European expansion and colonization, traditional political structures were replaced with elected Band Councils and Chiefs, as dictated in the *Indian Act* and *Mi'kmak'ik* was divided into the four existing Atlantic provinces. These modern boundaries neither respected nor recognized the political divisions already in place. Although the political system today differs from traditional times, Mi'kmaq people have, for the most part, maintained their practice of delegating the community voice to those who represent their respective Bands.

The social organization of the Mi'kmaq Nation was matriarchal, egalitarian and family centred, where living with extended families was commonplace. Strong family units ensured the survival of the culture. Since the village's well-being overrode individual needs, sharing and communal ownership of resources were also essential for survival. There was no hierarchical authority and decisions were made by consensus, which reinforced respect for the individual and fostered a sense of respect and equality (Brown, 1990).

*Mi'kmak'ik* was held in communal ownership and did not belong to any particular person since it was believed that the land was inherited from their ancestors and in turn, would be passed on to their grandchildren for their use and survival. This is part of Natural law and supersedes any laws created by man; that is, laws made by a government to rule people must be made in accordance with Natural law. Natural resources, renewable or non-renewable, are considered gifts from the Creator that can neither be bought nor sold (Lyons, 1984). The philosophy of community heritage of the land and the natural resources therein encourages the view that neither can ever truly be owned or sold. Consequently, neither land nor its resources are viewed as a commodity, and the philosophy of responsible stewardship is practised in accordance with the concept of *Netukulimk*.

What is now referred to as "resource management", Mi'kmaq people call *Netukulimk*. This is a term rich in meaning, and encompasses many concepts, one being the "Mi'kmaq way of harvesting resources without jeopardizing the integrity, diversity or productivity of our environment,"

(Mi'kmaq Fisheries, 1993). It embodies the sharing of the "natural bounty of the [C]reator for self-support and the well-being of the individual and the community at large," (Native Council of Nova Scotia, 1993a). The land, her resources and the doctrine of *Netukulimk* are inherited from Mi'kmaq forefathers and are passed down through the generations by Elders and parents. Consequently, land and land tenure are the custodial responsibility of the community. Land is held "in trust" for future generations. It enables the present generation to survive without threatening that of future generations. Without access to natural resources and areas, the inherent right to survival of the seventh generation is denied.

Resource use and harvest differed from current mainstream practices in that it was limited to the immediate needs for survival, leaving the rest for future generations. Harvesting activities were accompanied by certain rites in the form of ceremonies and prayers as an offering of thanks. These rituals honoured respect and gratitude to the Great Spirit and Mother Earth "from whom we get all, and to whom we give all, and to whom we all return..." (Chief Mills as quoted by Campis, 1991).

Mi'kmaq culture *is* oral tradition. Ancestral knowledge encompasses not only environmental information, but includes the culture, religion, heritage and history of the Nation. It is a means of identity, education and ties to Mi'kmaq ancestry. It is passed down through the generations by Elders and parents orally<sup>3</sup> and is vital for a sense of honour and place. Stories, legends, songs, chants and dances are the traditional forms of education. The importance of oral tradition is its guidance; its effectiveness lies in the careful and gentle manner that Elders tell the stories and sing the songs of their ancestors.<sup>4</sup>

Elders are the key to the past, and the road to the future. Elders who speak "from and in the Spirit of our Forefathers are the only ones we can look to for direction. They are our link with the Creator, and our Forefathers, and they are what will join us through their Life-Force for our Children" (Robinson and Quinney, 1985). Marshall (1991) explains that respecting Elders is very important to Mi'kmaq People since they

... not only hold the knowledge of our ancestors, they have the language through which the knowledge must be imparted through youth. Their years of searching, listening, experiencing and understanding all that is bodily, emotionally and spiritually possible, grants them the wisdom and strength needed by our youth to become good Mikmaqs. Elders are the keepers of the sacred lessons of tribal and global harmony for all living things within the environment.

Elders are instrumental in passing on the cultural, historical, spiritual, and ancestral knowledge to the younger generation. Elders are the keepers of Tribal Wisdom, as they have spent their lives listening, learning and gaining invaluable knowledge; thus their guidance and advice is vital to the younger generation (see Stiegelbauer, 1996). When this lifeline is severed, the younger generation's knowledge of their cultural traditions and the relationship with the land which sustains them is lost and the future of the Nation is jeopardized (see Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993; York, 1992).

## Natural Relationships and World Views

Mi'kmaq wisdom teaches that relationships found within Nature are inherently circular, interconnected, and all-inclusive, including those with and between human beings. Spiritual life is everywhere, everything in the universe has a spirit and is alive. The physical and spiritual worlds are married to the present; thus the conjecture of the "supernatural" was not observed. Mi'kmaq people "...lived and died within the constraints of the world as they found it. They made no attempt to change the natural order to suit the convenience of human beings, for man was only one part of a totally interdependent system that saw all things, animate and inanimate, in their proper places..." (Upton, 1979). As no hierarchy was ever established within Creation, Mi'kmaq people have no assumptions of superiority over other life forms. All of creation is sacred and should be treated with respect and honour. This tenet advocates a kinship alliance with all beings. Respect for and appreciation of Mother Earth and all that the Creator (*Niscaminou*) gives is instilled at a very young age by parents and Elders.

This spiritual relationship with land is vital for keeping a close relationship with nature and the Creator. Erdoes (1989) explains that "[the] relationship to the Earth, the winds, and the animals is intimate and intensely personal, closely related to their sacred beliefs. This relationship arises out of their environment.... It arises out of their nature-related language and out of age-old oral traditions passed on from generation to generation." The original name for the North American landmass, Turtle Island, illustrates this further. Calvin Pompana, a Dakota Pipe Carrier, (as quoted by Robinson and Quinney, 1985) eloquently explains its meaning:

In the teachings of our Elders, the term or expression "Turtle Island" to describe what is now referred to as North America, is universal among the various Tribes and Nations that belong to it. The Turtle in the Indian World of Understanding represents Wisdom, Knowledge, Respect and Patience for all that is life. The physical formation of this Sacred Being came to those

people that are gifted with powers and knowledge through Spiritual communications with their grandfathers in the Spirit World. The Sacred Turtle came to our people a long time ago, and the formation of this Sacred Being with the ability to live both in Water and Land now called North America. The Turtle is also an important part of all ceremonies among many of the Tribes of this great Island.

Spirituality, relationship to land, and the doctrines of Native thought are generally poorly understood by non-Native people. For many non-Native people it is difficult to understand how the plants and animals, the winds and spirits, the land and sky bind Native people to their land on a spiritual level.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there is a general lack of understanding of how dispossession of land, either through dismissed land claims or land transfers for development and/or resource harvest, has a substantial impact on First Nation communities.<sup>6</sup> Maintaining a spiritual relationship with the land is vital for keeping a close relationship with nature and the Creator. When this relationship is lost or severed, then a person or community is said to experience spiritual loss, eventually leading to spiritual illness<sup>7</sup> (Marshall, 1990).

Cultural paradigms determine the relationship between people and nature. Clements (1991) puts forth the notion that "[i]f culture expresses the relationships between the individual, the collective, and the natural and spiritual worlds, then the primary feature of Native culture<sup>8</sup> (to an outsider) is their lack of self-definition in terms of territorial sovereignty." This is very important as it verbalizes the view that First Nations' sovereignty over land and culture is grossly misrepresented and poorly understood.

