

**Land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario:  
Conservation targets, politics of scale, and the role of civil society  
organizations in Aboriginal–state relations**

By

Catie Burlando

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
The University of Manitoba  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Natural Resources Institute  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

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## **Abstract**

Aboriginal communities in Canada are increasingly involved in land use planning initiatives to promote community-led economic renewal and advance self-determination. As analyzed by political ecologists elsewhere, international and national civil society organizations are also increasingly important actors in environmental governance in Canada. However, nascent conflicts due to the role of civil society organizations in influencing planning policy development, and its effects on Aboriginal–state relationships, have not yet been explored. Through community-based fieldwork with Pikangikum First Nation, interviews with Provincial Ministries and conservation organizations, and in-depth document analysis, this thesis analyzes the roots of contentious politics for land use planning in the Far North Region of Ontario. Specifically, it analyzes 1) the evolution of land use planning policy development between 1975 and 2010 in the region; 2) the role and strategies of civil society organizations in influencing planning policy development, and 3) the impacts that different planning approaches have for enabling Aboriginal decision-making authority in their territories.

Results show that during four different planning processes held between 1975 and 2010, Aboriginal communities and organizations in the Far North actively resisted state-led land use planning and resource allocation, and developed partnerships with the Ontario Government to enable community-led planning in their traditional territories. Since 2008, Aboriginal organizations have condemned new comprehensive legislation for opening the Far North Region to development and setting a restrictive conservation target, without clarifying substantive issues of jurisdictional authority, sharing of resources, and consultation protocols. These changes were the result of international and national civil society organizations's actions to strategically mobilize public and political support. The planning approaches that emerged from different planning policies were found to directly influence how Aboriginal–state relations are developed; who sits at the decision-making table; how resources are distributed; and how knowledge systems are balanced. Without careful attention to how power is distributed across levels of governance and where

accountability lies, multi-level governance—and the bridging role that is promoted for civil society organizations—may lead to patterns of scale dominance, and become a way to justify continued control by the state, corporations, and international civil society organizations on Aboriginal territories.

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*In memory of Larry Pascal*

*To Donna Pascal and  
the mothers and grandmothers I met in Pikangikum,  
for their determination and inspiration*

*To my mom, Liliana Molano*

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Tables .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Acronyms .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>Glossary .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Glossary of Pikangikum Anishinaabe terms .....</b>	<b>xvi</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1. Context for the research.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2. Purpose and objectives .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.3. Conceptual background .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.4. Methodology .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.5. Significance of the thesis.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.6. Overview of the thesis.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Chapter 2. Theoretical background.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>2.1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>2.2. Community-based conservation planning and management .....</b>	<b>20</b>
2.2.1. Decentralization and devolution.....	20
2.2.2. Multi-level and adaptive governance .....	24
2.2.3. Summary.....	28
<b>2.3. A political ecology framework of conservation.....</b>	<b>28</b>
2.3.1. Definitions: Narratives, framing, storylines, and the question of received wisdom....	30
2.3.2. Co-production of science and policy .....	32
2.3.3. The political and economic structures of conservation policy .....	33
2.3.4. Production of space and the ‘politics of scale’ .....	36
2.3.5. Summary.....	41
<b>2.4. Tracing political process .....</b>	<b>42</b>
2.4.1. The Political Process Model .....	42
2.4.2. Political opportunity and framing .....	46
2.4.3. Summary.....	48
<b>2.5. Chapter summary.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Chapter 3. Methodology.....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>3.1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>3.2. Case study area.....</b>	<b>51</b>
3.2.1. Situating the Far North Region .....	51
3.2.2. Pikangikum First Nation.....	54
<b>3.3. Research philosophy .....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>3.4. Strategies of inquiry .....</b>	<b>60</b>
3.4.1. Case study.....	60



3.4.2. Research Protocol.....	62
<b>3.5. Methods, research objectives, and research questions .....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>3.6. Description of research methods.....</b>	<b>64</b>
3.6.1. First phase.....	65
3.6.2. Second phase.....	79
<b>3.7. Data analysis procedures.....</b>	<b>89</b>
3.7.1. Translation and transcription .....	90
3.7.2. Analysis of narratives .....	91
3.7.3. Narrative analysis.....	96
3.7.4. Verification, validity, and reliability .....	97
<b>3.8 Issues of voice and positionality .....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>Chapter 4. Evolution of land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario and implications for Aboriginal–Provincial Government relations .....</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>4.1. Early land use planning.....</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>4.2. ‘Lands for Life’ and the emergence of ‘orderly development’ for planning in the Far North Region .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>4.3. The Northern Boreal Initiative .....</b>	<b>112</b>
4.3.1. Development of a Community-based Land Use Planning approach.....	112
4.3.2. Community-based Land Use Planning and the Whitefeather Forest Initiative .....	117
<b>4.4. Responses to the Northern Boreal Initiative.....</b>	<b>121</b>
4.4.1. The Oski-Machiitawin dialogue: Laying the foundations for a Treaty-based policy approach to land use planning .....	124
<b>4.5. The Far North Act.....</b>	<b>127</b>
4.5.1. The Far North Planning Initiative .....	127
4.5.2. Setting the basis for the development of land use planning legislation, Bill 191.....	130
4.5.3. Responses to Bill 191 .....	132
4.5.4. The Far North Act (2010).....	134
<b>4.6. Summary .....</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>Chapter 5. Shifting land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario: Strategies and tactics of transnational environmental networks.....</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>5.1. Building organizational strength: The emergence of a transnational boreal conservation network.....</b>	<b>144</b>
5.1.1. Mobilizing a transnational network.....	145
5.1.2. The role of leadership .....	156
5.1.3. Funding .....	157
<b>5.2. Mobilizing public discourse in Ontario.....</b>	<b>163</b>
5.2.1. The political environment: Electoral promises .....	163
5.2.2. Campaigns .....	166
5.2.3. Reports and maps .....	174
5.2.4. Media.....	179
<b>5.3. Summary and implications .....</b>	<b>182</b>
<b>Chapter 6. ‘You were always in a box’: Framing opportunities and challenges of land use planning in Aboriginal territories .....</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>6.1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>6.2. Strategic framing for territorial planning: The case of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative .....</b>	<b>190</b>
6.2.1. Threats to the Pikangikum Cultural Landscape .....	190
6.2.2. Outcomes .....	194
6.2.3. Vision for “Keeping the land” .....	196

6.2.4. Community-based land use planning as a process for “Keeping the Land” and enabling the survival of their youth as a people .....	199
<b>6.3. Strategic framing for comprehensive planning: The case of the boreal conservation campaign in Ontario .....</b>	<b>201</b>
6.3.1. Threats to the intact boreal forest .....	202
6.3.2. Outcomes .....	204
6.3.3. Vision for a conservation-based land use planning approach .....	205
6.3.4. Comprehensive and pro-active approach to planning .....	208
<b>6.4. Conflicts underlying strategic framings for land use planning .....</b>	<b>210</b>
6.4.1. The relationship between Pikangikum First Nation and the Ontario Provincial Government .....	211
6.4.2. Implications for decision-making .....	214
6.4.3. Access to resources and balancing knowledge systems .....	216
<b>6.5. Summary of chapter .....</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>Chapter 7. Discussing the politics of scale in land use planning .....</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>7.1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>7.2. Producing appropriate scales for planning .....</b>	<b>223</b>
7.2.1. Scaling down to community-based land use planning .....	223
7.2.2. Scaling out a comprehensive scale for planning .....	225
<b>7.3. Opportunities for developing counter frames in the politics of scale .....</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Chapter 8. Conclusions .....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>8.1. Main findings .....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>8.2. Scholarly and practical contributions of the thesis .....</b>	<b>246</b>
8.2.1. Multi-level governance and the politics of scale .....	246
8.2.2. Practical contributions .....	249
<b>8.3 Reflections and caveats .....</b>	<b>252</b>
<b>8.4. Future research opportunities .....</b>	<b>254</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>258</b>
<b>Annex 1. Treaty and Aboriginal rights and the International context supporting self-determination and the right to territory .....</b>	<b>287</b>
<b>Annex 2. Time line of initiatives, events, planning policies, and legislation in the Far North Region of Ontario between 1975 and 2010. ....</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>Annex 3. Main players involved in land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario .....</b>	<b>301</b>
<b>Appendix 1. Letter of introduction for respondents from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Parks, and conservation groups .....</b>	<b>310</b>
<b>Appendix 2. Schedule of initial interview questions in Pikangikum First Nation ...</b>	<b>312</b>
<b>Appendix 3. Schedule of revised interview questions in Pikangikum First Nation</b>	<b>313</b>
<b>Appendix 4. Schedule of interview questions for participants from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Parks and Ontario-based conservation organizations .....</b>	<b>314</b>

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1.</b> Conceptual framework. ....	12
<b>Table 2.</b> Scales and levels (Cash et al., 2006). ....	25
<b>Table 3.</b> Summary of research objectives, questions, and methods adopted. ....	64
<b>Table 4.</b> Archival and online documentation for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative land use planning process. ....	66
<b>Table 5.</b> Number of interviewees by affiliation and gender ratio.....	73
<b>Table 6.</b> Methods for tracing the strategies adopted by conservation organizations to influence land use planning policy change in the Far North Region of Ontario, and response.....	81
<b>Table 7.</b> Sample size of articles for ‘boreal forest’ before and after removal of articles that were counted twice (duplicates), temporal range, and search engine used. ....	88
<b>Table 8.</b> Codes used for media content analysis of The Toronto Star and Wawatay News. ....	95
<b>Table 9.</b> Criteria for Community-based Land Use Planning in the Northern Boreal Initiative based on a multilevel planning approach. ....	115
<b>Table 10.</b> Comparison between the Northern Boreal Initiative and the Far North Act (2010) based on a multi-level planning framework.....	135
<b>Table 11.</b> Signatories of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI, 2011).....	149
<b>Table 12.</b> Funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts for boreal conservation (PCT, 2011). ....	158
<b>Table 13.</b> Policy and legislation passed between 2003 and 2010, and affecting the Far North Region of Ontario. ....	165
<b>Table 14.</b> Examples of conservation-based campaigns directly and indirectly related to comprehensive planning in the Far North Region of Ontario.....	167
<b>Table 15.</b> Examples of conservation-based reports published ahead of Ontario’s provincial elections in 2007. ....	175
<b>Table 16.</b> Frequency of themes of interest to planning in the boreal forest coded from The Toronto Star during a four year period (2006–2009). ....	180
<b>Table 17.</b> Frequency of themes of interest to planning in the boreal forest coded from Wawatay News during a four year period (2006–2009).....	181

<b>Table 18.</b> Main findings by Results Chapter.....	240
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## List of Figures

- Figure 1.** First Nation communities in the Far North (OMNR, 2011). Map modified by author to show the location of Pikangikum First Nation. © Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 2011.....6
- Figure 2.** The Classical Social Movement Agenda for explaining contentious politics. Figure from McAdam et al. (2001, 17) modified by author. ....43
- Figure 3.** A dynamic framework for analyzing social mobilization in contentious politics. Figure from McAdam et al. (2001, 45) modified by author. ....46
- Figure 4.** Map of the Historical Indian Treaties signed in Canada (Natural Resources Canada, 2007). © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of Natural Resources Canada 2011, courtesy of the Atlas of Canada. ...53
- Figure 5.** West Patricia Planning Area, Provincial and Regional Setting (OMNR, 1982, 2). © Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 1982. Reproduced with permission. .... 106
- Figure 6.** Map of the Northern Boreal Initiative. The Far North comprises the Northern Boreal Initiative. Created by N. Deutsch (2011). .... 113
- Figure 7.** Example of protected areas interests at different scales (OMNR, 2002, 4). © Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 2002. Reproduced with permission. .... 114
- Figure 8.** Cross-level partnerships developed to support the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (For more details see Smith, 2007). .... 119
- Figure 9.** Funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts to the Canadian Boreal Initiative and International Boreal Conservation Campaign directly and indirectly through Ducks Unlimited. Compiled from PCT (2011). .... 160
- Figure 10.** Ivey Foundations grants for boreal issues. Compiled from Ivey Foundation annual reports between 2004 and 2008. .... 162
- Figure 11.** Number of reports and press releases published by the Canadian Boreal Initiative between 2003 and 2009 (CBI, 2011). .... 177
- Figure 12.** Number of articles on ‘boreal forest’ published in The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and Wawatay News between 2000 and 2009. .... 181
- Figure 13.** Summary of strategies and tactics adopted by conservation-based civil society organizations to influence land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario. .... 184

## **Acronyms**

BEACONS	Boreal Ecosystems Analysis for Conservation Networks
BFCF	Boreal Forest Conservation Framework
BINGO	Big International Non-governmental Organization
CBI	Canadian Boreal Initiative
C-LUP	Community-Based Land Use Planning
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CPAWS–WL / CPAWS–Wildlands League	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society–Wildlands League (Ontario Chapter)
DPA	Dedicated Protected Area (part of the Whitefeather Forest and legislated under the Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act in 2009)
ENGO	Environmental Non-governmental Organization
FNPAC	Far North Plan Advisory Council
FNSAP	Far North Science Advisory Panel
IBCC	International Boreal Conservation Campaign
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
NAN	Nishnawbe Aski Nation
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OMNR	Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources
PCT	Pew Charitable Trusts
PFN	Pikangikum First Nation
TAMS	Text Analysis Mark-up System
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFMC	Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

## Glossary

- Aboriginal People – refers to Indigenous Peoples in Canada and North America. In Canada, Section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982) states that, “In this Act, “Aboriginal Peoples of Canada” includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada” (Government of Canada, 1982).
- Colonialism – describes the experience and relationship between Indigenous encounters with Settler societies (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005; Sidaway, 2000)
- Decentralization – “any act in which a central government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy” (Ribot, 2002, 2).
- Devolution – the “transfer of rights and responsibilities to local groups, organizations and local-level governments that have autonomous discretionary decision-making powers (Berkes, 2010, 491).
- Doctrine in regional planning theory – Doctrine in regional planning broadly refers to the style of planning practice at the time (i.e., why we plan the way we do), reflecting “both the need to plan regions and the best approach for doing so” (Hodge and Robinson, 2001, 81). There are two opposite doctrines that prevail at different times and in different places (see function and territory doctrines).
- Elder – an Elder is “usually somebody who is an example, [...] who has overcome a lot [and] who is respected in the community [...] dedicated to helping Aboriginal people, usually through healing, comforting, counseling, and assistance (Ellerby, 2001, 8). As part of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, Elders are authoritative knowledge holders identified by the community for their experience and knowledge of the land, and mandated by the Band Council to guide the planning and management process for their traditional lands.
- Framing – “a collective process of interpretation, attribution, and social construction, mediated between opportunity and action” (McAdam et al., 2001, 40), as well as “a persuasive device “used by movement leaders to recruit participants, maintain solidarity, drum up support and, in some instances, demobilize opposition” (Polletta, 1998, 421, as cited in Glover, 2004, 66) (see narrative).
- Function doctrine – “refers to the predisposition to treat any single region as part of a system of regions; that is, to treat it in terms of its functional relationships with other regions” (Hodge and Robinson, 2001, 86).
- Indigenous People – The term Indigenous Peoples has been developed internationally and is recognized in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007). The Declaration does not provide for a definition, but generally, Indigenous Peoples “are descendants of

groups which were in the territory of the country at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnicities arrived there; because of their isolation from other segments of the country's population they have preserved almost intact the customs and traditions of their ancestors which are similar to those characterized as indigenous; and [...] they are, even if only formally, placed under a state structure which incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to them" (Hughes, 2003, 16, ). Further, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that Indigenous people have the right to determine their own identity and membership (UNDRIP, 2007, art. 33).

Interplay (cross-scale and cross-level interactions) – "Cross-level" interactions refer to interactions among levels within a scale, whereas "cross-scale" means interactions across different scales, for example, between spatial domains and jurisdictions (Cash et al., 2006). Cross-level and cross-scale interactions lead to vertical and horizontal interplay (Young, 2006).

Governance (Environmental governance) – "Governance is the structures and processes by which people in societies make decisions and share power" (Folke et al., 2005). Governance generally refers to "politics, sharing of rights and responsibilities, and setting objectives and the policy agenda [...] to solve societal problems and create societal opportunities" (Berkes, 2010, 491).

Level – see scale

Multi-level governance – "Multilevel" is used to indicate the presence of more than one level, and "multi-scale" the presence of more than one scale (Cash et al., 2006). "Multilevel governance emphasizes the threefold displacement of state power and control: (1) upwards to international actors and organizations, (2) downwards to regions, cities, and communities, and (3) outwards to civil society and non-state actors" (Termeer et al., 2010).

Narrative – a story with a chronological order (beginning, middle and end, or plot) (Roe, 1991, 1995). Narratives can describe how an event happened, and explain why an event happened (Glover 2004); (see also restorying). Frames are "often exemplified through narratives" and used strategically (Glover, 2004, 66).

Neo-colonialism – Neo-colonialism refers to post-colonial societies that continue to "experience or exercise continued neocolonial or imperial power and/or contain their own internal colonies" (Sidaway, 2000, 593).

Neoliberal conservation – neoliberal conservation represents an emerging concept in political ecology that refers to changes in environmental governance



and conservation: (1) a shift towards 'hybrid environmental governance' which includes communities, conservation-business partnerships, and new types of networks that cut across traditional divides but that are united by neoliberal ideologies; (2) the re-regularization of nature through commoditization; and (3) new forms of territorialization of resources and landscapes often to the exclusion of local people (Igoe and Brockington, 2007).

**Polycentricity** – a system comprising multiple and overlapping decision-making centres at all scales that retain considerable autonomy from one another (McGinnis, 1999; Ostrom, 1999; Ostrom et al., 1999[1961]).

**Politics of scale** – is defined as “the production, reconfiguration or contestation of particular differentiations, orderings and hierarchies among geographical scales” (Brenner, 2001, 600).

**Post-colonialism** – generally “refers to peoples, states and societies that have been through a process of formal decolonization” (Alfred and Cornassel, 2005; Sidaway, 2000, 594). Within research, “post-colonial approaches are committed to critique, expose, deconstruct, counter and (in some claims) to transcend, the cultural and broader ideological legacies and presences of imperialism” (Sidaway, 2000, 594).

**Production of scale** – refers to the production and social construction of scale as a political process that frames scale (i.e., scale is not pre-existing) and is subject to contestation and transformation, because scale its production has material consequences (Marston, 2004; Smith, 2008; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003).

**Restorying** – the process of gathering stories, analyzing them for key elements of the story (e.g., time, place, plot, and scene), and then rewriting the story to place it within a chronological sequence (Ollerenshaw and Creswell 2002, 332).

**Scale** – “refers to a dimension, whereas level refers to a location along a scale” (Gibson et al., 2000). Political geographers have adopted Lefebvre's (1991) 'production of space' to refer to the production and social construction of scale (see production of scale).

**Territory doctrine** – definitions of territoriality within the discipline of Geography usually refer to the strategies of the state to control and enforce people's activities within the nation state (Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995). In the field of regional planning theory, the territory doctrine is the opposite of the 'function doctrine' since the underlying goal is to seek to “improve the cultural as well as material circumstances of regional communities” rather than to fulfill larger scale economic objectives (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979, 41; Hodge and Robinson, 2001).

## **Glossary of Pikangikum Anishinaabe terms**

The Anishinaabe terms derive mostly from the “Keeping the Land - Land Use Strategy” (PFN and OMNR, 2006). Pikangikum new terms were transliterated by Mr. Paddy Peters following interviews and meetings. Because there is no standard way to represent the Ojibway language (*Ahneesheenhbaymohween*) using the English alphabet, Pikangikum First Nation developed a standard that they feel is closest to their dialect.

Ahkee dialogue – Dialogue between Pikangikum First Nation and Ontario Parks on the Dedicated Protected Areas

Ahneesheenhbaymohween – Ojibway language

Beekahncheekahmeeng Ahneesheenhbay Ohtahkeem – Pikangikum Cultural Landscape

Beekahncheekahmeeng paymahteseewahch – Pikangikum People

Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetwahkeemeenaan – Keeping the Land

Cheemahnahcheetooyaun – variation of Cheemuhnucheecheekuhtaykeehn

Cheemuhnucheecheekuhtaykeehn – to keep something that you know helps you in your life so that it will continue to provide for future generations in the same way it always has (Dedicated Protected Areas in the Whitefeather Forest)

Cheemuhnuchheetohwin – the traditional process by which Pikangikum people have ensured the land has been cared for in a way that it will continue to provide for us

Geemoshgenatagwuk – term used to describe that people are willing to hear, people are willing to listen

Kahyahkookahnahwaycheekahtayk Ahkee – ‘protected areas’ – something that is very protected through enforcement of policies and surveillance; where entry is restricted

Keecheeahneesheenhbayg – Elders

Keeshaymahneetoo – Creator

Mahnohmin – wild rice

Nuhncheewuhg – reference to the fear of accessing policy regulated areas such as protected areas. It translates as ‘they [trappers, hunters, harvesters] are always looking behind them’

Oski-Machiitawin – New Beginning (dialogue between Nishnawbe Aski Nation and the Ontario Provincial Government)

Pimachiowin – the land that gives life

Wahbeemeegwan Nohpeemahkahnk Mahcheedahwin – Whitefeather Forest Initiative

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

See, for so many years our people have been controlled by a system that was brought to our lands and to our people. You know, we were not given, I guess, we were not given the right to plan for our people, for our community, everything was being planned from the outside. Government people came and told us what to do. Even though they told us “this is your money,” you were always in a box. We were told, “you must follow this policy; you must follow this regulation.” So we are always controlled by that [system]. For many years our people were in bonds by the system. Even though our people are the ones who have lived on this lands for many years. We are here year round. We are here when it’s winter, we’re here when it’s spring, we’re here when it’s summer, we’re here in the fall. We’ll always be here. There are many of our elders that have passed away, many of our people who have passed away, but we are still here. If we pass away, our children will be here tomorrow, our grandchildren will be here.

[...]

This is a new process that we’re working on. It’s exciting for our people that we’ve been given this opportunity. Nothing like this has ever happened in this area, where we’re given a new opportunity to say what needs to be done in our lands. So I believe you have to change, your organization has to change to fit into this process that’s beginning. Your old policies or your old regulations that you still work with— it’s not gonna work in this process that we’ve initiated. So yes we want to work with you. We want to work with anybody who wants to understand what’s happening here, what we’re trying to do here.

(Mr. Paddy Peters, Land use planning coordinator for the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, in a meeting with members from the Partnership for Public Lands, WFMC archives, Pikangikum First Nation, March 2005).

### **1.1. Context for the research**

This thesis deals with the contentious politics of land use planning in the Far North Region of Ontario, Canada<sup>1</sup> and the influence of non-governmental organizations—

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<sup>1</sup> Note on terminology: The Far North region of Ontario is referred as the “Far North” in the Far North Act (2010), which established the planning area now known as the Far North of Ontario. The Far North includes the northern portion of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources regions of Northwest and Northeast Ontario. I use the term Far North Region to identify it as both a planning region and a geographical region. All First Nation communities in the Far North—save for independent Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation—belong to the political Treaty organization of Nishnawbe Aski Nation. Nishnawbe Aski Nation territory covers about 2/3 of Ontario and includes communities in the Far North and in the ‘Lands for Life’ planning area south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel.

including civil society organizations and private foundations—within Indigenous–state relations.<sup>2</sup> While Canada is a post-colonial state, the state and Aboriginal communities are still addressing the legacies of attempted assimilation and the continuous assertion of provincial government control over Crown lands (McNab, 1999; Teillet, 2005; Wilkes, 2006). As part of this legacy, the negotiations over land use planning, management, and developments are constrained by unequal power relations, as “land and knowledge are both sites of struggle at the very root of colonialism” (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005; Christensen and Grant, 2007, 117; Gregory, 2000; Sidaway, 2000). Indeed, post-colonial states have not been immune to the continuation of neo-colonial practices under the mantle of inclusive projects and discourses (Sidaway, 2000), and colonialism continues to affect the participation of Aboriginal people in environmental governance (McGregor, 2009). Post-colonial processes are uneven, diverse, and for this reason require careful readings and deconstruction, i.e., while organizations may change, they may still function according to idealized views of ‘representing society’ and ‘working in society’s best interest’ (Ashcroft et al., 2007). However, while there is a theoretical angle for analyzing Indigenous–state relations under the lenses of post-colonialism, in this thesis I focus instead on recent directions within political ecology, which look at the re-regularization of the state as a product of neoliberal conservation (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). This re-

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<sup>2</sup> Note on terminology: Civil society broadly “refers to the intermediate sphere between the state and the market” (Lane, 2003, 360). The term Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) originated in the system of the United Nations, and refers to legally constituted organizations that operate independently from any government and are not conventional for-profit business (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). They are also referred to as civil society organizations. Foundations are differentiated by civil society organizations or NGOs because they either fund or support other organizations (i.e., often NGOs). Environmental Non-governmental Organizations (ENGOS) refers to civil society organizations that are involved in conservation and environmental issues. The term Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) has been coined to represent Big Conservation: they are global, well funded by “multilateral development banks, bilateral donors, and wealthy foundations” and focus on “the ‘preservation’ of habitats and ecosystems in areas far from their homes” (Alcorn, 2005, 39). Non-state actors encompass all these groups, as they are organizations (1) capable of influencing politics, (2) but not belonging to any institution of the state. In this thesis, ENGO is used to identify mainly the activities of NGOs in Canada, while BINGO is used to identify their international connections and reach. The term ‘non-state actor’ is used to identify NGOs, First Nation communities, as well as for-profit corporations.

regularization plays out in the interactions between state and non-state actors, in this case Indigenous people and conservation organizations.

Internationally, powerful transnational environmental networks guiding environmental planning, management, and policy development are also intersecting Indigenous–government relations (Büscher et al., 2012; Chapin, 2004; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Lane and Morrison, 2006). Despite the recognized importance of civil society organizations within the field of environmental governance (Friedmann, 1998; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000), these concerns have emerged specifically with regard to the internationalization of their intervention into domestic policy-making, and the reconfiguration of the state towards greater acceptance of these changes (Bernstein and Cashore, 2000; Brosius, 1999; Howlett et al., 2009; Novellino and Dressler, 2010).

This research seeks to analyze the ‘politics of scale’ in boreal<sup>3</sup> environmental governance, specifically the ways in which the production of scale by civil society organizations intersects and impacts Indigenous–state relations. The ‘politics of scale’ are defined as “the production, reconfiguration or contestation of particular differentiations, orderings and hierarchies among geographical scales” (Brenner, 2001, 600). An emergent area of inquiry in political ecology, ‘politics of scale’ show that non-governmental organizations shift and reorganize the levels at which they can be most effective (Lebel et al., 2007; McCarthy, 2005; Neumann, 2009; Rangan and Kull, 2009; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). Shifts in levels and scale, or ‘rescaling,’ in turn have consequences for who sits at the table, who ultimately decides, and how much power different actors gain or lose (Lebel, 2006).

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<sup>3</sup> Note on terminology: The Canadian boreal forest is found roughly north of the 50<sup>th</sup> parallel. It spans from eastern Newfoundland and Labrador to northern Yukon and covers about 35 percent of Canada’s land mass and 77 percent of Canada’s total forests. The Boreal Forest Region is one of nine forest regions in Canada (characterized mainly by coniferous trees such as fir and spruce) and represents a 1,000 km wide tract of land separating temperate and deciduous forest to the south, from tundra to the north (Natural Resources Canada, 2009) The Far North is divided in two ecozones: the Boreal Shield (80 percent forested) to the west and the Hudson Bay Lowlands (closer to the taiga and characterized by peatlands) to the east and north of the Boreal Shield. I do not distinguish between the two, since ‘boreal conservation campaigns’ have aimed at protecting both forests and peatlands. Boreal governance refers to the Boreal Forest Region as a contested political site.

In Canada, the political ecology of boreal conservation is emerging as an inquiry into the relationship between Aboriginal people, conservation, and resource access (Baldwin, 2003; Braun, 2002; Clapp, 2004; Nadasdy, 2003; Natcher et al., 2004). However, less attention has been paid to the role that non-state actors play in promoting or hindering Indigenous–state relations and the different ways in which Indigenous People seek to create paths towards self-determination. Consistent with an international trend towards the inclusion and participation of civil society in environmental governance, a notable development in the sphere of policy development has been the inclusion of several new actors sitting at decision-making tables at different levels of governance (Cartwright, 2003; Howlett et al., 2009; Lawson et al., 2001). In Ontario, for example, historical policies geared at forestry industry maximization have shifted to take into consideration a broader spectrum of interests, including environmental and recreational, as well as broader Aboriginal demands for inclusion in decision-making and development opportunities (Baldwin, 2003; Cartwright, 2003; Lawson et al., 2001; Stefanick, 2001).

Inclusive and participatory trends have led Aboriginal organizations and different levels of provincial governments—with the support of non-state organizations, consultants, and academic researchers—to seek ways to address the inclusion of Aboriginal issues in forestry (Stevenson and Natcher, 2010), in protected areas planning and management (Peepre and Dearden, 2002), and to search for culturally appropriate criteria and indicators to guide resource management (Natcher and Hickey, 2002; Shearer et al., 2009). These partnerships have also led to formal joint and co-management arrangements (Berkes, 2009a).

However, Aboriginal communities have also attempted to move beyond stakeholder participation and towards government-to-government relations as part of a more favourable interpretation of the intent and spirit of the historical treaties, as well as of the constitutionally affirmed and recognized Aboriginal and Treaty rights (Government of Canada, 1982). Many communities are striving to find collaborative frameworks for working together (Armitage et al., 2009; Howlett et al., 2009; Natcher, 2001; Natcher et al., 2005; Natcher and Davis, 2007; Stevenson, 2006; Wyatt et al., 2010). For example, academic actors in the case study area as well as in other regions have coined the term

place-based learning communities to describe an approach that seeks to create common ground and improve cross-cultural communication (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty, 2007; McGregor et al., 2010; Shearer et al., 2009).