The dominant Western world view denies itself a spiritual connection to the land by subscribing to the view that the earth and all the life it sustains is separate from themselves, both physically and spiritually. Basically, only people possess a spirit, or soul, and are capable of thinking and feeling (DeFavri, 1984). Therefore, molestation of the earth and its resources does not translate into the molestation of human spirits. Only within the last couple of decades have the impacts of environmental degradation on the human physiology and psychology been investigated and linked.

### **Inclusive Management as a Vehicle for Change**

We cannot ignore the fact that, as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, we are faced with a difficult legacy arising in part from a history of classic conflicts between settlers and [I]ndigenous peoples within our borders... To bring about a reconciliation, we need a new way of relating to one another; it must

recognize the many commonalities shared by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people—but it must also recognize the difference between them (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993).

Natural resource use and harvest, conservation, development and management are facing a new generation of issues and challenges, such as environmental protection, conservation and quality, economics, politics and population dynamics, which are taxing heavily upon nature and her resources. These factors have evolved, and are still evolving, over many generations; there is no immediate antidote, no simple solution. The historical view that nature's bounty is "endless" has lulled us into a false sense of security; in reality, the demand for natural resources (both renewable and non-renewable) is exceeding that which nature can meet comfortably. Consummate reliance on natural resources for monetary gains, economic renewal and/or political leverage all too often results in over exploitation, environmental degradation, environmental racism and endangered species. In light of the present state of the environment, there is a strong movement towards improving environmental quality through environmental remediation, pollution prevention and the sustainable use and wise management of natural resources. The tolerance level for poor environmental management, development activities and harvesting practices is very low and as a result there is a dramatic increase in the number of non-governmental environmental organizations (ENGOS), community-based groups, and to some extent, "greener" governmental and company policies.

These changes in attitude and process are based primarily on the philosophy of responsibility and accountability to future generations, and a desire to return to grass-roots systems. As a result, all eyes are turning to First Nations, and Indigenous People world wide, for their ancestral wisdom, insights and philosophies about Mother Earth, the natural relationships found therein and the spiritual link between humans and the natural world. However, environmental management strategists, as well as environmental organizations, promoting "grass-roots" approaches practised by First Nations must understand and accept "that the land, which holds so much attention, importance and value, comes with a people and culture already attached. Mainstream governments and its citizens can never separate us from the Land; our Home and Relations" (gkisedtanamoogk, 1993).

Inclusive management, within the context of this discussion, refers to harmonization, reevaluation and respecting the various management philosophies. This includes the technologies, knowledge, wisdom, data, data collection and analysis and science of both the Western and Indigenous systems. Inclusive management should neither favour or promote one

system in isolation of the other, nor have any bias or prejudice to avoid lop-sided management. Turpel (1992) points out that "... [A]boriginal peoples have historically demonstrated a capacity to manage marine and other natural resources and their expertise should not be regulated to a role subservient to western scientific approaches...". The notion that First Nations are "ecological noble savages" with an ancestral knowledge base for effective management but lack the skills for management is both outdated and unacceptable (see Buege, 1996). A management system should not integrate First Nations traditional knowledge while neglecting First Nations people themselves. The wisdom and philosophies found in First Nations ancestral knowledge are not mutually exclusive from the people who apply them in their communities and environments.

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), or ancestral knowledge fuses cultural, social and ecological histories. It is a means of communicating to and educating the younger generation on all aspects of the plants, animals, landscape and important dynamics within the environment they live. This wisdom is ancestral but by no means static, changing with the landscape and the societies which rely on it. The usefulness and importance of this knowledge, both in scientific and management circles, was historically overlooked as it did not conform to Western scientific and/or management paradigms. However, scientists working in the Canadian Arctic first acknowledged the usefulness and applicability of the Inuit's understanding of the land, animals and landscape to their research. This knowledge and information provided closure to the gaps in their knowledge base of the Arctic ecosystem and provided essential input into areas unbeknownst to scientists and resource managers (see Freeman, 1992, *Northern Perspectives*, 1992).

The wisdom, insight and understanding of the relationships among land, animals and people that ancestral knowledge offers to the management process and use of natural resources<sup>9</sup> is unique and timely (Tsuji, 1996). Table 1 outlines the fundamental differences between Indigenous and traditional Western scientific knowledge systems; however, one must recognize the strengths and weaknesses of both and avoid advocating one approach in isolation of the other (Kuhn and Duerden, 1996; DeWalt, 1994; Berkes *et al.*, 1991).

The Native scientist understands the behaviours, characteristics, population dynamics, and most importantly the interconnectedness of the plants and animals within their environment, and in Nature as a whole. That is to say, he/she goes beyond the physical essence and feels the environment on a spiritual level (Colorado, 1992). The Western scientist, on the other hand, understands these parameters through literature analysis, laboratory

**Table 1: Tenets of Indigenous and Western Scientific Knowledge and Management Systems**  
(adapted from DeWalt, 1994 and Wolfe *et al.*, 1991)

	Indigenous	Western Scientific
<i>Relationship</i>	Kinship	Dominant
<i>Dominant Mode of Thinking</i>	Intuitive, holistic General	Analytical, segmented Specialized
<i>Communication and Learning</i>	Oral: storytelling, learn by doing Observational	Literate: academic, reading and interpretation Experimental
<i>Characteristics</i>	Holistic, subjective and spiritual	Reductionist, objective and physical
<i>Effectiveness</i>		
<i>Data Creation</i>	Slow and inclusive	Fast and selective
<i>Prediction</i>	Cyclical	Linear
<i>Explanation</i>	Spiritual, includes the inexplicable	Scientific Hypothesis, theory and laws
<i>Classification</i>	Ecological and inter-connected	Genetic and Hierarchical
<i>Principles</i>	Everything has a Spirit: the universe is alive  Nature-centred Culturally compatible Balance	Only humans possess a Spirit: animate and inanimate distinction  Anthropocentric Cultural disjunction Hierarchical systems
<i>Management Systems</i>	<b>Indigenous System</b> Long-term Decentralized, grass-roots Consensus-based, self-regulatory Nature-centred, relying heavily on ancestral knowledge	<b>State System</b> Short-term Centralized authority, bureaucratic Heavily regulated, enforcement Science driven, relying heavily on modern technology and knowledge

experiments, and field research. Although technological advancements have aided and furthered this knowledge, the foundation of Western science is objectiveness, leaving little room for intangible data, such as oral-based histories.

Inclusive management would recognize the value and significance of Mi'kmaq ancestral knowledge and the principles of *Netukulimk*, that is Mi'kmaq "science", in the resource management process. Mi'kmaq traditional ways offer a spiritual element lacking in the historical and current management and use of natural resources. They are deeply rooted in communal sharing, a nature-centred world view and a spiritual relationship with the land and its elements; thus offering a timely and unique perspective for effective management. This has resulted in the direct and indirect courting of Mi'kmaq representatives, who can impart this information to managers, and therefore, into the environmental management process. However, the commitment to develop strong working partnerships and/or provide proper training for environmental remediation and education at the community level is weak, at best. Naturally, Mi'kmaq representatives are reluctant to involve themselves in a process that does not or cannot provide tangible and productive results.