Civil society organizations such as Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGOs), Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) and foundations have also become increasingly active actors in shaping environmental management, policy development, and government legislation (Bartley, 2007; Cartwright, 2003; Corson, 2010; Lane and Morrison, 2006). States and communities collaborate with these actors on the premises of their attention to *public interest* and their assumed position as intermediaries between the demands of the state and the market (Friedmann, 1998; Wondolleck and Yaffe, 2000). However, ENGOs have been subject to critical review because of issues of representation, the potential for corporatist agreements and increasing partnerships with industry, unwarranted assumptions of being democratic, independent, effective and efficient players in the face of deregulation, and the hollowing of the state and state resources (Lane and Morrison, 2006). For example, concerns have been raised with regard to the growth of a handful of conservation organizations able to leverage significant capital while reinforcing western-driven ideals of conservation tied to the division of land (and in some cases tied to the exclusionary management approaches) rather than supportive of locally-based conservation efforts (Bartley, 2007; Chapin, 2004; Corson, 2010; Dowie, 2001). As a result, while conservation organizations and Aboriginal communities in Canada have developed productive partnerships that brought attention to threats of outside-led development in Aboriginal territories (Feit, 2001; Wallace, 2010), these internationally-driven agendas have also sidelined the views of the communities involved (Baldwin, 2003; Braun, 2002). Thus, Lane and Morrison (2006, 240) suggest that democratic representation, public interest, and accountability should be upheld in emerging multi-level governance regimes.

The first phase of the research started in 2007 and focused on how Aboriginal people viewed protected areas, and gained access to spaces for shifting decision-making around protected areas. I worked with the community of Pikangikum First Nation (PFN), a remote community located in the Far North Region of Ontario (Figure 1). PFN and the

Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) were leading the way in terms of developing innovative institutional arrangements to access land-based opportunities located within their traditional territory—spanning 1.3 million ha of Crown or public land—through a community-based land use planning approach (Chapeskie et al., 2004; PFN and OMNR, 2006; Smith, 2007). The resulting “*Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetwahkeemeenaan Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy*” signed into policy in 2006, became the first community-based land use strategy to be developed in the Far North Region of Ontario (PFN and OMNR, 2006).



**Figure 1.** First Nation communities in the Far North (OMNR, 2011). Map modified by author to show the location of Pikangikum First Nation. © Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 2011.



Fieldwork in the community provided an in-depth understanding of the reasons why the community of Pikangikum decided to plan with the Ontario Provincial Government—here represented by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources—as opposed to seeking a different interaction (e.g., by acquiring rights to new commercial resources through court cases). It also highlighted conflicting perspectives with civil society organizations—here represented by provincial conservation organizations involved in planning with Pikangikum—on how protected areas should be identified as part of a community-based land use planning approach. The second phase of my research started in 2008 and focused on documenting how a transnational conservation network influenced changes in planning policy, and the effects of this shift on the development of government-to-government relations in the Far North Region of Ontario, and on Aboriginal people's ability to access and participate in decision-making processes that affect their lands (Baldwin, 2003; Bernstein and Cashore, 2000; Braun, 2002; Eden, 2009; Lorentz, 2009).

As I show in this thesis, attention to the local level planning process for protected areas showed that Pikangikum Elders' approach to planning for protected areas extended beyond the identification of these areas to encompass a new relationship with the Provincial Government. Yet, the results of planning also led to conflicts with provincial conservation organizations, and led them to challenge the community-based land use planning approach pioneered in the Far North Region by Pikangikum First Nation for fostering a 'piecemeal' approach to conservation and protected areas planning. The conflict was due to Pikangikum people's interests in developing new commercial opportunities; provincial conservationists' interests in instituting a comprehensive planning framework for areas not yet allocated to industrial developments; and national and international interests of BINGOs in pursuing the protection of 50 percent of the Canadian boreal forest (IBCC, 2011). Such conflicts were initially only visible through interactions at the local level (in the first phase of the research). They became of broader relevance to understanding the impacts of transnational conservation organizations on public policy development once convergent national and international efforts shifted the Provincial Government's policy for planning in the Far North Region in 2008. The resulting piece of legislation, Bill 191, embedded a 50 percent target for conservation and a 50 percent target for development. Despite Aboriginal organizations' rejection of the

Bill for failing to address their needs and concerns, Bill 191 was passed in 2010 as the Far North Act (2010).

As I reflected on the results of my research, it became clear that the points of contention in conservation planning in the Far North Region of Ontario reflected a ‘politics of scale’ that relied on strategic actions and specific framings of scale that supported the differential intervention of non-state actors. However, how could the ‘politics of scale’ and framing practices be documented? And what were their effects? Did these changes in levels and scales enable Aboriginal communities to gain access and control over their resources through a land use planning process? Did they lead to better relationships with the state? Or did these changes in scale constrain the ability of Aboriginal communities to lead land use planning and resource development?

The results of this thesis point to a potential continuation of exclusionary planning practices in the Far North Region of Ontario. In this scenario, First Nations may continue to be at a disadvantage financially and in terms of capacity building, leading to the standardization and technocratization of planning practices, and the opening of the Far North Region not only to conservation but also to development. Such a process would fail to address Aboriginal interests in participating in planning as a way to move towards self-governance. Further, this thesis points towards the creation of larger scales of governance where civil society organizations’ interventions in policy development override the influence of Aboriginal organizations, without being accountable to communities and representative of their needs. On the other hand, a positive outcome would be for a space to open up for First Nations to lead a broader dialogue about self-determination, conservation and development in the boreal forest, and to envision what post-colonial conservation might look like in the boreal forests of Ontario and Canada.

## **1.2. Purpose and objectives**

The purpose of the research was to examine the political ecology of conservation planning in northern Ontario between 2000 and 2010. Through a focus on two geographical scales (Pikangikum First Nation’s territory and the Far North Region), I specifically aimed to analyze how non-state actors influenced planning policy

development; and how changes in planning policy shifted Aboriginal communities' relationship to the Provincial Government. The objectives of the research were:

1. To understand historical precedents to land use planning (1975–1999), and analyze changes in land use planning policy and Aboriginal participation in planning in the Far North Region of Ontario specifically between 2000 and 2010.
2. To document the role and strategies of civil society organizations involved in conservation-based land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario between 2000 and 2010.
  - a. What are the events that signaled the influence of non-state actors?
  - b. How were windows of opportunity defined and seized?
  - c. How were resources mobilized (networks and funding)?
  - d. How was scientific knowledge mobilized to advance changes in land use plans?
  - e. How was public discourse mobilized?
3. To identify and analyze the strategic framing of planning approaches by different non-state actors and their implications for the framing of scale.
  - a. How were threats to the land, and opportunities for change, framed through the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation?
  - b. How were land use planning approaches strategically framed through the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation?
  - c. How were threats to the land, and opportunities for change, framed by the International Conservation Campaign Network?
  - d. How were land use planning approaches strategically framed by the International Conservation Campaign Network?

### **1.3. Conceptual background**

The *politics of scale* underscores the ways in which different actors strategically shift scales and levels for land use planning. In order to address the 'politics of scale' in the Far North Region of Ontario, I developed a conceptual framework based on three main theory areas: (1) community-based conservation management and planning, (2) political ecology, and (3) a political process model of social mobilization. All three areas are addressed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Regarding the first area, two doctrines have characterized the field of land use planning: the rational-comprehensive approach and the territory approach (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979). The first, representative of planning as a tool of the state, has often disempowered and marginalized Indigenous communities (Lane, 2006; Scott, 1998). The second one has

represented the interests of communities and their territories, but has only recently re-emerged as a tool for empowerment and re-acquisition of Indigenous rights (Lane 2006). Studies in the field of the commons have identified community-based approaches to resource management and conservation as ways to address the pitfalls of top-down management approaches of state government (Berkes, 2004; Ostrom, 1990; Scott, 1998). Other difficulties such as lack of resources, capacity and competing agendas have challenged the actual implementation of decentralization processes, leading to the theorization of multi-level, adaptive governance systems as ways to address issues of scale, cross-scale interactions, and institutional interplay (Berkes, 2008; Dietz et al., 2003; Ostrom, 2005; Termeer et al., 2010; Young, 2002). Scholars have thus pointed out that ignoring the multi-level nature of community-based initiatives, as well as the need for supportive and accountable linkages and larger level institutions, may represent an important limitation to their effective implementation (Almudi and Berkes, 2010; Walker et al., 2009).

At the same time, power relations also develop within multi-level governance systems, which limit communities' efforts at sustaining or re-acquiring their own decision-making processes. First, multi-level governance systems may lead to the entrenchment of existing power relations (i.e. 'scale dominance'), with actors at higher levels reinforcing corporatist or functional relationships through the allocation of formal authority (Armitage et al., 2009; Lebel et al., 2007; Young, 2006). Second, scale dominance may also result from hegemonic relations that are reinforced by the allocation of material resources, or supported through hegemonic framings or narratives. Hegemonic framings can include a functional view of community-based land use planning as a standardized process that is uncritically accepted and implemented in policy (Roe, 1991; Young, 2006). In this case, specific framings of scale may legitimize the appropriate spatial scales for planning, the appropriate knowledge systems, and define the level of engagement of different participants and stakeholders (Lebel, 2006; van Lieshout et al., 2011). Third, higher-level organizations, such as environmental organizations, may link functions among different levels of governance but be unaccountable to lower-level institutions. As Young (2002) argues, the critical analyses of multi-level governance systems, and the implications of

vertical and horizontal interplay on the distribution of power across levels and scales, need to be better explored.

Political ecology is a second area of research that has provided a framework for understanding why struggles occur over access to, and control of, resources in conservation planning and management (Neumann, 2005; Robbins, 2004). Top-down approaches to conservation, even when masked under the rubric of community-based conservation, have negatively affected rural livelihoods (Goldman, 2003). Different groups have also used science for their own purposes. Political ecologists have critiqued the ways in which science has been used to serve the interests of higher levels of governance. This is shown in cases where favouring ecological goals rather than a coupling of social and ecological systems negatively impacted local livelihoods (Bocking, 2004; Forsyth, 2003). Finally, political ecologists have borrowed from sociology and human geography discussions on the ‘production of space’ to develop a critical approach to scale and scale issues when linking non-state, transnational groups actions to the development of new forms of environmental governance around conservation (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1996; McCarthy, 2005; Smith, 2008).

This thesis focuses on one aspect of political ecology, which is the analysis of power distribution across levels and scales through the ‘politics of scale’. The politics of scale relies on the assumption that scale, like space, is socially constructed and politically produced (Brenner, 2001; Neumann, 2009; Smith, 2008; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). Both the state and non-state actors, such as large environmental organizations, are implicated in ‘scalar politics’— meaning that they shape, construct, and redefine geographical scales as well as environmental governance (McCarthy, 2005). In order to trace how scales are constructed, political ecologists can uncover the discourses or story-lines that support specific decision-making levels (e.g., institutions, jurisdictions), who the actors are that support these story-lines, and what the practices or strategies are that lead to their implementation (Adger et al., 2001; Forsyth, 2003; Hajer, 1995; Leach and Mearns, 1996; Peet and Watts, 1996; Smith, 2008).

The political process model is a third strand of research adopted to address the actual practices and strategies of constructing scale (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; McAdam,

1982; McAdam et al., 2001). The political process model is used to address the strategies that different actors adopted to shift decision-making levels and change cross-scale interactions, and to discuss ways in which Aboriginal communities can counter the politics of scale in the Far North Region (McAdam, 1982; McAdam et al., 2001). The model identifies three important factors for mobilization to occur: 1) the structure of political opportunity; 2) Indigenous organizational strength; and 3) framing processes.

Table 1 summarizes three theory areas used to frame this research conceptually in order to understand how cross-level and cross-scale interactions in multi-level governance shift the structure of power. This involves addressing (1) how scale plays a role in contentious politics over land use planning; (2) what role different actors play in scaling and re-scaling decision-making platforms; and (3) how these processes of change can be documented.

**Table 1.** Conceptual framework.

<b>Conceptual areas</b>	<b>What research shows</b>	<b>Implications of approach</b>
Community-based conservation management and planning, and multi-level governance	Opportunities and challenges with decentralization and devolution; shift towards multi-level governance	A multi-level governance approach that supports local-level management systems
Political ecology of conservation	Critical analysis of conservation approaches; co-production of science and policy; and role of non-state actors in conservation governance	Analysis of how scale plays a role in contentious politics
Political process model	Addresses the mechanisms of social mobilization; factors that facilitate social mobilization, and factors that hamper or co-opt mobilization	Documents political opportunity, tactics and strategic framing

## **1.4. Methodology**

In this research, I used a case study approach to document the political process which led to changes in land use planning policies in Ontario, and to discuss the implications of

these changes for government-to-government relations—in this case through Aboriginal participation in land use planning decision-making processes and policy development (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2003). I started this research with the community of Pikangikum First Nation to understand the process and challenges for the designation of new protected areas in their traditional territory under a community-based land use planning process, and their role in changing policies for protected areas. As I describe in Chapter 3, I then used the political process model to trace the role of non-state actors in influencing land use planning policy for the rest of the Far North Region in Ontario and, based on the results of the fieldwork in Pikangikum, to discover why such processes were problematic for community-based land use planning initiatives elsewhere.

The research involved two main phases that focused on two distinct geographical scales. The first phase was rooted in learning about Pikangikum people's approaches to conservation and new dedicated protected area planning, through participant observation, interviews, group discussions and document analysis. In this phase I also sought to understand the views of conservation organizations and government representatives that partnered with the Whitefeather Forest Initiative of Pikangikum. Fieldwork pointed out different views on the appropriate levels at which decisions for protected areas should be made, showing this as a major area of contention with large conservation organizations lobbying for boreal conservation. The second phase of the research began in 2008 when land use planning policy changed in the Far North Region of Ontario. I refined the objectives of the research to document how civil society organizations supported changes to the land use planning policy, and to situate these changes within a historical context of northern planning. The second phase was based on document analysis, including the analysis of organizational websites, press releases, and newspaper articles about organizations that participated, or were linked through their networks, to the goals of the International Boreal Conservation Campaign of the Pew Charitable Trusts (<http://www.interboreal.org>). In Chapter 3 I describe in detail why I chose this data-collection method, as well as how I analyzed policy change at the larger provincial level, identified which actors were involved, what resources conservation organizations had at their disposal (e.g., human, financial), what strategies were adopted, and how demands

were framed. I used media content analysis to document strategies and, together with follow-up interviews, to verify the events reported.