Inclusive management entails expanding the present knowledge base and inviting alternative approaches, skills and philosophies with the aim of improving and strengthening the whole process from conception to implementation. This propels the management system into a new era of resource management, and is a step towards alleviating the burden of generations of mismanagement. Since a lot of this mismanagement has occurred on or adjacent to First Nations lands, the development of stronger co-operative working relationships between Canadian (federal and provincial) and First Nations governments is essential. A popular tool for ensuring equal and effective First Nations participation and involvement is co-operative management agreements, or simply co-management. Co-management can work provided the participation and involvement of First Nations leaders and representatives is based on equality, respect and mutual understandings.

Co-management of natural resources has received much attention from government agencies and resource managers as a direct result of legislative and First Nations demands for involvement in their traditional territories (see Mathias and Pike, 1996; Sen and Nielsen, 1996; Aboriginal Issues Management Team, 1992; Berkes *et al.*, 1991 and Usher, 1986). First Nation communities across Canada are at varying stages of co-management agreements with the federal government. Some regions are more politically mature than others, due to extensive and lengthy land claims, as

in the Arctic and the Pacific Coast, while others are just beginning to enter into negotiations and/or agreements, as on the Atlantic coast.

Co-management of natural resources requires the recognition of the strengths of both the "indigenous or local" and "state" management systems (Table 1). This mutual recognition is essential for successful co-management negotiations for the basic underlying principles of each system differ. The local (Indigenous) system is decentralized, consensus-based and self-regulatory; conversely, the state (Western) system operates through centralized authority and scientific data, and relies heavily on regulation and enforcement (Berkes *et al.*, 1991). Also, the use of natural resources differs between Native and non-Native people or communities. For the Native user, natural resources maintain and affirm cultural and social identities, they are an "expression of personal and social identities". For the non-Native user, natural resources have a "recreational, aesthetic or ethical significance". Resource use does not depend on or define cultural identity, and those who use resources for subsistence aim to remove themselves from mainstream society and lifestyles (Usher, 1986). Therefore, co-management strategies should incorporate appropriate principles from both systems which best suit the situation, community and intensity of resource use and harvest within a given area. The state system alone is no longer an acceptable norm; the Indigenous system must be recognized and incorporated into current and future management regimes.

Genuine co-management requires the full involvement of First Nations partners as representatives of their governments; the achievement of co-management objectives requires full participation in the decision making processes relating to land and resource use, conservation and management within their traditional land areas. As Native cultures are deeply rooted in the land, it can be neither protected nor enhanced if the land and its resources are poorly managed (Task Force to Review the Comprehensive Claims Policy, 1985). This further supports the need for strengthening the development of working partnerships with Native people and communities.

The Green Plan, released in 1990 by the Canadian federal government, attempted to address this deficiency by outlining initiatives for strengthening partnerships with First Nation communities:

Canada's [A]boriginal communities have long understood the importance of resource management and environmental stewardship. Natives peoples depend upon nature for traditional and commercial activities and cultural well-being... [F]or environmental matters affecting Aboriginal Canadians to be resolved effectively and constructively, *Natives themselves must be active participants in decision-making processes as well as*

*implementation activities that affect their communities* (Government of Canada, 1990, emphasis added).

The Plan inspired several government departments to develop pro-active and inclusive policies and strategies which aimed at increasing First Nations involvement in environmental co-management processes.<sup>10</sup> On the whole, this process is still evolving; one cannot expect ingrained attitudes and low tolerance levels to be remedied by policies or strategies, regardless of how pro-active they are. Mutual education and an increased level of awareness must accompany, or precede in some cases, these policies (Berneshawi, 1995).

Before effective co-management can proceed, one must understand that "the words 'resource' and 'management' imply a human superiority incompatible with holistic values espoused by many traditional people" (Shapcott, 1989). The use of bureaucratized words and terms adds another layer of restraint, upon which western managers tend to rely heavily. Shapcott (1989) also remarks that "Native people tend to speak from wisdom, and non-Natives from knowledge." Wisdom encompasses knowledge, experience and learning accrued through many years of studentship of all that surrounds us: thus knowledge alone is not enough and can not provide the necessary underpinning for effective management. It is equally imperative that communication issues are addressed in advance to avoid misunderstandings, such as those which plague the interpretation of historic treaties, promises and other agreements (Old Person, 1984).

Developing reliable working partnerships between First Nations and governmental or NGO representatives will not be without its obstacles and growing pains. An impressive example of such a co-management exercise between First Nations and the provincial government comes out of Northern Ontario. Here, the province, in partnership with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai Nation (TAA), jointly manage the natural resources within TAA traditional territories.

## **Co-Management in Northern Ontario**

We—the First Nations and the Government of Ontario—now have a common basis of understanding to guide us in negotiations on self-government and land claims, in assessing Aboriginal and treaty rights and in making improvements to the quality of life in Aboriginal communities... That common basis is the recognition that First Nations are distinct nations with their governments, cultures, languages, traditions, customs and territories... We recognize that the inherency of the right of self-government is based on the First Nation's occupancy of

the land in self-governing societies for many centuries before non-Aboriginal settlers arrived (Wildman, 1991).

In the early 1990s, the governments of both Ontario and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) embarked upon a management process which recognized the inherent rights of First Nations while acknowledging their importance in resource management. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai (translated *Deep Water People*) entered into an agreement with the Ontario government to manage the land they call *N'Daki-Menan* (Our Land) transpiring from a 1991 Supreme Court decision on the Bear Island land claim case (Feilders, 1992). In mid 1990 the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the government of Ontario (the Ministers Responsible for Native Affairs and of Natural Resources) signed a Memorandum of Understanding which set up negotiations for co-management in *N'Daki-Menan*. The vehicle for joint management was the Treaty of Co-Existence which involved negotiations for developing general stewardship principles and shared decision-making authority (including public participation) within the southern two-thirds of the land mass (Ontario and Teme-Augama Anishnabai, 1993a; 1993b). The most noted outcome of this agreement was the development of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (WSA) with a mandate to "monitor, undertake studies of and plan for, all the uses of and activities on the land... and to plan, decide, implement, enforce, regulate and monitor all uses of and activities on the land within its area of jurisdiction", roughly 400 square kilometres (Ontario and Teme-Augama Anishnabai, 1991).

The WSA is not an advisory group, as are most resource management committees established in Canada involving Native people. The approach of the WSA in relation to Native involvement, participation and representation is unique as the Teme-Augama Anishnabai Nation is an integral member of the management team. There is equal representation on the board with a neutral chairperson who is jointly appointed by both governments (Wendaban Stewardship Authority, 1992, Ontario and Teme-Augama Anishnabai, 1991).

In concert with the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, the Comprehensive Planning Council for the Temagami region was created with wider local representation than the previous advisory council. It also plays a more significant role in resource management planning by taking a holistic approach. The council is responsible for developing a comprehensive plan for the management of all natural resources in Temagami—excluding the area managed by the WSA (Ontario, 1991).

The Northern Ontario approach towards co-management of lands and natural resources offers some guidance on how First Nations and government agencies can work together on co-operatively managing natural

resource issues. The two most significant ingredients to its success are the acknowledgement of the Teme-augama Anishnabai as a nation and the recognition of the inherent right to their traditional lands. Equally important was the acknowledgement that the Teme-augama Anishnabai *must* be actively involved—they are an important and integral partner in the process. This is a solid template for building honest working relationships between recognized and respected nations.

## **Moving East: The Mi'kmaq Nation in Nova Scotia**

In the summer of 1993, Nova Scotia Premier John Savage (also the Minister Responsible for Aboriginal Affairs) announced that “when a non-Native government deals with the Native community, the relationship is nation to nation...These are not discussions between a government and the citizens governed—these are negotiations between nations” (MacKeen, 1993). Negotiations with Mi'kmaq in Atlantic Canada formally began on October 1, 1993—the day Mi'kmaq people honour the Treaty of 1752<sup>11</sup>—and when the Premier publicly stated that the two groups “... can resolve the issues that are causing friction between the Native and non-Native communities in this province [Nova Scotia]” (MacKeen, 1993). He also acknowledged that no major strides towards negotiation between the Mi'kmaq Nation and the Nova Scotian government had taken place. As the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, he promoted the resolution of differences between the Native and non-Native communities and “intends to take the lead in resolving outstanding aboriginal issues” (Savage, 1993). He stated further that,

... [t]he time has come for all Nova Scotians, indeed all Canadians, to forge a new, lasting and honourable relationship with the First Nations of this land...A relationship built on respect, understanding and trust. After so many disappointments and betrayals, I know it is difficult for the First Nations to trust non-Native governments. We must look beyond the past, and into the future. Look upon today as a new beginning in your [Mi'kmaq Nation] relationship with the government of Nova Scotia (Savage, 1993).

These words encompass a variety of commitments: recognition as a nation, recognition of Mi'kmaq and treaty rights, resolving conflicts which thwart negotiations between non-Native and Mi'kmaq governments, and building solid, working relationships. These commitments vocalize the willingness and eagerness on the part of the Nova Scotia government to finally resolve long and over due conflicts regarding Native people and claims to their ancestral territory. There is much to learn from past dealings

with First Nations People; the history of treatment is both embarrassing and unjust. This commitment was seen as a first step towards building a working relationship, provided it was sincere.

An area of Nova Scotia that has received much attention in the area of resource management is the Bras d'Or lake and surrounding areas (*Pitu'poq*). The Bras d'Or lake, located on Cape Breton Island (*Unama'kik*), nestled in a sea of trees and beautiful landscapes, is an area rich in natural resources. Resource use activities within the area include forestry, mining, sport and commercial fisheries, agriculture, aquaculture and recreational and camping activities. The Bras d'Or lake region "plays a major environmental, economical, cultural tourism and recreational role in both Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia. In the context of its resource base, the watershed is an intensively used environmental and economic resource" (Taylor, 1991). The entire watershed covers the southern one third of Cape Breton Island spanning 3,600 square kilometres. The lake is referred to as an inland sea or a large estuary, with connections to the ocean through three watersheds. Nearly 18,000 people live in and around the area and hundreds of thousands more come to visit the lake and the surrounding nature area annually.

The Bras d'Or lake region is home to four Mi'kmaq bands: Wycobah, Wagmatcook, Eskasoni and Chapel Island. There are other Reserves, such as Malagawatch Island on the lake, with no permanent residency but which are used for traditional seasonal hunting and fishing. Eskasoni is the largest Mi'kmaq Reserve in Nova Scotia with a population of over 2,500 people. Chapel Island is considered sacred and is visited by many Mi'kmaq people each summer for the Saint Anne's festival. The fifth Cape Breton Reserve, Membertou (Sydney) is outside the Bras d'Or lake area; however, traditional users still frequent the area. Non-Native residents, home and cottage owners also live within the lake region.

Effective management in the Bras d'Or lake region was made difficult by several circumstances. The first was a lack of control over development and planning in many areas of the watershed, and as a result development requirements were met with either a building permit or other minimum standards. This resulted in development taking place without a good understanding of impacts, which in turn, negatively impacted on the environment, and in some cases, the economy. Another complication was the array of groups present in the immediate area: four municipalities (Cape Breton, Richmond, Victoria and Inverness), four Mi'kmaq bands (Chapel Island, Wycobah, Wagmatcook and Eskasoni) and numerous federal and provincial departments and agencies (Taylor, 1991). Each group has jurisdiction and interests that may vary from one another, to different

degrees, which can lead to impasses during the decision-making process, or further frustrate the management process.

In 1972, the University College of Cape Breton established the Bras d'Or Institute with the mandate for better managing resource use, harvest and development within the Bras d'Or lake region. The main purpose of the Institute was conducting and publishing scientific studies on the lake's chemical, physical, and biological properties. Although the Institute was in existence for over 20 years, there is a huge information gap on the biology, ecology and science of the lake. The Institute did not publish any significant amount of research, but did establish various organizations and organize conferences aimed mainly at research, education and management of the Bras d'Or lake (Bras d'Or Institute, 1980). Very few of these activities addressed or concentrated on the traditional users of the area, the Mi'kmaq people. Had the Institute been more pro-active in fulfilling its mandate, there would have been various possibilities for developing working relationships as well as training and education of Mi'kmaq students in environmental studies at the University College of Cape Breton. Notwithstanding, the university and the Mi'kma'Ki Aboriginal Fisheries Service recently initiated a new two year Certificate in Natural Resources program aimed primarily at the training of Mi'kmaq Guardians (for fisheries and other related activities on the Reserve).

The Mi'kma'Ki Aboriginal Fisheries Service, located on the Eskasoni Reserve on Cape Breton Island, is perhaps the most proactive group in the Bras d'Or Lake region in relation to information gathering and processing (see Dennis, 1994). The Service was set up in late 1992 as part of a seven year, \$140 million joint Federal-Native strategy, known as the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy, created to co-manage the Native fishery (*News Release*, 1992). It was the eastern Nova Scotian branch of this strategy, called the Aboriginal Fisheries Service (AFS), and it served all of the Cape Breton Bands along with the Afton and Pictou Landing mainland Bands. However, now it is administered by the Eskasoni Band and operates solely under their jurisdiction.

In a 1991 research initiative, the Aboriginal Fisheries Service reported that Mi'kmaq fishermen identified the following important issues: the government's acknowledgement of treaty and Aboriginal fishing rights, a strong desire for active participation of the Aboriginal community in resource management, and a desire for formal training and funding. Four "proactive interventions" were identified for overcoming barriers to effective involvement of Mi'kmaq people in the fishery: the assertion of Aboriginal entitlement over its fisheries, the development of human resources, a financial development strategy and the establishment of linkages and co-operative

partnerships with institutions (Eskasoni Economic Development Corporation, 1991).

The Mi'kma'Ki Fisheries Service is currently involved in a variety of research activities, such as habitat protection, river enhancement, species conservation, restocking, aquaculture, fisheries enforcement, tagging herring stock and the decline in lobster and herring stocks in the Bras d'Or lake (Mi'kmaq Aboriginal Fisheries Services, 1995; Dennis, 1994). These activities are carried out in conjunction with various non-governmental, federal and provincial agencies. The Service is also working on a monumental project involving collecting and analyzing fisheries data, traditional use areas of Mi'kmaq hunters and fishers, and bio-physical data on the lake. This information will then be fed into a geographical information system (GIS) as a tool for management and planning. Considering the ancestral ties to the land and the cultural and spiritual importance of the Bras d'Or lake to traditional users, this information system will provide the necessary underpinning during the decision-making and management processes.