This thesis is based on the constructivist and advocacy paradigms, which recognize that social meaning is constructed and interpreted, and that alternative stories can be used to counter prevailing or hegemonic narratives (Cresswell, 2009). As I detail in Chapter 3, I followed a process of ‘restorying’, which consists in “gathering stories, analyzing them for key elements of the story (e.g., time, place, plot, and scene), and then rewriting the story to place it within a chronological sequence” (Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002, 332; Polkinghorne, 1995). Rather than providing a synthesis of stories, data for the case study research was analyzed to develop a new account, based on describing the setting and historical planning context, the role different actors played in this specific land use planning policy development arena, and constructing a plausible sequence of events that led to changes in land use planning policy.

### **1.5. Significance of the thesis**

Several researchers have addressed the emerging field of the political ecology of boreal conservation (Baldwin, 2003; Baldwin, 2009a; Ekers, 2009; Lorentz, 2009; Nadasdy, 2003; Natcher et al., 2004; Reed, 2007), and looked at the legitimacy of the internationalization of the environmental governance regime in Canada (Bartley, 2007; Bernstein and Cashore, 2000; Eden, 2009; Wilson, 2003). However, less attention has been paid to the ways in which changes in environmental governance influence Indigenous–state relations in the acquisition of rights over resources, planning, and management responsibilities. The strategies and tactics used by non-state, transnational networks (i.e., national and international conservation organizations and private foundations) can undermine Indigenous–state relationships by shifting the negotiating positions—and thus the levels of political opportunity and access to resources—of Indigenous People. They can also undermine the framings, which Indigenous–state partners develop in order to move forward their respective objectives. In this thesis, I address the contentious politics that developed around community-based land use planning, and how the politics of scale intersected with Aboriginal–state relations.



Transnational networks of conservation organizations and foundations played an important role in shifting the planning levels and scales for Aboriginal communities and the Provincial Government in the Far North Region of Ontario, by influencing who sits at the decision-making table, who decides and how much power different actors gain to set their own framings in policy.

## **1.6. Overview of the thesis**

The division of powers between government levels—federal jurisdiction over Indians and Indian Reserves and provincial jurisdiction over Crown land and resources—restricted the range of demands Aboriginal people were able to make to access commercial and subsistence resources, which were located outside of reserves (see Annex 1 for a summary of Aboriginal rights and court cases that have sought to define these rights). Restrictive land use designations included protected areas; allocation of resources to industry without adequate consultation and even less consent; and regulation of subsistence activities. Aboriginal communities have responded in many ways to the pressures of provincial and federal government jurisdiction, and since the 1970s they have been involved in court challenges, negotiation agreements, and often blockades and protests. Of relevance, the provincial and Supreme courts have recognized that—despite the division of powers—both federal and provincial governments have a “duty to consult” with regards to developments in Crown lands.

On the other hand, land use planning may also provide access and control of commercial activities to Aboriginal communities. In the case of Ontario, four major planning initiatives that succeeded each other in the central and northern regions since the 1970s have defined, both through their failure or adoption in policy, a trajectory for Aboriginal communities’ engagement with the Province. As I analyze in Chapter 4, these include the West Patricia Land Use Plan (1982), Ontario’s ‘Lands for Life’ (1997–1999), the Northern Boreal Initiative (2001), and the Far North Act (2010). The events related in the thesis are found in Annex 2.

In the 1970s, the political organization representing Treaty 9 communities—the Grand Council of Treaty #9, later to become Nishnawbe Aski Nation) challenged Ontario’s

large-scale allocation of resources through top-down planning approaches such as the West Patricia Land Use Plan (1982). Their resistance led to the closure of the Far North Region to forestry development (Figure 1). In the 1990s the Provincial Government led a comprehensive land use planning process for Ontario's lands south of the Far North Region where forestry had been allocated—the 'Lands for Life' process. Aboriginal organizations withdrew from participating in this multi-stakeholder process where their interests were equated to those of interest groups, and instead upheld their requests for the development of a qualitatively distinct relationship based on government-to-government relations.

In the mid 1990s, communities in the Far North Region expressed a desire to lead land-based commercial activities such as forestry, by developing a partnership with the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources, and agreeing on the steps—including the development of enabling policy that would be required to access those opportunities which had been closed to forestry development in the 1980s. The Provincial Government designed the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework in 2001 to respond to communities interested in development, by enabling the development of community-based land use plans. Pikangikum First Nation was the first community to complete the land use plan in 2006.

Between 2001 and 2005, conservation organizations that were initially supportive of community-led planning approaches challenged the outcomes that emerged from Pikangikum's land use strategy. They stated that these results were leading to 'piecemeal' conservation and did not reflect a community-based approach (for a list of actors see Annex 3). In 2005, Ontario-based conservation organizations such as the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society–Wildlands League and the Sierra Legal Defense Fund (since 2007, EcoJustice)—and provincially appointed 'watchdog' organizations such as the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario—asked the Provincial Government to change the Northern Boreal Initiative policy and institute a comprehensive land use planning approach for the Far North Region. This request paralleled a growing international campaign—the International Boreal Conservation Campaign of the Pew Charitable Trusts, with a host of international conservation organizations (also known as Big

International Non-government Organizations or BINGOs)—to protect 50 percent of the boreal forest and institute comprehensive land use planning. This target was proposed in 2003 as part of a multi-stakeholder framework, the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. In 2005, the Provincial Government rejected the request from Ontario conservation organizations as it also coincided with the beginning of a Treaty-wide discussion between Treaty #9 Nishnawbe Aski Nation (covering part of the ‘Lands for Life’ planning area and the whole Far North of Ontario) and the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources, which included the issue of land use planning.

As international pressure increased, so did pressure on the Provincial Government. In the aftermaths of the provincial Premier’s re-election in 2007, Ontario conservation organizations, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign of the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Ottawa-based Canadian Boreal Initiative mobilized public relations at different government levels to demand changes in land use planning approaches in the boreal and specifically in the Far North Region, and to demand a commitment to protection. In Chapter 5 and 6, I documented how the mobilization of transnational networks occurred around a key framework, the actions of key leaders, and access to convergent funding. I then addressed how public relations was mobilized through ties to decision-making bodies in Ontario, the media, scientists, and First Nation communities as well as campaigns and reports that focused on a bio-regional conservation-based planning framework.

In 2008, the Premier of Ontario announced a change in land use planning policy following international pressure for conservation, as well as increasing demands from industry to gain access to mining resources while limiting conflicts with Aboriginal communities. The announcement included the protection of 50 percent of the Far North Region, through a process that integrated community-based land use planning within a comprehensive regional-level framework, and led to the final approval of supporting legislation in 2010. However, Nishnawbe Aski Nation rejected both the faulty consultation process that led to the tabling of the Far North Act (2010), and the Act itself, claiming that it imposed a ‘super park’ on Nishnawbe Aski Nation lands; it failed to address the sharing of resources long advocated for; it strengthened Provincial

Government jurisdiction in the Far North by allowing for developments in the name of provincial interests; and froze development if planning steps were not followed at the community level. Since 2010, Nishnawbe Aski Nation has appealed to the international sphere for support in challenging both the actions of large conservation organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund, who had signed agreements supportive of Indigenous Peoples' rights, and Ontario government's lack of support for consultation.

The planning process in Pikangikum First Nation's territory showed that the process of seeking a path towards better Aboriginal-state relations—which are geared at maintaining control over one's lands, ensuring the survival of their children as a people, and ultimately leading to self-determination—cannot be developed by simply stating that the process is community-based, but has to be rooted in the territory. Planning requires high transaction costs in terms of building partnerships that support their leadership, ensuring their knowledge is visible and balanced with scientific knowledge, finding resources, capacity building, and developing mutual understanding with the Provincial Government. The intervention of transnational networks of civil society organizations and private foundations in land use planning policy development intersected with community-based processes and Treaty-level discussions with the Provincial Government, and has shifted planning towards a more functional approach. Based on this approach, the Provincial Government may rely on past experiences to standardize and expedite the planning process in order to avoid costly processes, and ultimately provide certainty to industry while gaining the support of environmental groups.

The analysis of the political process also showed that there was a 'politics of scale' at play, which changed the field in which different actors were able to set their own claims and demands. The framing of 'community-based' planning was rooted in a specific community's approach to conservation and development, which reflected a concern towards developing new land-based activities that would secure Pikangikum people's access and control of their territory, and enable Pikangikum people to continue living from their resources. It served to legitimize the participation of Elders and community members in the land use planning process. This approach supported their knowledge, which they wanted to be in balance with scientific knowledge; grounded the partnerships

they developed on the community's context and needs; and made no claims for lands of their territories for which they would not speak. Funding was sought to support the activities of the community in planning. The framing of scale as 'comprehensive' supported the intervention of non-state actors as providers of scientific knowledge of larger scale processes; it supported their position as bridging agents between different spatial and institutional levels of decision-making; for example, by participating in advisory committees; it enabled them to generate funding for themselves, and to support and give visibility to the partners and communities with whom they worked directly.

Documenting how a transnational network changed Provincial policy, and how this change influenced the scales of engagement for Aboriginal communities, helped to demonstrate that the changes in Ontario policy were in large part the result of a strategic effort from US-based foundations and a few large national and international conservation organizations to gain legitimacy in Canadian decision-making process regarding land allocation. While shaping government policy is natural behaviour for civil society organizations, this intervention ultimately shifted Aboriginal people's ability to influence not only decisions on their territory but also to influence the framing of policies which affected their territories. Impacts are likely to differ depending on where communities stand in relation to conservation and development, what vision they have for moving towards self-governance, which development pressures they face on their territories, what access to resources they have, and which actors support them. Regardless of future community involvement in land use planning, the process through which changes in the scales of planning were brought forward have provoked an Aboriginal response, and contentious interaction continues to involve Aboriginal organizations and communities at different spatial and jurisdictional scales.

## **Chapter 2. Theoretical background**

### **2.1. Introduction**

As a tool of the state for measuring, surveying, categorizing, allocating, and increasing the legibility of the landscape, land use planning has been a contested process (Scott, 1998). However, it has also been seen as a tool that can help address Indigenous empowerment and control over their territories through community-based approaches (Hibbard et al., 2008). In order to address the contentious politics of land use planning in the Far North Region of Ontario, I draw from three areas of study—community-based conservation management and planning, political ecology, and the political process model within the field of social mobilization.

### **2.2. Community-based conservation planning and management**

#### **2.2.1. Decentralization and devolution**

Top-down, state-led planning approaches have been critiqued both from social (Hibbard et al., 2008; Scott, 1998) and ecological perspectives (Holling and Meffe, 1996). Scott (1998) argued that state planning led to both legibility and ‘simplification’ of both the social and ecological worlds, that was born out of “a drive towards administrative ordering of nature and society, the adherence to high modernist ideologies, the existence of authoritarian states willing to exercise considerable coercive power, and a weakened civil society” (Scott, 1998, 225). As a colonial instrument, top-down natural resource management and planning have dismantled and weakened many local institutions that governed the commons as well as smallholder private areas. Conversely, ecologists have been concerned with the extent to which rationalist approaches to development, often aided by scientists, were deployed at the expense of natural environments (Holling and Meffe, 1996). Shifts towards an understanding of complex, non-linear and non-equilibrium adaptive systems have been accompanied by including a systems view, considering humans in ecosystems, and accepting participatory approaches as part of ecosystem management (Berkes, 2004).

Studies in the commons have identified community-based approaches to resource management and conservation as ways to address the pitfalls of top-down management approaches of state government (Berkes, 2004; Ostrom, 1990; Scott, 1998). Commons theorists have highlighted local people's knowledge about the environment in which they live, and the formal and informal institutions that have been developed to manage their resources sustainably (Ostrom, 1990). According to Ostrom (1998), decentralized decision-making in the context of the commons facilitates access to local knowledge, increases excludability, enables feedback on the performance of rules, lowers enforcement costs, and creates a space for experimentation.

These perspectives have been accompanied by the realization that decisions taken closer to the ground may better account for the needs of local communities, what is commonly referred to as the subsidiarity principle, and implemented through both decentralization and devolution. Decentralization is usually defined as the transfer of power to local government, while devolution is seen as the ceding of powers to actors and institutions at lower levels (i.e., to local user groups) (Berkes, 2010, 491). Decentralization and devolution through community-based natural resource management, community-based land use planning and re-evaluation of traditional ecological knowledge have been attempted internationally (Berkes, 2010; Hibbard et al., 2008; Ribot, 2002).

#### ***2.2.1.1. Devolution in planning***

Friedmann and Weaver (1979) identified two doctrines of planning practice to respond to the question of *why* planning was done in specific ways: the territory and function doctrines. In referring to these doctrines, they underlined their exclusive and cyclical nature, which appeared to alternate historically (Hodge and Robinson, 2001). Unlike geographical definitions of territoriality as territorial strategies of the state to control and enforce people's activity within the nation state (Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995), in planning theory, Friedmann and Weaver (1979, 41) see the 'territory' doctrine as an endogenous decision-making process to "improve the cultural as well as material circumstances of regional communities." The specificity of place and its people, and its non-replicability in space are its major focus. Conversely, the 'function' doctrine is a product of rationalist and modernist approaches to planning, in which each region is

treated “as part of a system of regions” and thus are treated functionally in relation to other regions (ibid., 86). These approaches recognize the former as favouring community-based approaches to land use planning, and the latter in favour of more centralized approaches based on the economic and political demands of the state, in some cases an expression of continued colonization.

Community-based planning is premised upon a territory doctrine. Hibbard et al. (2008, 146) report how community planning, as “instigated, controlled, and conducted at the local community level,” should contribute to “overcome the dysfunctions of imposed planning solution and meet locally derived goals for community development.” Lane (2006, 385) argues that planning may help Indigenous communities achieve land justice by “protecting Indigenous interests by participation in the planning activities of the state; helping Indigenous communities (re-) acquire custodial lands through legal land claim processes, and resolving the conflicts that frequently accompany these processes; and realizing Indigenous community development objectives through community-based planning.”

The position in favour of the local planning approach is based on ideas of empowerment, post-colonial politics, and place-based learning communities (Davidson-Hunt and O’Flaherty, 2007; Lane, 2003). Increasingly, this approach is also framed in terms of rights-based approaches and identified as a way to advance self-determination in post-colonial contexts. However, while this trend will not easily be supplanted, several challenges have limited support from both social and natural scientists (Berkes, 2010; Hibbard et al., 2008).

### ***2.2.1.2. Challenges with devolution***

Community-based conservation has been premised on the assumptions that local communities should not bear the costs of conservation; they should receive benefits that also achieve conservation goals; and they should acquire some form of management responsibility (Büscher and Dressler, 2007). The ways in which community-based conservation has been converted into practice, through the devolution of wildlife management initiatives, tourism development, and commercialization of non-timber forest products, however, has not always lived up to its expectations, shifting from



support for core aspects of rural livelihoods, to public–private partnerships focused on the service sector industry (Dressler and Büscher, 2008; Goldman, 2003; Hulme and Murphree, 2001). The presence of increasingly powerful conservation organizations controlling the planning and management of new conservation areas, as well as the increasing marketization of natural resources, have characterized the changing environmental governance of conservation and natural resource management (Bernstein, 2001; Hulme and Murphree, 2001; IUCN/WWF/UNEP, 1980).

These changes have also witnessed a widening gap between social and natural scientists. Social scientists have criticized community initiatives, claiming that top-down conservation had merely changed its name, failed to address the needs of local communities, and that these projects relied on simplified ideas of communities (as homogeneous entities), participation, and empowerment (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Hutton et al., 2005; Wilshusen et al., 2002). Despite lofty goals attached to decentralization, the practice itself has largely failed because of insufficient transfer of resources and power, elite capture of resources, marginalization of disadvantaged groups, lack of representativeness of decentralized bodies, fragmented management responsibilities, and increased tensions (Berkes 2010, 492).

Conversely, natural scientists have considered these projects to dilute the protection of biodiversity to a lesser priority, submerge it under excessive numbers of competing interests, and challenged the notion that enough knowledge existed about the ecosystems in question (Borgerhoff Mulder and Coppolillo, 2005). These charges have enabled a powerful anti–community-based conservation league to emerge (Krech, 1999; Redford and Stearman, 1993; Terborgh, 1999). This critique highlights how the protection of biodiversity is inextricably linked to moral imperatives; protected areas are vital to conservation; community-based conservation is ineffective at addressing biodiversity conservation; the eco-friendly local is a myth; and a sense of urgency is attached to the call for the immediate need for protection (Hutton et al., 2005; Wilshusen et al., 2002).

At the same time, challenges to community-based land use planning have included the risk of state co-optation of communities' aspirations for self-determination—by inscribing the process within a state-regulated and financed framework (Howlett et al.,

2009; Marshall, 2009)—and the opposite risk—that a parallel diminishing authority of the state may actually result in a disadvantage for minorities, whose interest can be sidelined by dominant interest groups and civil society organizations (Lane, 2003).

Yet, the trend towards devolution and community-based management and planning has not been suppressed, and will not be going away soon. It represents an imperfect but powerful idea especially in post-colonial contexts, a basic democratic principle of allowing local constituencies to have a say in decisions that affect their livelihoods, and a means to address governance challenges in a complex and uncertain world (Berkes 2010; Murphree, 2009). Rather than approaching it as a blueprint approach, the goal is to understand when community-based conservation and management are appropriate, where they do and do not work, and what can be done to improve this approach (Murphree, 2009).

In this context, Lane (2003) suggests that rather than devolution, collaborative relations should be developed and the state should be recognized for its potential to play a facilitating role when different interests are at stake. Indeed, as I outline in Section 2.2.2, ignoring multi-level linkages has presented a limitation to community-based conservation initiatives, and commons theorists have attempted to develop effective approaches to multi-level and adaptive governance (Ostrom, 1998; Ostrom, 2010).

### **2.2.2. Multi-level and adaptive governance**

Communities are often seen to represent the ‘local’ jurisdictional level, nested within larger jurisdictional levels such as the province and the state, and representing homogeneous interests. These views have been challenged, and approaches to community-based conservation planning and management have devoted more efforts to the analysis of multi-level arrangements (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). Commons theorists have agreed that, despite long-standing institutions guiding local resource use (Berkes, 2002; Ostrom, 1990), communities may not be able to face current complex social and environmental problems and the challenges of governance alone (Berkes, 2009a Dietz et al., 2003). Indeed, the lack of linkages among different levels (e.g., institutional,

jurisdictional, or knowledge) has led to situations of scale dominance over lower levels (Almudi and Berkes, 2010; Nayak, 2011; Walker et al., 2009).

Multi-level and adaptive governance have been proposed to address issues of scale, cross-scale interactions, and institutional interplay both horizontally across the same level and vertically across levels in community-based systems (Berkes, 2008; Folke et al., 2007; Termeer et al., 2010; Young, 2002).

“Cross-level” interactions refer to interactions among levels within a scale, whereas “cross-scale” means interactions across different scales, for example, between spatial domains and jurisdictions. “Multi-level” is used to indicate the presence of more than one level, and “multi-scale” the presence of more than one scale, but without implying that there are important cross-level or cross-scale interactions (Cash et al., 2006).

*Scale* refers to a dimension, whereas *level* refers to a location along a scale (Gibson et al., 2000). Cash et al. (2006) identify a number of different possible scales, including spatial, temporal, jurisdictional, institutional, as well as scales of management, networks, and knowledge (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Scales and levels (Cash et al., 2006).

Scales		Levels		
<b>Spatial</b>	Patches and territories	Landscape	Regions	Globe
<b>Temporal</b>	Days	Seasons	Annual	Decades
<b>Jurisdictional</b>	Patches and localities	Provincial	National	Inter-governmental
<b>Institutional</b>	Operating rules	Laws and regulations	Constitutions	International agreements
<b>Management</b>	Tasks	Projects	Strategies	
<b>Networks</b>	Family	Kin	Society	Trans-society
<b>Knowledge</b>	Specific			General

Actors work at different institutional levels, deal with different spatial levels, span different temporal levels, and mobilize diverse systems of knowledge to frame and justify their management and planning approaches. Contemporary environmental challenges involve systems that are global, linked to global pressures (e.g., though commerce), and that depend on multi-level governance systems (Dietz et al., 2003, 1908). Thus,

challenges occur with multi-level governance systems, in which institutions may interact vertically or horizontally (Almudi and Berkes, 2010; Young, 2002). For example, while higher-level arrangements may allow the consideration of functional interdependencies, and open opportunities for greater efficiency and more comprehensive approaches to equity, the costs are substantial (Young, 2002). The costs include the inability to address biophysical conditions, lack of attention to the knowledge and rights of local users, and the increase in influence for more politically powerful actors. Conversely, downscaling may prevent addressing complex issues.

One of the ‘archetypal’ issues addressed in studies of global environmental change are scale mismatches, i.e., spatial mismatches between management boundaries and ecological boundaries, temporal, functional, and knowledge mismatches (Folke et al., 2007; Termeer et al., 2010). According to Folke et al. (2007), scales change over time, new levels appear, and some disappear, while control may shift between levels. Rather than a hierarchical approach to scale, with the goal of finding the right scale of analysis, adaptive governance is meant to address the scale mismatches between levels by dealing explicitly with cross-level issues.

Means proposed towards adaptive governance include joint or co-management arrangements; epistemic communities (defined as “a community of professionals who share a commitment to a common cause and a common set of political values” that can be translated into public policy) (Haas, 1990, 41); policy networks; boundary organizations set between science and policy (Forsyth, 2003); polycentric systems where “there exist overlapping arenas (or centers) of authority and responsibility” (McGinnis, 1999, 2); and institutional interplay (Berkes, 2006; Termeer et al., 2010). The notion of polycentric institutions captures a system with multiple decision-making centres, of considerable autonomy from one another, and with overlapping arenas (or centers) of authority and responsibility at different levels (McGinnis, 1999, Ostrom, 1999; Ostrom et al., 1999[1961]). Multiple and overlapping centers of authority better represent the institutional variety needed to bridge different knowledge systems, enhance the capacity to capture feedback from policy and management interventions, match policy interventions to local contexts, create redundancy needed for resilience, and address the

challenges of environmental governance by facilitating learning from successful cases through networks of learning (Dietz et al., 2003; Levin, 1999; McGinnis, 1999; Ostrom, 1999).

Multi-level and adaptive governance present several challenges. One is to develop ways to build relationships across institutions “through knowledge co-production, trust building, sense-making, learning, vertical and horizontal integration, and conflict resolution” and find ways to work across different levels of governance (Berkes, 2009a, 1696; Ostrom, 1998). Other challenges include the inability to develop the linkages needed, scale dominance, and the development of networks that are not accountable to lower levels (Lebel, 2006; Nayak, 2011; Reid et al., 2006; van Lieshout et al., 2011; Young, 2006).

Even within the context of attempting to integrate multiple levels, there are political choices regarding scale. The choice of scale is not politically neutral since different actors contest the levels (spatial, temporal, and jurisdictional) at which decisions should be taken, and attempt to strategically “influence decisions about inclusion criteria for issues and sources of information, analytical methods, and rhetorical devices in communication” (Lebel, 2006, 37). These issues include defining the geographical level at which an issue should be considered, the boundaries which define who is a stakeholder, as well as the nature of the issues under discussion, which are often the result of a strong interaction between science and policy. Scale choices “may result in a ‘loss of opportunities’ for articulating local solutions to global problems with serious local repercussion” and thus scale may continue to emerge and represent an issue of contention (ibid., 41).

As I discuss in Section 2.3, understanding the ways in which actors try to assert levels and scales of action in which they are more effective, underscores a ‘politics of scale,’ where “scales are socially constructed and thus historically changeable through sociopolitical contestation” (Brenner, 2001, 600). Thus, Lebel (2006, 49) points out the importance of addressing how different actors re-scale strategically to support their interests, how they influence negotiations, and “bundle [...] controversial issues from other levels with easier issues at their preferred level in the hope that the more difficult

issues will be “accepted” by others with less scrutiny.” Lebel (2006) argues that this understanding can help build coalitions of interests that can lead to collective actions.

### **2.2.3. Summary**

Community-based conservation, natural resource management, and planning have all been considered for their potential to empower local communities and address unequal distribution of resources and benefits, and improve natural resources management.

Despite the range of cases of success and failures documented to date, the principle of granting more decision-making power to more decentralized locations is still seen as a goal worth striving for (Berkes, 2009a; Ostrom, 1990; Ostrom et al. 1999). However, as this review has shown, community-based approaches do not mean ‘local’ per se. The field of the commons has highlighted the role that polycentric and multi-level management systems can play in addressing complex environmental issues, as well as ensuring greater attention to how local communities can be empowered and contribute in fostering adaptive approaches to resource management and planning.

In the next Section, I address the field of political ecology. Following a review of the field, I adopt the theory area of political ecology to address how cross-scale arrangements within multi-level governance systems affect the distribution of power across levels and scales (Young, 2002). I do this by elucidating the concepts of the ‘production of scale’ and the ‘politics of scale’ (Brenner, 2001; Lefebvre, 1991; Smith, 2008).

### **2.3. A political ecology framework of conservation**

The hallmarks of political ecology have been the analysis of marginalization as a result of the structural constraints that capitalist development imposes on communities, and the analysis of agency in socially and economically marginalized groups involved in struggles and resistance to dominant environmental management approaches (Peet and Watts, 1996). This has meant a long-term engagement of the field with the colonial state, and the role of state coercion and violence, as well as a critical examination of the structural causes of environmental degradation (Leach and Mearns, 1996; Peet and Watts, 1996; Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995). However, the field has shifted from a concern with

colonial practices (e.g., the colonial roots of protected areas) to include a concern for the effects of globalization and the neoliberalization of conservation, including the re-regularization of the state. For example, rather than being the main culprits for environmental degradation, Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) used scaled ‘chains of explanation’ to link rural poverty to larger socio-economic processes, outside ‘structures’ such as national and international policies and practices, and integration of rural communities in global markets. This beginning marked the focus of political ecologists’ interest in local (initially mostly rural communities in developing countries) socio-ecological systems situated within the context of larger historical, socio-political, and economic structures (Neumann, 2005, Peet and Watts, 1996).

In the 1990s, with the influence of post-structuralist approaches, the field shifted towards (1) “mak[ing] more rigorous and explicit the causal connections between the logic and dynamics of capitalist growth and specific environmental outcomes,” (2) analyzing “the complex and practical association of political ecology and the institutions of civil society,” and (3) analyzing “the globalization of environmental discourse” and global environmental management (Peet and Watts, 1996, 9). Peet and Watts (1996, 34) described the aim of political ecology as “help[ing] uncover the discourses of resistance [to received wisdom], put them into circulation, create networks of ideas.” While early studies had focused on the role of the state, and colonial powers, attention was given to the role of transnational actors, civil society organizations and social movements, and a critical evaluation of institutions, policies, and management practices in terms of their impacts on the lives of resource users. As I describe in Section 2.3.3, within the field of conservation, there is a notable shift in assessing the colonial roots of conservation, and the increasing role that non-state actors are playing in the trend towards the commoditization of protected areas and their use as trade-offs to development.

Influenced by trends in sociology and anthropology, political ecologists also adopted a critical view of the claims of positivist science to objective knowledge, recognizing that ‘nature’ was socially constructed, and that power relations influenced what explanations of reality were accepted (Forsyth, 2003; Latour, 2004). Thus, political ecologists were able to critically assess “modernist notions of objectivity and rationality, on interrogating

the relationships between power and scientific knowledge, and the recognition of the existence of multiple, culturally constructed ideas of the environment and environmental problems” (Neumann, 2005, 7). Post-structuralist proponents underlined the importance of discourse, representation, and framing of the causes and solutions to environmental problems, integrating in the process political, ecological, as well as material and discursive dimensions (Forsyth, 2003; Neumann, 2005). These studies also contributed to understanding how and why some “facts” were made visible at the expense of others, since the definition of what is ‘acceptable knowledge’ is a political act (Latour, 2004).

### **2.3.1. Definitions: Narratives, framing, storylines, and the question of received wisdom**

Political ecologists have adopted a number of concepts to identify the ways in which dominant ideas, ideologies and practices have promoted external interventions at the expense of local systems of management (Adger et al., 2001; Leach and Mearns, 1996; Roe, 1991). Rather than referring to ideologies, however, political ecologists have used ‘narrative’, ‘framing’, and ‘story lines’ to capture the ways in which such ideas are or become hegemonic, and remain unquestioned.

According to Roe (1991), narratives are stabilizing ideas or stories with a chronological order (beginning, middle, and end)—simple and assumed to be correct—that allow policymakers to intervene and effectively mobilize resources. Forsyth (2003, 97) defined environmental narratives (also ‘environmental orthodoxies’ and ‘received wisdom’) as “commonly heard environmental concepts and explanations that may be described as dominating discourses.” Political ecologists have sought to unveil and challenge these given views of reality, and to explain, “how such narratives become adopted as truths because of social processes, rather than because of a realist belief that such narratives reflect biophysical reality as uncovered by science” (Forsyth, 2003, 97). For example, Leach and Mearns (1996) describe how simplified narratives, often the product of colonial and settlers’ perceptions of the land they had come to inhabit (i.e., causes of soil degradation), persisted despite their negative impacts on the ground and became dominating discourses guiding policy. In addition, donors, mass media, and emphasis on



‘disaster’ narratives built upon scientific findings strengthened these given views of environmental degradation.

Hajer (1995) attempted to give form to the process of how narratives become adopted as truths, by referring to discourse coalitions. These are defined as an “ensemble of a set of story-lines; the actors who utter those story-lines; and the practices in which this discursive activity is based” (ibid., 65). Hajer (1995,13) argues that discourse coalitions develop and sustain story-lines despite the fact that these actors have not necessarily met and did not necessarily agree on a strategy. These ways of talking, however, clearly indicate the diverse positioning of actors, and through which specific ideas of “blame”, “responsibility”, “urgency”, and “responsible behaviour” are attributed (ibid., 64–65).