To address the variety of management problems and the lack of coordinating efforts within the Bras d'Or lake region, the recently proposed Bras d'Or Lake Stewardship Commission seeks to ameliorate the management and decision making process in the Bras d'Or lakes area. Originally, the Commission was conceived as a "window" for decision-making, thus facilitating the process for management and planning. The former Task Force committee went through approximately three years of growing pains before reaching a consensus on the need for a Commission. The Commission's mandate would be to provide a forum where residences, representatives of the Mi'kmaq Bands and government agencies could network to exchange ideas and concerns, and could streamline the decision-making process for development, management and planning issues within and around the Bras d'Or lake region. Given that the common goal and vision is basically the same: the sustainable use of the region's resources, maintaining a high level of environmental quality in the Bras d'Or lake region and keeping a closer watch on the development of the area, there is a high incentive for success (Hildebrand, 1996).

The Bras d'Or Lake Stewardship Commission will take a unique step in the inclusion and effective involvement of all five Mi'kmaq bands in Cape Breton. As it stands, there are five Mi'kmaq, one provincial, one federal and seven community seats for each sub-watershed representatives on the Commission. Unlike most other agreements, the Mi'kmaq representatives have equal voting status. The Commission awaits the ratification of the provincial government, expected in the near future (Hildebrand 1996).

## **Agents of Change: Recommendations on Achieving Inclusive Management**

Here we are again, a group of non-Natives discussing how Native peoples should be involved. This is difficult to discuss, since few of us have much experience working directly with Native people, and no Native people are present (Environment Canada, 1993).

Do Mi'kmaq leaders and representatives want to become involved in the whole, or only parts of, management process? How can the existing systems, which were established in isolation from Native people, properly accommodate and address their concerns and issues? How can government departments improve their tactics: do they need organizational changes, more pro-active policies and/or strategies, or more cross-cultural training seminars? Managers of the day must keep these and other questions at the forefront when developing and/or implementing environmental management agendas, especially those affecting First Nations lands. Involving Mi'kmaq representatives, and Native representatives in general, in the management process from conception to implementation requires an understanding of and appreciation for cultural values, traditions and customs, as well as issues and concerns (Berneshawi, 1995; Environment Canada, 1993). This cannot be obtained from workshops alone; changes in attitude and process are vital and may present challenges to established government departments and organizations with a poor history of relationships with Native people and groups.

For a variety of reasons, consistent involvement of representatives from the Mi'kmaq community in resource management structures for the Bras d'Or lake region, and in Nova Scotia in general, has not occurred. Unfortunately, this is usually interpreted as a gesture of disinterest or indifference to either conservation and management issues and/or working with the non-Native community. Issues such as unsettled land claims, disagreements with management approaches and processes, and a general lack of knowledge about non-Native views and concerns remain unresolved and are, therefore, barriers to involvement. The denial of Mi'kmaq inherent rights to land and control over their own resource use and management negatively impact their full participation in the management process. In addition, there is a real need for steering mechanisms and action-oriented plans within the process. There is too much emphasis on talking, planning and policy development and not enough on solving (Dennis, 1993). Another is a lack of understanding about *how* to effectively involve Mi'kmaq representatives in the management process on the part of managers. A lack of knowledge

on how to approach Chiefs, Band Councillors, members in the community and those actively involved in resource issues generally results in communication failures and therefore, a lack of active involvement within the process.

As discussed earlier, Mi'kmaq culture is deeply rooted in the ancestral lands from which the language, culture, religion and social, political and economical systems developed, and continues to develop. Naturally, there exists an intimate understanding and respect for the character and expanse of *Mi'kma'ki*. Mi'kmaq people, therefore, bring indispensable and unique perspectives to the management process of which no other person, organization or committee is capable; thus, their active involvement in the management process is essential if it is expected to be comprehensive and acceptable in its achievements. This leaves a lot of room for growth and potential, as well as for the negotiation of co-operative management agreements and strategies. Contemporary management must look towards inclusive and all-encompassing programs, systems and policies which are receptive and flexible in their organizational structure and membership. This ensures that the Mi'kmaq voice is no longer silenced, allowing the people themselves to not only express their views, concerns and aspirations, but to also ensure environmentally acceptable living conditions within their communities and surrounding areas. The following steps are some recommendations on achieving these goals, and are summarized in Table 2.

### **1. Education, Educating and the Importance of Communication**

Developing and maintaining healthy working relationships is time intensive and requires respect, commitment to truth, raised acceptance levels and a keen understanding of all the relevant positions. In effect, mutual education is a tool for re-education and redressing what people think they know. It allows people from different backgrounds with different views to communicate how they think and feel regarding environmental and management issues. This process fosters an exchange of knowledge and ideas whilst developing relationships, promoting listening instead of judgement. Sharing Mi'kmaq culture, tradition, values and management approaches with those who work within the bureaucracy, and want to develop working partnerships, adds value to the process by increasing and improving efficiency and comfort levels, and vice-versa.

Educational workshops and seminars in conjunction with working opportunities (such as cross-job training, student internships, etc) are forums for sharing history, values, customs, traditions and issues of different cultures. They should take place in unbiased and impartial learning environments. Since most problems begin with a lack of communication,

resulting in misconceptions, misunderstandings, labelling and other derogatory actions, the significance of mutual education lies in replacing negative stereotypes with the truth, with real people and issues. It also underlines the importance of unbiased listening and respecting differing communication styles.

Transporting communication styles from one culture into another will inevitably result in barriers. Training and education within a certain group or a few groups does not translate into a universal model. Communication techniques vary between groups, cultures and sometimes individuals. As an oral culture, stories are an integral component of communication among First Nations speakers. However, Western culture is not accustomed to this communication style in formal settings, and is an important component in the mutual education exercise.

Building relationships and earning trust is an essential progression for the co-operative management of any resource. Through participation in activities which build on common interests and mutual education, the members of both the Mi'kmaq and non-Mi'kmaq community would better understand where each other stands with regard to resource use, conservation and management. This encourages discussions regarding the development and implementation of programs and processes for resource management and conservation. Following through on commitments initiates the development of a trust factor and lends credibility to the government's stated dedication to deal fairly and justly with the Mi'kmaq Nation.

## **2. Involvement and Participation**

The full participation and involvement of First Nations representatives in the management process is perhaps the most challenging issue. A close and spiritual relationship with the land, apprehension of intolerant attitudes and racial slurs, location of meetings, differences in the interpretation of concepts such as management, harvesting, stewardship and Aboriginal inherent rights are among some of the reasons Mi'kmaq representatives do not involve themselves in Western-style management processes.

Most Mi'kmaq people have maintained their traditional practice of decisions by consensus and delegating the community voice to those who represent them. Reaching consensus and seeking advice from Elders, are fundamental processes of decision-making within most Mi'kmaq communities. This obvious cultural difference towards decision making does not conform to the impatient Western approach, and therefore presents delays to the process. Time is not of the essence: it is speaking with the assurance of the support of the community. As a result, First Nations representatives and communities often appear indecisive and disjointed.

The location of meetings is also important; they must, on occasion, come to the people in their community; that is, they should be held on a Reserve for Mi'kmaq cooperation. This would also get meetings away from the traditional meeting places, usually confined to conference rooms and hotels far removed from nature. The experience with the Teme-augama illustrates the success of holding meetings in nearby and familiar places where people from both communities feel comfortable.

Another stumbling block, as discussed earlier, is the lack of a steering mechanism in place at the local and governmental levels both in the Bras d'Or region, and Nova Scotia in general. This deters attendance at meetings and participation in the management process. The emphasis should shift from talking and policy setting to pro-active and operational efforts.

Environmental issues are not restricted to any one community or group of people. Efforts aimed at achieving a cleaner and safer environment require the cooperation of everyone. Developing an inclusive network where Mi'kmaq and non-Native people, as well as government agencies, share both resources and information, creates a solid template for building and maintaining working partnerships. The ultimate goals of both the Mi'kmaq and the non-Mi'kmaq communities are for the sustainable use and stewardship of nature's resources to ensure the survival of future generations. This should be acknowledged at the outset.

### 3. The Importance of Language

First Nations languages are verb oriented and accurately describe the natural environment, its boundaries and its resources.<sup>12</sup> The Mi'kmaq people consider their language to be sacred, for it describes every aspect of nature, the location of resources and the traditional use of these resources within *Mi'kmak'ik* (Marshall, 1991). The language is believed to have evolved with the earth since the beginning of time and is a vital component of the culture: it represents who they are as a people, as Mi'kmaw.

The importance of language and literacy to Native people is asserted in an information handbook (National Indian Brotherhood, 1993):

[they] were given by the Creator as an integral part of life. Embodied in Aboriginal Languages is our unique relationship to the Creator, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and the fundamental notion of what is truth... [it] contributes to greater pride in the history and culture of the community... The key to identity and retention of culture is one's ancestral language.

Elders further assert that without language, the ceremonies, stories and songs will cease to exist, and therefore the people will "cease to exist as a

Table 2: Summary of Recommended Steps

Steps	Process	Purpose / Benefits
<i>Education, Educating and the Importance of Communication</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organization and participation in workshops, meetings and lectures aimed at mutual education</li> <li>• Have Mi'kmaq educators share their customs, traditions values and history</li> <li>• Keep lines of communication open and simple</li> <li>• Create opportunities for cross-job and youth training</li> <li>• Leave personal biases aside; be open to new challenges and different ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unbiased forum for sharing and exchanging information, experiences, skills and management philosophies</li> <li>• Helps to dispel myths, remove labels and dismiss stereotypes: increases acceptance and respect levels</li> <li>• Heightens awareness and understanding of historical and current issues within Mi'kmaq communities</li> <li>• Establishes opportunities for face-to-face communication</li> </ul>
<i>Native Involvement: Working Towards a Common Goal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition and acknowledgement of the Mi'kmaq government and political structure within <i>Mi'kmak'ik</i></li> <li>• Inclusive, value-free management: equal does not mean the same, nor does different equal inferior</li> <li>• Management strategies and ideologies must conform with the needs of the community</li> <li>• Equality among all representatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agreement and recognition of our responsibility to future generations - realizing a common 'vision'</li> <li>• Receptiveness to decisions not bound by time but consensus and advice from Elders</li> <li>• Broadens and strengthens existing knowledge base</li> <li>• Introduces spiritual elements and holistic, Nature-centred management philosophies</li> </ul>
<i>The Importance of Language</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incorporate Mi'kmaq terms and concepts in written texts</li> <li>• Develop a system whereby Mi'kmaq terms are easily accessible (eg. glossaries)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provides a deeper, more spiritual meaning, and thus a sense of connection to natural areas</li> <li>• Helps preserve the language, and therefore the culture</li> </ul>

separate People" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1993). As an expression of Mi'kmaq culture, tradition and heritage, the language describes and feels the *Mi'kmak'ik* landscape, such as the concept of *Netukulimk*. Incorporating the language in resource management would not only give meaning to the respective management area, it would also ensure the survival of the language to be passed on to future generations.

Notwithstanding the efforts suggested above, there still exist some constraints which should be considered. A major constraint is contacting Chiefs, Band Councillors and other representatives. Different concepts of time and the relatively busy nature of these jobs necessitates a lag time between contacts. Equally, community convalescence, cohesion within the Mi'kmaq community and contacting the right groups can strain the involvement of Mi'kmaq people in the resource management process.

The current political and geographical separations of the Mi'kmaq territory have thwarted the efforts of the people to come together as a nation. The Reserve system has divided the Mi'kmaq into little islands of communities amidst the dominant society. In some cases, the stress to conform to outside pressures and conduct politics as set by the *Indian Act* has resulted in segmented views and strategies adopted by various Bands and accepted by the people. However, the status quo is slowly changing, and some Mi'kmaq traditions are re-emerging to streamline current political, social, environmental and educational practices. Paramount to communal convalescence is the ancestral bonds, the nation's thread to and between each individual, that connects the past, present and future generations.

The on-Reserve, off-Reserve, Status and non-Status issues arising from the *Indian Act* are too lengthy for the scope of this discussion but must also be noted. The mandate of the Native Council of Nova Scotia is to provide the off-Reserve and/or non-Status members with programs and services which they forfeit when they live outside Reserve boundaries. Under the *Indian Act* only those who live on Reserves and are "status Indians" have access to federal programs, services and funding opportunities. Therefore, the Council develops and implements their own environmental and harvesting guidelines (among others) for its off-Reserve/non-Status membership (Native Council of Nova Scotia, 1993a). There is some debate over whether the Council has the authority to speak on behalf of all off-Reserve and/or non-Status Mi'kmaqs, and whether it can enforce its guidelines on Reserve lands. Unfortunately, the *Indian Act* has left a messy and anagramic legacy to both First Nations people and to those who deal with First Nations issues by almost completely ignoring environmental management and legislation. But this is very much a reality that must be

addressed in the development of environmental programs. As many different councils and unions represent different groups, consultants and resource managers should ensure their equal participation and involvement in the process.

This analysis argues that even though the active and effective involvement of the Mi'kmaq Nation in the resource management processes has to date been negligible, there is room for an inclusive management process. Within the Bras d'Or lake region, there are several issues which require more research before a meaningful jointly managed process can proceed, such as interpreting Mi'kmaq rights, needs and concerns, the level and effectiveness of Mi'kmaq involvement, jurisdictional rights, acknowledging the importance of the ancestral knowledge of Mi'kmaq Elders, and Mi'kmaq world view. Given the necessary balancing of world views and management expectations for the future use and quality of the Bras d'Or lake, several questions arise: who has to change: Mi'kmaq people, non-Native people, or both? What is the necessary degree of give and take to make this work? What should be the balance and relative roles and responsibilities of the Mi'kmaqs, stakeholders, interest groups and government departments? This analysis proposes that both Mi'kmaq and non-Mi'kmaq strategies can be strengthened by joining the two management processes while recognizing the unique qualities of both. The Mi'kmaq community can, and should, no longer participate at an advisory level, and simply impart their wisdom and traditional ecological knowledge in the areas of resource use, management and conservation. Tokenism is an unacceptable method of involving Mi'kmaq People, or any other group, for it is void of respect and honour and is counter-productive (Berneshawi, 1994). A new relationship must be forged which aims at equal partnerships and inclusive management.

The efforts we make today for a healthier and safer environment will benefit future generations. It is their right to inherit a land which will both give them life and sustain them. Forging new and genuine partnerships is the key to achieving effective and efficient working relationships between the Mi'kmaq and non-Mi'kmaq communities. Commitment from the Nova Scotia and federal governments coupled with the willingness of the Mi'kmaq Nation to develop new partnerships shines a bright light on the future.