Framing is a term that has been used in a number of fields. “Issue framing refers to the different ways in which actors make sense of specific issues by selecting the relevant aspects, connecting them into a sensible whole, and delineating its boundaries” (Dewulf et al., 2004, 187). It has been adopted in political ecology to “question how, when, and by whom” dominant “terms were developed as a substitute for reality” (Forsyth, 2003, 81). The underlying idea is that “[F]rames of environmental problems are built on specific models of agency, causality, and responsibility.” This process includes problem closure, defined as the “predefinition of the purpose of the inquiry,” language that already connotes an issue as a problem, as well as the exclusion from participation that may lead to the reification of socially produced ideas as facts (ibid., 79). Further, framing depends on ‘black boxes’ (e.g., “when their internal nature is taken to be objectively established, immutable, or beyond the possibility for human action to reshape it”); the development of boundaries which “establish an ordered vision of events,” and the creation of hybrid objects, described as “commonplace objects or ‘things’ that appear to be unitary, real, and uncontroversial but in practice reflect a variety of historic framings and experience specific to certain actors or societies in the past” (Forsyth, 2003, 87).

However, framing is not simply an activity of the individual, and it is not immutable. Instead, as I describe in Section 2.4.2, framing is also a strategic action, “an active, creative, constitutive process,” which ultimately leads to action by enabling the mobilization of resources, and by shaping and sustaining collective action (McAdam,

1982; Kowalchuk, 2005). As communicative devices, frames help to rationalize self-interest, articulate goals, recruit participants, develop broad coalitions, as well as respond to counter-frames (Kretsedemas, 2000). As cognitive devices, they also help to organize and simplify phenomena. The framing of scale is the way in which different actors claim legitimacy, which further depends on the process through which a specific frame is established, and used in the policy arena. Thus, framing is a key component in the 'politics of scale' (Section 2.3.4). The purpose of framing is political, as it attempts to legitimize involvement of specific actors and knowledge, and guide action towards specific outcomes.

### **2.3.2. Co-production of science and policy**

Political ecologists have also been 'critical' of the ways in which actors have used science as a way to influence policy, without recognizing this involvement as a political one (Bocking, 2004; Forsyth, 2003; Latour, 1993). Different actors have also relied on scientific findings for framing and implementing management approaches of the state, even when the outcomes on the ground did not conform to expectations. A 'critical' perspective on the construction of knowledge, and the relationship between scientific knowledge and political activism, is defined as one of "co-production" or "hybridization" (Forsyth, 2003). Forsyth (2003) questioned why,

... so much discussion of "political ecology" has proceeded without considering the politics with which "ecology" has evolved as a scientific approach to explaining the biophysical world (ibid., 11).

For example, Forsyth (2003) noted how ecology and environmentalism developed very close ties, with beliefs or meta-narratives underlying the practice of environmental policy or science. He argued that 'objective' statements were often the result of the social and political circumstances in which knowledge was generated, and different actors used science to add legitimacy and urgency to their particular viewpoints (Bocking, 2004). Protected areas are a case in point, in which science has been used to legitimize both eco-centric and anthropocentric approaches.

Natural sciences have described de-constructivist studies as a social assault to justify a physical assault on nature, implying that environmental problems can be constructed

away (Pedyowski, 2003; Soulé, 1995). Further, they have reclaimed a space for scientific evidence, and rebelled against the promises of decentralized community-based approaches (Meine et al., 2006; Pedyowski, 2003; Song and M'Gonigle, 2001; Terborgh, 1990; Wilshusen et al., 2002). Social scientists claim that a return to a neo-protectionist approach follows the moral imperative of conservation, the support for protected areas as keeping conservation values, the ineffectiveness of community-based conservation and planning, the challenge to the 'eco-friendly local' as well as sense of urgency (Adams and Hutton, 2007; Oates, 1999; Redford and Stearman, 1993).

Thus political ecologists claim that it is necessary to take into account how ideas of nature, or of nature/culture, are socially constructed and materially produced to understand processes of environmental change and processes of uneven development (Harvey, 1996; Smith, 2008). It is possible to hold a realist position that recognizes environmental degradation, but with the purpose of finding alternative frames to the perpetration of marginalization and oppression (Neumann, 2005; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). The "science wars" of the 1990s between social scientists and conservation biologists (Alcorn, 1993; Redford and Stearman, 1993; Wilshusen et al., 2002) have led in some cases to large conservation organizations presenting greater commitments towards local decision-making (WWF–International, 2008), and in other cases to shift towards greater reliance on conservation science. I return to this topic when discussing the scalar practices of non-state environmental and social movements in Section 2.3.4.

### **2.3.3. The political and economic structures of conservation policy**

Protected areas have represented a fertile ground of enquiry for political ecology. Though often seen as a benign intervention on the landscape, political ecologists have tried to come to grips with the contradictions that emerge at the local scale with the creation of protected areas, as well as on the broader implications of how protected areas shape the ways in which different actors see 'nature' (West and Brockington, 2006; West et al., 2006). Political ecologists have documented the roots of protected areas to the agendas of colonial powers for exercising control, but have also recently noted a trend towards the

commodification of space and the use of protected areas to mitigate and ‘offset’ development (Brockington et al., 2008; Igoe and Brockington, 2007).

The state asserts control over local commons “through acts of surveying, inventorying, zoning, and mapping the living resources of its territory” (Neumann, 2005, 112; see also Scott, 1998). These practices have been seen as a way to promote ‘legibility’ and governmentality from the center to the periphery (Scott, 1998; Adger et al., 2001). The history of protected areas has thus been critically analyzed as the product of colonialism, state and national (white) identity and state building (Neumann, 1998; Stevens, 1997). Similarly, protected areas have led to state coercion and negative impacts on local people’s livelihoods in the form of restrictions, displacement, and resettlement (Brockington, 2002; Neumann, 1998; Stevens, 1997). Such practices have continued despite a shift towards post-colonial states, and resettlement and displacement continue to be reported in the wake of protected areas increases (Dowie, 2009).

Supported by findings from non-equilibrium ecology, environmental history studies have revealed the ‘protected’ nature to be the product of significant anthropogenic disturbance and of regeneration in previously densely populated areas (Fairhead and Leach, 1996) or, conversely, areas with lower ecological values (i.e., grasslands turned to shrubs). These new insights have granted legitimacy to local management systems, but international conservation continues to be dominated by international standards that privilege western discourses of how conservation should be met and in protected areas management (Zimmerer, 2000).

Conservation has also been implicated as part and parcel of the economic growth discourse (Brockington et al., 2008). Thus, political ecologists have connected the increasing emphasis on conservation approaches as premised on assumptions of ecological modernization (Hajer, 1995), and as a product of globalization and neoliberalism (Brockington et al., 2008; Büscher and Whande, 2007; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Zimmerer, 2006). For example, ecological modernization “assumes that existing political, economic, and social institutions can internalize the care of the environment,” for example through payments for environmental services (Hajer, 1995, 25). Such an approach assumes that environmental degradation is calculable; that

protection is a ‘positive-sum game’, a management problem premised on the “fundamental assumption that economic growth and the resolution of the ecological problems can, in principle, be reconciled” (ibid., 26).

Zimmerer (2006, 358) argues that many conservation initiatives are based on the economic valuation of resources, and on expectations for economic returns and accumulation of capital. Further, McCarthy (2004) argues that ecological modernization has faith in the ability of environmental social movements to drive environmental reforms, and in the capacity of liberal markets and voluntarism to redress environmental problems. Instead, little attention has been paid to the “discursive and institutional shifts in environmental policies and regulation that reflect the terms of the neoliberal consensus,” adding that the “politics of different governance projects on the one hand, and their political and ecological effects on the other,” need to be assessed to identify winners and losers (ibid., 280). Further, the proliferation of state power through multiple institutional forms needs to be assessed, to avoid false dichotomies between state and market often accepted even by critics of neoliberalism.

The relationship between environmentalism and neoliberal practices can lead to cases where conservation proponents consolidate their relationships with industry, by proposing protected areas in one place, while allowing industry continued extraction and development:

A central aspect of these relationships is the idea of mitigation, which proposes the possibility of offsetting the ecological damage of extractive enterprise in one context with conservation interventions in another context. Biodiversity conservation thereby becomes an essential element of capitalist expansion, at the same time that capitalist expansion becomes an essential element of biodiversity conservation. The ultimate expression of this situation is that it appears possible to optimize and synchronize the ecological and economic functions of the entire planet, thus transcending the contradiction between economic growth and earth health that has plagued industrial capitalism since the late 18th century. We maintain, however, that this is a fiction that supports hegemonic interests while being disconnected from the ecological and social impacts of these interests in specific material contexts. This disconnect is a matter of significant concern for the entwined domains of ecological health and justice (Igoe and Sullivan, 2008, 15).

Finally, neoliberalization has been linked to rhetoric for urgent crisis, and demands for larger and larger protected areas as win-win solutions. Driven by economic incentives, it is leading to hybrid forms of environmental governance such as public–private partnerships, and is being portrayed as participatory, efficient, equitable, and profitable. Igoe and Brockington (2007), however, consider these assertions to be promises at best. Rather than a trend towards decentralization and deregulation, they describe a trend towards the re-regularization of lands by the state. This includes a shift in governance towards renewed state control and the increasing influence of Non-Government Organizations in the policy realm of the state. It also includes a trend towards privatization, and a shift of commodities from non-tradable to tradable commodities (i.e., the subdivision of collectively owned title, new forms of carbon trading), which makes it easier for resources to be captured by external agents (Baldwin 2009a; Sullivan 2009).

Finally, perhaps less visible, are the ways in which conservation approaches “restructure how people understand, use, and interact with their surroundings” (Igoe, pers. comm.; as cited in West and Brockington, 2006). West and Brockington (2006, 609) claim that, “protected areas are coming to form a way of thinking about the world, of viewing the world, and of acting on the world.” Rather than ‘reconnect people to nature,’ the spatially oriented approach to conservation may entrench the divide between nature and culture and deepen a dichotomous perspective of landscapes (West and Brockington, 2006).

#### **2.3.4. Production of space and the ‘politics of scale’**

While political ecologists have analyzed the role of the state in weakening local level institutions in both colonial and post-colonial contexts, the interaction of non-state actors has also been crucial in both resisting and supporting the projects of the state. In order to address how different actors working at different levels lead to changes in the structure for land use planning, and thus to changes in the distribution of power, I address how scale is produced, and how both Indigenous and conservation organizations become involved in the ‘politics of scale’.

Interest in political ecology has shifted from attention on fixed notions of scale such as Blaikie and Brookfield (1987)’s ‘chains of explanation’ towards a more constructivist

approach to scale and the scalar politics of non-state actors. Smith (2000, 725; as cited in Marston, 2004, 173) defines scale as:

A central organizing principle according to which geographical differentiation takes place. It is a metric of spatial differentiation; it arbitrates and organizes the kinds of spatial differentiation that frame the landscape. As such it is the production of geographical scale rather than scale *per se* that is the appropriate research focus.

Political geographers have highlighted how social actors create, constrain, and shift scales and levels to serve their own interests through the ‘politics of scale,’ defined as “the production, reconfiguration or contestation of particular differentiations, orderings and hierarchies among geographical scales” (Brenner, 2001, 600; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). As Marston (2004, 173) argues, three main attributes of the production of scale are that, (1) scale is not pre-existing, but rather is “a way of framing conceptions of reality;” (2) “the ways in which scale is produced have material consequences;” and (3) “scale production is a political process” that is subject to contestation and transformation.

These territorial and networked spatial scales are never set, but are perpetually disputed, redefined, reconstituted and restructured in terms of their extent, content, relative importance and interrelations. [...] These socio-spatial processes change the importance and role of certain geographical scales, reassert the importance of others and, on occasion, create entirely new scales. These scale redefinitions, in turn, alter the geometry of social power by strengthening the power and the control of some while disempowering others (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003, 912–913).

Understanding the production of scale is premised upon theorization on the ‘production of space’ where space is seen as “socially constructed, historically contingent and politically contested” (Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Neumann, 2009, 399). Lefebvre (1991) identified “three moments of social space:” (1) spatial practice is lived directly through the activities of everyday practice; (2) dominant actors produce representations of space in order to exercise control, categorize and organize spatial practice; and (3) representational space is consciously performed by people “through its associated images and symbols” (Rangan and Kull, 2009, 39). While the literature is in agreement that state and capital are the key structural components for a theory of scale, more recently political ecologists have turned to the “scalar practices of social actors” and the role different actors play in the ‘politics of scale’ (McCarthy, 2005; Neumann 2009). Specifically, one

of the concerns in the ‘politics of scale’ has included a call to identify what Lefebvre (1991) referred to as ‘representational space,’ that is, *how* different actors frame scale, how the interpretation of scale makes the ecology ‘political’ and how, in turn, this framing renders scale political and subject to contestation.

The critical challenge for political ecologists is to develop analytical frameworks that begin from the basic recognition that scale is produced to explain, or argue for or against, the processes and outcomes of ecological change in different realms of politics and policy discourse. Scale is the means by which ecology is made ‘political’. If the aim of political ecology is to understand and illustrate the different ways in which ecological change occurs and becomes politicized, then it needs to develop analytical methods that focus not only on the spatial levels through which politics is articulated, but also on the meanings and metaphors of landscape that are produced and used to interpret the outcomes of ecological and social change (Rangan and Kull, 2009, 35).

Representational space enables different actors to simplify complex discourses through story-lines or narratives that allow actors to develop a normative hierarchy of values that can help in the production of truth-making in policy discourses (Rangan and Kull, 2009, 40). Representational space, like framing, can thus be seen as a discursive device that legitimizes the appropriate spatial scale for planning, the appropriate knowledge systems, and the role of different participants and stakeholders (Rangan and Kull, 2009; van Lieshout et al., 2011). Thus, deciding on the appropriate spatial and jurisdictional levels of planning is a political act, because it defines who will participate, how decision-making power will be distributed, and the spatial extent of planning areas—eventually leading to contestation. Further, actors will engage strategically to shift scales of planning to fit their ability to participate and influence different levels of planning.

Before concluding the literature review with a model to address contentious politics in multi-level governance systems, I explore the specific use of the international institutional scale as the level where a ‘politics of scale’ has played out for framing appropriate conservation approaches from the perspective of Indigenous communities and from that of large conservation organizations.



#### ***2.3.4.1. The politics of scale in re-framing the terms of conservation***

One of the main challenges in international approaches to conservation has been the imposition of a western model of protected areas at national levels, supported by international concerns with global heritage (Novellino and Dressler, 2010; West et al., 2006). Indigenous activists and anthropologists have challenged the adequacy of western ideas of conservation, rooted in the creation of boundaries, the imposition of restrictions on local livelihoods, and more recently the shift towards privatization and marketization of people and resources. Instead, they have shown that different relational epistemologies manifest in a different approach to conservation, where conservation is not a goal, but a result of coupled social and ecological systems (Bird-David, 1999; Hornberg, 2006; Ingold, 2000). This interplay has played out at the international level with the parallel rise of Indigenous representatives and conservation organizations at international venues organized by IUCN, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (e.g., World Conservation Congresses; World Park Congresses) and under the Convention for Biological Diversity (Brosius, 2004).