## Notes

1. This paper is based primarily on my graduate work, *Netukulimk: Resource Management and the Involvement of the Mi'kmaq Nation* completed for a Masters of Marine Management, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia (August 1993). Many people were instrumental to the completion and subsequent publication of this work. I acknowledge the help of my external advisors Carole Donaldson and Larry Hildebrand. And the kind support of Environment Canada, Atlantic Region for my summer internship in 1993, and to the Atlantic Coastal Action Program for two trips to Cape Breton. Extended thanks to Larry Hildebrand for valuable and tireless reviews of many versions of this paper. And to all the Mi'kmaq People whose support and friendship were so indispensable for the completion of this work. And finally, to my mother, Mélinée Bacharian.
2. There are various spellings for these districts. Although Newfoundland is not included in this map, some argue that it was part of *Mi'kmak'ik*.
3. Recently, some stories and songs are being recorded as some Elders feel that oral traditions are fading away. See Cruikshank, 1977; Cruikshank *et al.*, 1990; Meili, 1991.
4. It is important to note that traditional or ancestral knowledge is not static. It changes and evolves along with the culture and society. Ruddle (1991) points out that "Just as traditional knowledge and its transmission shape society and culture, so too, in reverse, culture and society shape knowledge."
5. See McCaskill, 1992; Clements, 1991; Quick-to-See Smith, 1989; Chief Old Person, 1984; and De Favri, 1984.
6. For a comprehensive account of the impacts of dispossession, see Brodley, 1990; York, 1990; and Robinson, 1970.
7. Elders define spiritual illness in Simpson, 1988.
8. Clements also notes that "Native culture" is misleading since there is no one Native culture, each Nation has their own traditions, customs and history (footnote added).
9. See Kuhn and Duerden, 1996; Berkes, 1986; Dahl, 1988; Johannes, 1978; Johannes and Ruddle, 1983.
10. Beyond the Green Plan, an international conference on coastal zone management (Coastal Zone Canada '94) identified the need for recognizing the rights and interests of Indigenous People as well as integrating traditional knowledge with conventional science in their *Call for Action*. Out of the four major issues identified, three apply

directly to Indigenous People and communities (Coastal Zone Canada Association, 1996).

11. The Treaty of 1752, also known as the Peace and Friendship Treaty, is perhaps one of the most important treaties for the Mi'kmaq People in Nova Scotia. It affirms the existing and continuing rights of Mi'kmaq to "hunt and fish as usual" on their traditional lands (Patterson, 1987). In November 1985, this was recognized and affirmed by the Supreme Court of Canada in the Simon case (*James Matthew Simon v. The Queen* [1985] 25 C.R. 387).
12. Recent efforts to capture the various uses of the land and resources with traditional First Nation lands and their significance have proven effective through the use of toponomy. Place names in First Nation languages are so rich and descriptive that they characterize use, season, resource (flora-fauna), individuals (eg. Elders, women, men, youth, etc) and natural phenomenon of lands, watersheds and other natural areas. Although this is a time intensive exercise, the final product is an impressive amount of current and historical oral information which can then be mapped for land use and occupancy. Several Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia are undertaking such efforts that will prove beneficial in any current or future land claim process.

### References

- Aboriginal Issues Management Team (Prairie and Northern Region)  
1992 *Facing Challenges, Taking Leadership: Final Report*.
- Berkes, Fikret  
1986 Local-level Management and the Commons Problem: A Comparative Study of Turkish Coastal Fisheries. *Marine Policy*.
- Berkes, Fikret, Peter George and Richard J. Preston  
1991 Co-management: The Evolution in Theory and Practice of the Joint Administration of Living Resources. *Alternatives* 18:12.
- Berneshawi, Suzanne  
1995 *Pathways to Partnerships Between Aboriginal People and Environment Canada*. Report prepared for the Environmental Protection Branch, Environment Canada, Atlantic Region. Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.
- 1994 Involving Mi'kmaq Traditions in Coastal Resource Management, in Peter G. Wells and Peter J. Ricketts (Editors): *Coastal Zone Canada '94, Cooperation in the Coastal Zone: Conference Proceedings* 2:584.

Bock, Philip K.

- 1978 Micmac. *The Handbook of North American Indians (Volume 15 Northeast)*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Bras d'Or Institute

- 1980 *Bras d'Or Institute of the College of Cape Breton*. Sydney, Cape Breton.

Brodley, John H.

- 1990 *Victims of Progress*, Third Edition. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Brown, Doug

- 1990 From Traditional Mi'kmaq Government to Now: Changing Those Who did not Need to be Changed. *Paqtatek I: Policy and Consciousness in Mi'kmaq Life*, compiled by S. Inglis, J. Manette and S. Sulewski. Halifax: Garamond Press.

Buege, Douglas J.

- 1996 The Ecologically Noble Savage Revisited. *Environmental Ethics* 18(1):71.

Campis, Jack

- 1991 *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Christmas, Peter

- 1988 Micmac Aboriginal Life, in Charles J. Humber: *Canada's Native Peoples (Canada Heirloom Series VII)* Mississauga, Ontario: Heirloom Publishing Inc.

Clements, Rebecca

- 1991 Misconceptions of Culture: Native Peoples and Cultural Property Under Canadian Law. *University of Toronto Faculty Law Review* 49:1.

Coastal Zone Canada Association

- 1996 *Conference Statement and Call for Action*. Dartmouth, NS: Coastal Zone Association.

Colorado, Pam

- 1988 Bridging Native and Western Science. *Convergence* 21:49.

Cruikshank, J.

- 1977 *My Stories Are My Wealth*. Yellowknife: Willow Printers.

Cruikshank, J., A. Sidney, K. Smith and A. Ned

- 1990 *Life Lived Like a Story*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

Dahl, Christopher

- 1988 Traditional Marine Tenure: A Basis for Artisanal Fisheries Management. *Marine Policy* 40.

DeFavri, Ian

- 1984 Contemporary Ecology and Traditional Native Thought. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 12:1.

Dennis, Charlie

- 1994 Mi'kmaw Resource Management Experience in Nova Scotia. Presented to the Workshop on Aboriginal Rights and Management of Local Coastal Zones. Coastal Zone Canada '94.
- 1993 then Executive Director, Aboriginal Fisheries Service. Eskasoni, Nova Scotia. Personal Communication.

DeWalt, Billie R.

- 1994 Using Indigenous Knowledge to Improve Agriculture and Natural Resource Management. *Human Organization* 53(2):123.

Environment Canada

- 1993 Proceedings of the Workshop on Community Involvement in Decision Making. Held in Quebec City, Quebec, June 22 and 23, 1993. Environment Canada, Eco-Health Branch.

Erdoes, Richard

- 1989 *Crying for a Dream: the World through Native American Eyes*. Santa Fe, NM.: Bear & Co.

Eskasoni Economic Development Corporation

- 1991 *Task Force on an Atlantic Aboriginal Fisheries Policy: Phase One Report*. Sydney, Cape Breton: Eskasoni Economic Development Corporation.

Feiders, Barton S.

- 1992 Letter to "Residents and Interested Party" regarding negotiations between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and Ontario governments. Toronto: Ontario Office of the Chief Negotiator.

Freeman, Milton M.R.

- 1992 The Nature and Utility of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. *Northern Perspectives*, 20(1):9.

gkisedtanamoogk

- 1993 Wabanaki Cultural Resource Centre, Burnt Church Reserve, New Brunswick. Letter to the author.

Government of Canada

- 1990 *Canada's Green Plan*. Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services.

Hildebrand, Larry

- 1996 Environmental Conservation Branch, Environment Canada, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. Personal Communication.

Johannes, R.E.

- 1978 Traditional Marine Conservation Methods in Oceania and their Demise. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*.

Johannes, R.E. and K. Ruddell (Editors)

- 1983 *Traditional Marine Resource Management in the Pacific Basin: An Anthology*. Jakarta, Indonesia: UNESCO/ROSTSEA.

Kuhn, Richard G. and Frank Duerden

- 1996 A Review of Traditional Environmental Knowledge: an Interdisciplinary Canadian Perspective. *Culture XVI*(1):71.

Lyons, Oren

- 1984 Spirituality, Equality and Natural Law, in L. Little Bear, M. Boldt and J.A. Long (Editors): *Pathways to Self Determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

MacKeen, Cameron

- 1993 Savage Promises to Talk to Natives 'Nation to Nation'. *The Chronicle Herald*, July 8.

Marshall, Lottie

- 1990 Native Depression. *Paqtatek I: Policy and Consciousness in Mi'kmaq Life*, compiled by S. Inglis, J. Manette and S. Sulewski. Halifax: Garamond Press.

Marshall, Murdena

- 1991 Values, Customs and Traditions of the Mi'kmaq Nation. *Micmac News* 21:6.

Mathias, J.A. and Pike D.G.

- 1996 Marine Fisheries in the Canadian Arctic: A Model of Aboriginal Management, in Mohammed I. El-Sabh, *et al.* (Editors): *Coastal Zone Canada '96 International Conference: Integrated Management and Sustainable Development in Coastal Zones (Abstracts)*.

McCaskill, Don

- 1992 When Cultures Meet, in Robert A. Silverman and Marianne O. Nielsen (Editors): *Aboriginal Peoples and Canadian Criminal Justice*. Toronto, Vancouver: Butterworths.

Meili, D.

- 1991 *Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta's Native Elders*. Edmonton: NeWest Press.

Mi'kmaq Aboriginal Fisheries Services

- 1995 The Bras d'Or Lakes Water Quality Negotiations Project: A First Nations Initiative.
- 1993 *Mi'kmaq Fisheries: Netukulimk, Towards a Better Understanding*. Native Council of Nova Scotia, Language Program, Truro, Nova Scotia.

National Indian Brotherhood

- 1993 *An Informational Handbook on Aboriginal Languages and Literacy* (Aboriginal Languages Day, March 31). Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations, Education Secretariat.

Native Council of Nova Scotia

- 1993a *The History and Achievements of the Native Council of Nova Scotia* (compiled and researched by Christine A. Campbell). Truro: Native Council of Nova Scotia.
- 1993b *Mi'kma'ki: Index to the Micmac Map*. Truro: Native Council of Nova Scotia, Micmac Language Program.

News Release/Communiqué

- 1992 "Crosbie Announces Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy in Atlantic Canada," September 9, 1992. Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans.

Northern Perspectives

- 1992 Indigenous Knowledge (Special Issue) 20(1).

Old Person, Chief Earl

- 1989 Problems, Prospects and Aspirations of the 'Real People' in America, in L. Little Bear, M. Boldt and J.A. Long (Editors): *Pathways to Self Determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ontario, Ministry of Natural Resources

- 1991 Natural Resources Minister Announces Comprehensive Planning Council for Temagami. *News Release: Communiqué*.

Ontario Government and Teme-augama Anishnabai

- 1993a Negotiations between Ontario and the Teme-augama Anishnabai toward a Treaty of Co-Existence. *Fact Sheet*.
- 1993b *Negotiations Bulletin (Teme-augama Anishnabai Negotiations)*.
- 1991 *Schedule A: Wendaban Stewardship Authority, Terms of Reference*.

Patterson, Lisa

- 1987 *The Mi'kmaq Treaty Handbook*. Sydney and Truro, Nova Scotia: Native Communications Society of Nova Scotia.

Peet, John and Katherine Peet

- 1990 "With People's Wisdom": Community-based Perspectives on Sustainable Development. The Ecological Economics of Sustainability Conference. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. May 21-23, 1990.

Quick-to-See Smith, J.

- 1989 We are Part of the Earth and it is Part of Us. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 38:B60.

Robertson Marion

- 1969 *Red Earth: Tales of the Micmacs with an Introduction to the Customs and Beliefs of the Micmac Indians*. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum.

Robertson, Heather

- 1970 *Reservations are for Indians*. Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel.

Robinson, E. and H.B. Quinney

- 1985 *The Infested Blanket*. Winnipeg: Queen House Publishing Co. Ltd.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

- 1993 *Public Hearings, Discussion Paper 2: Focusing the Dialogue*. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Ruddle, Kenneth

- 1991 The Transmission of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. Paper presented to the Panel Session on "Traditional Ecological Knowledge", Second Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Common Property, 26-29 September, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Savage, Premier John

- 1993 Speech for the 24th annual meeting of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians at Dartmouth Inn, Keddy's on July 7. Office of the Premier: Halifax.

Sen, Sevaly and Jesper Raakjaer Nielsen,

- 1996 Fisheries Co-management: a Comparative Analysis. *Marine Policy* 20(5):405.

Shapcott, Catherine

- 1989 Environmental Impact Assessment and Resource Management, A Haida Case Study: Implications for Native People of the North. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, IX(1):55.

Simpson, J. *et al.*

- 1988 Depression in a Native Canadian in Northwestern Ontario: Sadness, Grief or Spiritual Illness? *Canada's Mental Health* 5.

Stiegelbauer, S.M.

- 1996 What is an Elder? What do Elders Do?: First Nation Elders as Teachers in Culture-based Urban Organizations. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XVI(1):37.

Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy

- 1985 *Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements, Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Development.

Taylor, Charles A.

- 1991 Integrated Resource Management for the Bras d'Or Lake. *Fore-runner* (Spring).

Tsuji, Leonard J.S.

- 1996 Cree Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Science: A Case Study of the Sharp-Tailed Grouse, *Tympanuchus phasianellus phasianellus*. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XVI(1):67.

Turpel, M.E.

- 1991 Aboriginal Peoples and Marine Resources: Understanding Rights, Directions for Management, in David VanerZwaag (Editor): *Canadian Ocean Law and Policy*. Markham, Ontario: Butterworths Canada.

Union of Nova Scotia Indians

- 1976 *Crown Land Rights and Hunting and Fishing Rights of Micmac Indians in the Province of Nova Scotia* (revised edition) Halifax: Union of Nova Scotia Indians.

Upton, Leslie F.S.

- 1979 *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Usher, Peter J.

- 1986 *The Devolution of Wildlife Management and the Prospects for Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories*. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resource Centre.

Wendaban Stewardship Authority

- 1992 *A New Approach to Cooperative Land Management: A Working Model for Co-existence with Aboriginal People*. Temagami, Ontario: Wendaban Stewardship Authority (pamphlet).

Wildman, Hon. C.J. (Bud)

- 1991 Notes for remarks by the Minister Responsible for Native Affairs and Minister of Natural Resources at the signing of the Statement of Political Relationship with Chiefs of First Nations at Mount McKay on the Fort William First Nation.

Wolfe, Jackie, Chris Bechard, Petr Cizek and David Cole

1991 Indigenous and Western Knowledge and Resource Management Systems. University School of Rural Planning and Development.

York, G.

1990 *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada*. London: Vintage U.K.