Indigenous activists have challenged the association of ‘conservation’ and ‘Indigenous stewardship’ and the ways in which outsiders have felt entitled to ‘speak on behalf’ of the Indigenous people in international settings (Alcorn, 1993; Brosius, 1997; Brosius, 2006). Despite the important symbolic capital and higher moral ground attached to this association in the international Indigenous movement, support from environmentalists may last while Indigenous people conform to conservationists’ images, but it may also wane and sideline local perspectives that do not conform to these images (Blaser, 2009; Braun, 2002; Dove, 2006). In Canada, environmental organizations have built several alliances with Aboriginal communities with a variety of outcomes in terms of supporting actual community concerns or shifting to an environmental agenda (Braun, 2002; Clapp, 2004; Feit, 1991; Wallace, 2010). Similarly, researchers may reify these images unless they recognize the high stakes that are at play when they translate and interpret Indigenous relations to the land through their research (Brosius, 2006).

Internationally, Indigenous, local, and mobile communities have increasingly developed their own terms of reference for conservation approaches and for how they would like a

broader dialogue about self-determination, conservation, and development to unfold. For example, ideas of place, territoriality, and indigeneity have helped to forward their territorial rights and rights to participation and consultation, and the need for Free, Prior and Informed Consent with regard to the establishment and management of protected areas and conservation reserves (Alcorn et al., 2010; Castree, 2004; Hutton et al., 2005). These ‘differential geographies’ need to be analyzed in the context of more nuanced readings of Indigenous people’s struggles to make claims to territory, and recognize the importance of trans-local engagement for place-making (Castree, 2004). Concrete examples of these ideas has been a recognition by IUCN, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, of Indigenous and Community Conserved areas (ICCAs) managed through local or Indigenous custom, as legitimate tools to achieve conservation; resolutions by the IUCN to uphold human rights and support Rights-Based Approaches to conservation and declarations (Berkes, 2009b; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004).<sup>4</sup>

While Indigenous and local communities have represented “Little Conservation,” the invisible daily practices that govern the interactions of people with their land, Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) have represented “Big Conservation,” involving large funding, intergovernmental organizations, multilateral development banks and working in the interests of global heritage (Alcorn, 2005). As the power of a few BINGOs has increased, they have come under increasing scrutiny (Alcorn, 2005; Brockington et al., 2008; Chapin, 2004; Novellino and Dressler, 2010). Traditionally viewed as providing “an intermediate sphere between the state and the market” and “a challenge to state autonomy and market power,” BINGOs have become influential actors shaping environmental management, policy development, and government legislation (Cartwright, 2003; Howlett et al., 2009; Lane, 2006). Lane (2006) argues that even though NGOs provide linkages across scales, fill gaps in existing institutional hierarchies, and develop conduits of media and knowledge, their role has not

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<sup>4</sup> The Opitsaht Declaration (2010) was conceived and drafted at the “Community Conservation in Practice” workshop “to promote the possibility of a more positive and just collaboration between indigenous communities and outside institutions in the management of bioculturally important areas in May 2010 in Tofino, BC. Retrieved from <http://www.global-diversity.org/community-conservation-practice-workshop-representatives-indigenous-peoples-and-local-communities>

been subject to critical examination. As highlighted above, issues of representation emerge when conservation organizations claim to speak on behalf of communities (Alcorn, 1993; Brosius, 1997; Brosius, 2006). Increasing partnerships with industry have also led to the potential for agreements, which hide ‘greenwashing’ (Igoe and Sullivan, 2008). Tight linkages to actors with specific interests also challenge assumptions of NGOs as democratic actors (Dowie, 2009). They are private entities with an agenda that may not be congruent with public interest, and are distinct from ‘unorganized citizens’ or civil society as actors in the policy arena. Far from being independent and transparent actors, their formal role in the public policy arena demands an account for how public interest is achieved. Finally, they may be efficient and effective in policy development, but they may also undermine public policy debates and the role of civil society in politics. Thus, Lane (2006, 233) concludes that “not only are there substantial risks to governance in the public interest by providing a central role for essentially private or government-dependent organizations, but efforts to harness the power and potential of civil society in governance in an uncritical way may have the effect of undermining the qualities that were admired in the first place.”

Anthropologists and geographers have provided a critical insight into the workings of conservation interventions by challenging the assumed benign nature of conservation initiatives, demonstrating their linkages to changing political-economic structures (from colonialism to globalization and more recent neo-liberalization), and by highlighting the rise of non-state actors such as large conservation organizations and the Indigenous international movement. The relationship between conservation organizations and Indigenous communities has provided both positive and negative experiences on the ground. Yet, a significant disjuncture exists between implementation on the ground and the lofty goals that are advocated internationally, leading to a more or less invisible and contested ‘politics of scale’ (Büscher and Dressler, 2007).

### **2.3.5. Summary**

The political ecology literature has recently focused on the ‘politics of scale’ between different actors, and highlighted a constructivist approach to scale. Thus, political ecology provides a frame for recognizing the social and political constructions of levels

and scales, as well as the role of both state and non-state actors in developing ‘politics of scale’. What is missing, however, is a way of tracing and documenting the practices that lead to shifts in institutional and representational scales. In the next Section, I address a model to make visible political processes, and address how different actors strategically construct their own scales, and become involved in a ‘politics of scale’.

## **2.4. Tracing political process**

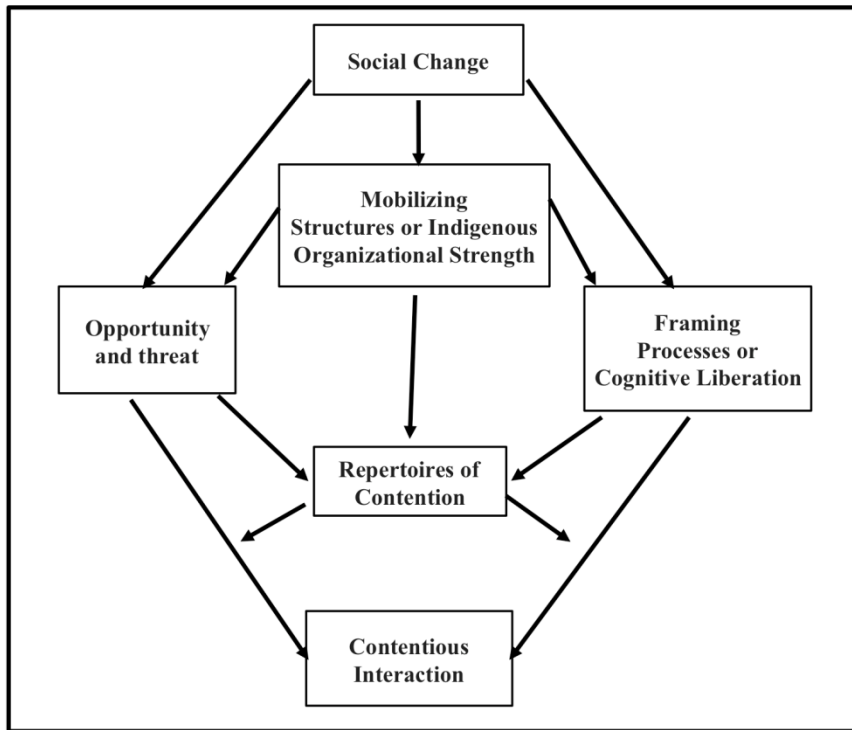
### **2.4.1. The Political Process Model**

Until now I have been concerned with laying out a political ecology framework for understanding why struggles over conservation management and planning occur. I argued that the ‘politics of scale’, specifically the ‘production of scale,’ offered a valuable approach to understanding how different actors frame the level at which they can more effectively participate in decision-making to make claims to territory. In this Section, I draw from McAdam (1982) the political process model for social mobilization to trace how different actors mobilize to produce new levels at which they are more effective politically.

Literature on social movements provides a way to highlight the ways in which subaltern groups make claims to resources and attempt to forward alternative ways of managing these resources (Escobar, 1996). Social movements are “rational attempts by excluded groups to mobilize sufficient political leverage to advance collective interests through non-institutionalized means” (McAdam, 1982, 36). Contentious politics are a way to describe a broad range of ways in which subaltern groups engage with the state or with other interest groups. These can be described as “episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants” (McAdam et al., 2001, 5).

McAdam (1982) proposed the political process model as a response to resource mobilization theory, which postulated that political action by marginalized groups is possible only through elite support. The model identifies three important factors for mobilization to occur: 1) the structure of political opportunity, such as political

instability, or the political alignment of groups within the larger political environment; 2) Indigenous organizational strength (also mobilizing structures), and 3) cognitive liberation (also framing process). Figure 2 shows the political process model for social mobilization revised from McAdam et al. (2001, 17).



**Figure 2.** The Classical Social Movement Agenda for explaining contentious politics. Figure from McAdam et al. (2001, 17) modified by author.

In a study of how political opportunity affects protest, Kowalchuk (2005) identifies four dimensions of how a social movement’s political environment influences the form, intensity and outcomes of protest. These dimensions include: “openness of the political system to social movement demands, sometimes referred to as “access” to policy-making, elite allies, the stability of the elite alignments, and the propensity of the state to repress social movements” (Kowalchuk, 2005, 238).

Indigenous organizational strength—or mobilizing structures—depends on the ability of a group to recruit members, provide a structure of solidarity incentives, build on

communication networks, and on a recognized leadership (McAdam, 1982, 47). The trigger is for groups to know when it is possible to forward their demands, what McAdam (1982, 48) terms framing processes or cognitive liberation. Framing processes are based on the premises that people must feel that the current system is unjust, or that it has lost legitimacy; people begin to assert rights, which imply change; and finally, people begin to feel they can foster change (Piven and Cloward, 1979, 3–4; as cited by McAdam, 1982, 49–50). The strategies used to pursue their demands are part of the framing process.

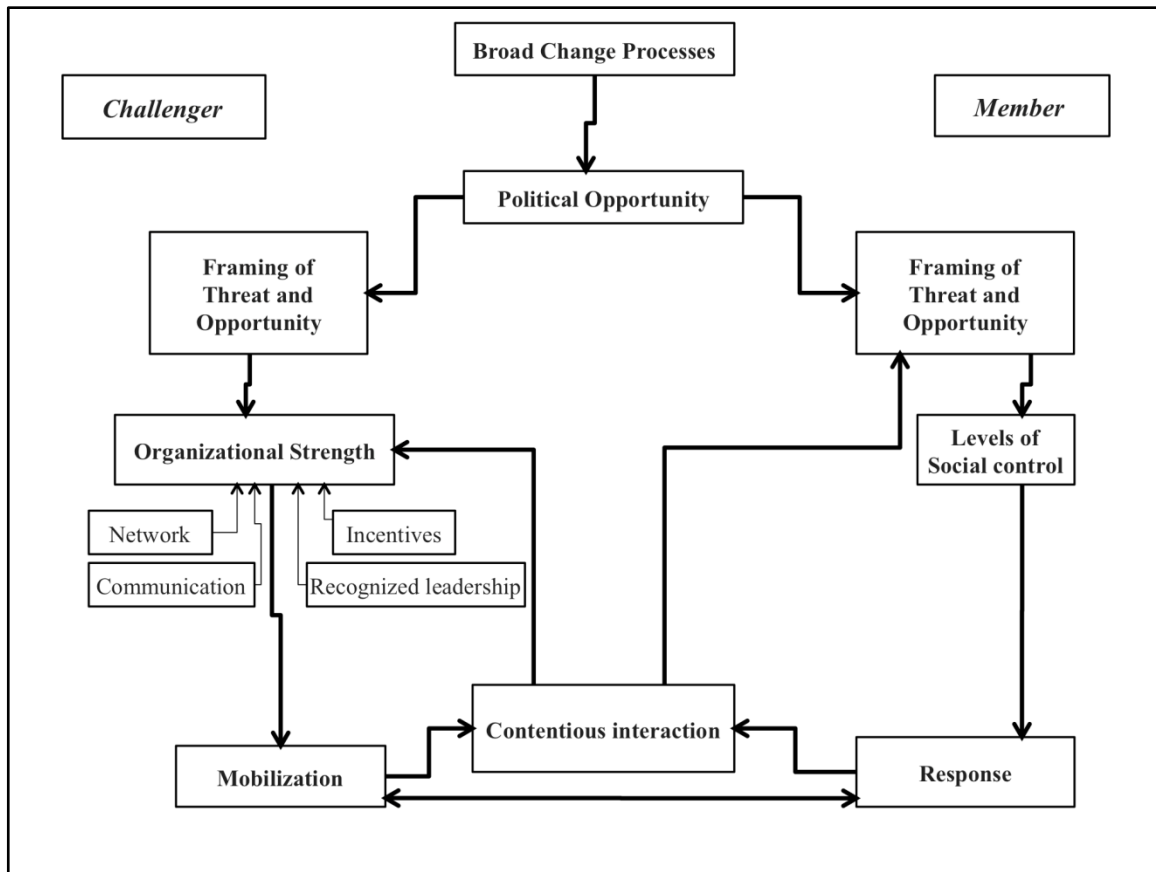
Following McAdam (1982), once a movement emerges, it faces both internal and external constraints. Of primary importance is the fact that the movement itself fosters a response from the members of the established political structure. The success of a movement stands in its ability to “maintain and successfully utilize their newly acquired political leverage to advance collective interests” (ibid., 52). This requires attention to the determinants of “organizational strength” as well as to the “level of social control.” The group must be able to reorganize to recruit new resources and take advantage of initial successes. However, within this process three destructive outcomes to the process are possible. These include the oligarchization of the leadership at the expense of movement goals; co-optation, which can come from an increasing need for outside sources of funding; and finally, the loss of Indigenous support (ibid., 55).

Likewise, as the group intervenes in the political ground, it introduces new pressures, which shifts the “levels of social control.” McAdam (1982) identifies two factors, the “strength of insurgent forces,” which conditions the level at which the state can respond, as well as “the degree to which the movement poses a threat or opportunity to other groups in terms of the realization of the latter’s interests” (ibid., 57). The tactics used (institutionalized versus non-institutionalized tactics) and the nature of the goals pursued (reformist versus revolutionary), also affects the levels of threat and opportunity that elite groups perceive. McAdam et al. (2001, 22) revised the McAdam (1982) model to account for the integration of multiple actors, and to move from a structuralist tradition towards one where contentious politics are contingent on “taking strategic interaction, consciousness, and historically accumulated culture into account.”

McAdam et al. (2001) advocate for a move away from general models that prioritize structure to case studies that prioritize “casual mechanisms, causal processes and contentious episodes.” In this model, “social interaction, social ties, communication, and conversation (are) not merely [...] expressions of structures, rationality, consciousness, or culture, but a[re] active sites of creation and change.” Therefore, threats and opportunities are not considered objective categories, but reflect the attribution, or social framing and construction, of different groups at different points in time. Likewise, the different parties involved frame events and episodes of contention interactively. In this model, the authors compare disparate cases to identify patterns that recur in diverse episodes of contention (as different as revolutions, strikes, protests).

Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) developed a “multi-institutional politics” to move beyond the narrow definition of politics in McAdam et al. (2001), and to account for “domination as organized around multiple sources of power (government and non-governmental), each of which is simultaneously material and symbolic” rather than around one source of power (most commonly the state). They argue that rather than focusing on the mechanisms of processes (‘the how’ of political process according to McAdam et al., 2001), they need to focus on “the targets, motivations, strategies, and goals of contemporary movements” (ibid., 80), because “the investigation of the goals and strategies of movements are opportunities for insight into the nature of domination in contemporary societies” (ibid., 82). Thus, in the more recent research, more attention has been paid to the integration of cultural approaches, the strategic use of representation, and an analysis of power as stemming from actors other than the state.

Figure 3 shows a framework that accounts for political opportunity, organizational strength and mobilization (McAdam, 1982) and—based on McAdam et al. (2001)—accounts for following the strategies and impacts of more than one actor at a time. I adopt the framework in Figure 3 to analyze the political process of planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario. I specifically focus on the broad change processes of changes in land use planning policy in Chapter 4, the organizational strength and mobilization of civil society organizations in Chapter 5, as well as framing processes in Chapter 6.



**Figure 3.** A dynamic framework for analyzing social mobilization in contentious politics. Figure from McAdam et al. (2001, 45) modified by author.

#### 2.4.2. Political opportunity and framing

Researchers have had to contend with balancing ‘political opportunity’ and ‘framing processes’. Over-reliance on either to account for the outcome of social movement is indeed problematic. Too much emphasis on political opportunity risks downplaying the role of ideas, beliefs, and meanings, as well as situations when different groups begin to utilize a specific frame, which makes groups abide to ‘collective action frames’ (Selfa, 2004). Ramos (2006), for example, critiqued ‘political opportunity’ as meaning everything and nothing, since opportunities can only be judged to be so after the fact, not before. He also accused the model “of missing the essence of mobilization, focusing too much on structural influences at the cost of micro-mobilization or day-to-day interactions among movements and their members” (ibid., 214). By applying the resource mobilization model to analyze the factors that have influenced Aboriginal protest in



Canada from 1951 to 2000, he found that resource mobilization, political opportunities, and local identities are the most consistent influence on Canadian Aboriginal protest. Conversely, “there is little support for the role of Pan-Aboriginal identity” because “both resources and opportunities are largely allocated to specific local communities and status groups rather than Pan-Aboriginal organizations or all Aboriginals” (ibid., 226). This is of relevance in the context of larger environmental networks that are able to put forward consistent messages, which marginalize Aboriginal framings.

Further, framing has been recognized as an important link between strategies and tactics, not only in determining the message but also as a strategic action, which takes place in specific contexts. Kowalchuk (2005, 241) highlights that attention has been devoted to frames (i.e., cultural meaning, discourse of authorities, activists’ messages, identities) as well as to “how ideational, interpretative factors influence participation in movements.” Yet, little has been done to “framing as a discursive action that, in supplying an interpretation of events, can spark or sustain collective action, or conversely, contribute to its collapse.” The author points out that, unlike perception, framing is a “strategic activity” which leads to action. As Alimi (2007, 20) argues, “power struggles are, by definition, struggles over definition of a situation,” while framing is a key element in political processes of contention, a process of interpretation and social construction. Framing as strategic action represented an important point of departure for my analysis as it allowed me to reflect on the ways in which frames were strategically adopted to foster specific levels for decision-making.

The model has also been used in the field of environmental governance. Alcorn et al. (2003, 299) for example, highlighted the process of self-organization that the Dayak people from Indonesia have undertaken to counteract the repressive policies of the government, and the progressive encroachment of state-supported logging companies into their territories. The Dayak people have been able to organize around an Indigenous organization to provide support for decentralized associations, solidarity incentives, communication networks, and leadership, and push for critical thinking, self-reliance, and ultimately, freedom and empowerment.

Similar to the case that I relate in the thesis, researchers have also used the political process model to look at the ways in which private foundations and environmental organizations created new fields of engagement in the boreal forest through the development of the Forest Stewardship Council certification tool (Bartley, 2007; Eden, 2009). For example, Bartley (2007) argued that often these new ‘organizational fields’ are “a socially constructed arena of self-referencing, mutually dependent organizations” that are strategically created by foundations, to enroll loose coalitions of actors without perceived imposition. Bartley (2007, 231) argues that we need to trace how, “beyond selecting and professionalizing Social Movement Organizations, [private] foundations often play the role of ‘institutional entrepreneurs’ that champion a particular model of social order and attempt to build new arenas of social life—that is, new organizational fields—to institutionalize that model.” In his study of forest certification, he traced how foundations coordinated their funding to build a new field that enrolled a variety of actors: “Field-builders [...] enroll others so that they participate in the construction of the [field] [...] translate other actors’ interests to align them with the project, and make their project an obligatory passage point” for an array of actors (Bartley 2007, 232). The ability to enroll and direct action at very large institutional scales has implications for how the fields of action shift at lower levels of governance.

### **2.4.3. Summary**

The political process model focuses on political opportunity, organizational strength and framing processes. In this thesis, the political process model offered a useful tool to trace how different non-state actors mobilized to articulate and produce the levels at which they could participate and influence decision-making. The model developed in Figure 3 allowed me to develop the questions used for the analysis of mobilization of civil society organizations in the Far North Region, including attention to the events that signaled the influence of non-state actors, response to changes in land use planning policy, political opportunity, and the mobilization of public discourse through networks, funding, science and media.

## **2.5. Chapter summary**

This Chapter outlined three main theory areas to analyze multi-level governance in the Far North Region of Ontario. These included community-based conservation management and planning and multi-level governance, political ecology, and the political process model. As this review showed, there has been increasing interest in the politics of multi-level governance, and in the role that non-state actors play in shifting spatial, jurisdictional, institutional, and framing scales. Less explored have been the ways in which these processes of change occur on the ground through strategic interaction, and the implications the ‘politics of scale’ has for building levels of governance closer to communities. Specifically, the ways in which the ‘politics of scale’ play out in the distribution of power across levels and scales, and the ways in which these in turn affect Indigenous–state relations, have not been addressed. In the next Chapter, I focus on the methodology that I used to address the purpose and objectives of the thesis.

## **Chapter 3. Methodology**

### **3.1. Introduction**

The goal of this research project was to examine the political ecology of conservation planning in the Far North Region of Ontario by analyzing: (1) land use planning policy change; (2) the role of non-state actors; and (3) the framing of community-based land use planning and comprehensive (bio-regional) planning and its implications for scale. Starting assumptions were that different actors have different approaches to conservation, and that community-based planning can enable Aboriginal communities to adapt policy for protected areas and conservation in their own territories. I adopted a multi-scale research approach to address how and at what level different actors became involved in policy development and change.

The first part of the research process (2007-2009) focused on understanding different approaches to conservation as they emerged from the community-based land use planning process conducted in the Whitefeather Forest of northwestern Ontario (Figure 1 in Chapter 1). I situated myself in the context of a community in the Far North Region of Ontario that had completed a land use planning process and had specific perspectives on how conservation and land use planning should be conducted on their territory—Pikangikum First Nation (PFN) (PFN and OMNR, 2006). In the first phase I focused on why Pikangikum people expressed concerns about protected areas, and what they saw as the proper path forward in conservation through the development of new management arrangements with the Province for the dedicated protected areas identified in their land use plan. I also aimed at understanding how government agencies and conservation groups working with Pikangikum valued and described the challenges of conservation of the boreal forest, and focused on how the community interacted with outside groups when their ideas of conservation differed. The first phase identified conflicting ideas about planning for protected areas between Pikangikum and provincial conservation organizations—but these were only visible as part of the local planning process (i.e., community meetings; comments to land use plan).

The second part of the research process (2008-2010) focused on how conservation groups influenced changes in land use planning policy for the Far North Region of Ontario, and what the impacts were on Aboriginal–state relations. This change in policy was a visible outcome of disappointment with the result of the community-based land use planning approach, as well as broader involvement of actors working outside of the regional area in conservation and land use planning provincial policy developments across Canada (Big International Non-governmental Organizations). These interactions enlarged the boundaries of the study area, and the institutional and jurisdictional scales under review. I identified the actors that were involved in the Far North as a way to define the boundaries of the second part of the research. Based on Figure 3 (from McAdam, 1982 and McAdam et al., 2001), I analyzed how policy change occurred at the larger provincial level, which actors were involved, what resources (e.g., human, financial) conservation organizations had at their disposal, what strategies were adopted, and how the conservation organization demands were framed.

The multi-scale research approach enabled me to analyze the challenges that higher-level policy-making pose to First Nation communities as they embark in land use planning processes aimed at self-determination and control over their territories. This approach also relied on different methods. This chapter describes the case study area, the research philosophy that guided the research approach and the sampling and analysis strategies used as part of the research methods. I conclude with a discussion of how different perspectives (or ‘voices’) are presented in the Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

## **3.2. Case study area**

### **3.2.1. Situating the Far North Region**

Ontario is the second largest province in Canada and covers approximately 1 million sq km, extending from 42N to 57N latitude. The Far North Region is an area comprising about 49 percent of the Province of Ontario, north of roughly the 51st parallel. The Far North Region mainly lies within the Boreal Forest Belt that stretches across the country. Two main bedrock assemblages, the Precambrian and Paleozoic, define this region geologically. The Precambrian Shield underlies the northern and western sides of the Far

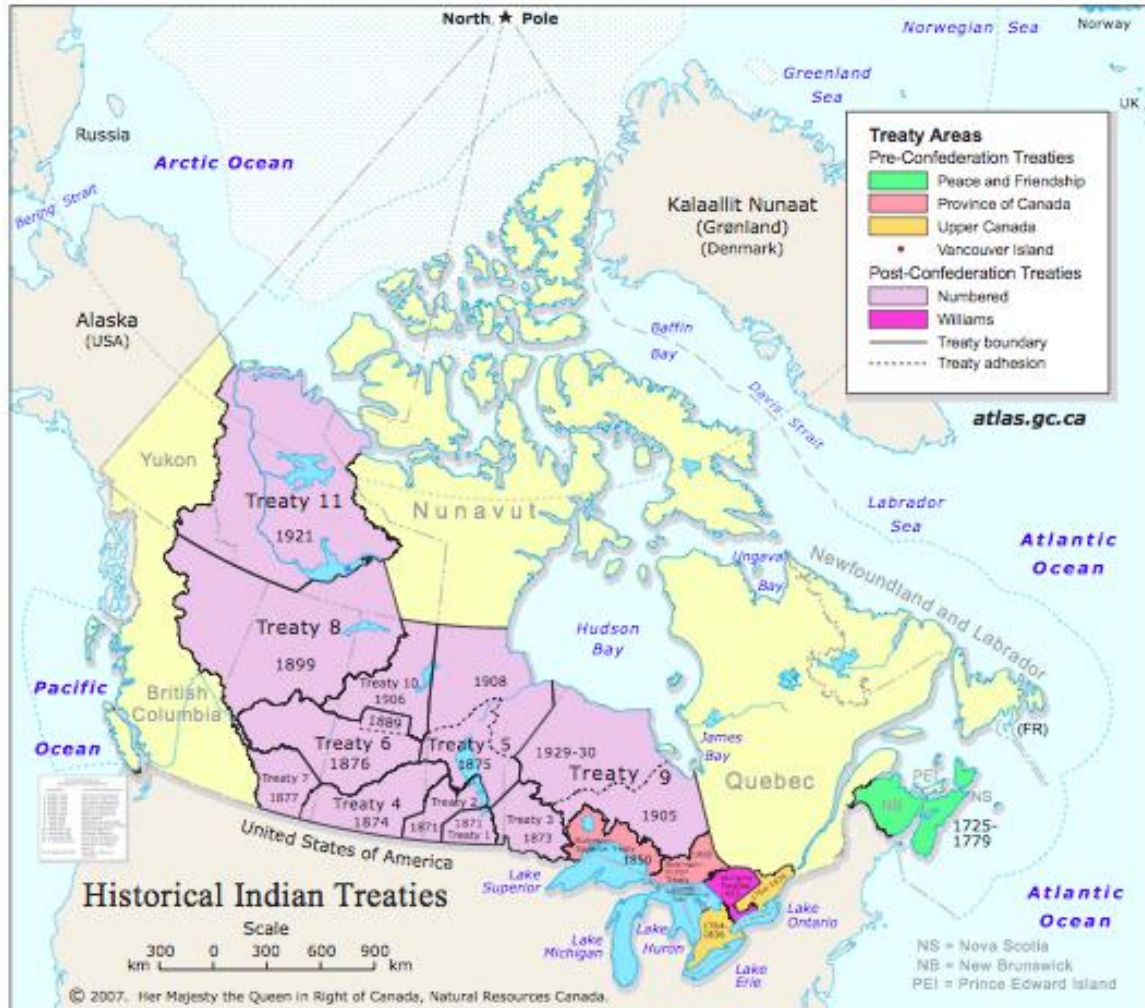
North (46 percent of the Far North Region), and was formed more than 3 billion years ago. The Shield has a rolling terrain, quite rugged in some places, made up of gneiss, granite, and schist rocks. It has a very extensive drainage system, and is dominated by northern coniferous vegetation. Principal tree species include jack pine (*Pinus banksiana* [Lamb.]) in sandy soils and low ridges, black spruce (*Picea mariana* [Mill.]) in lower, wetter areas along with trembling aspen (*Populus tremuloides* [Michx.]) and birch (*Betula papyrifera* [Marsh.]) in heavier soils and along waterways. As is characteristic of the boreal belt that stretches through Canada's Subarctic Region, the boreal forest is subject to extensive fire, wind blow, and insect disturbances.

Paleozoic rock—marine sediment consolidated as mainly limestone and dolomite—once covered the entire Far North Region. Presently the limestone and dolomite are sparsely located in surface pockets in the northern and western parts of the region, while the Paleozoic formations underlie the Hudson Bay Lowlands, which flank the Hudson Bay, James Bay, and the northern and eastern Far North (54 percent of the region). The Lowlands Region is characterized by bogs and organic terrain, mainly by *Sphagnum* or peat moss, sedges, black spruce (*Picea mariana*) and tamarack, (*Larix laricina*), or by tundra and permafrost peat lands. Found throughout the region are hardwoods that include white birch (*Betula papyrifera*), balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera*), and trembling aspen (*Populus tremuloides*).

Biological productivity is lower in the northern boreal forest and subarctic environments (northwest to southeast gradient), with slower growth rates and less reliable regeneration after timber harvest. The Far North Region is about 10 percent covered by lakes, rivers, and wetlands. Three of Canada's largest rivers (Albany, Moose, and Severn) flow through the region, and three other large rivers flow entirely within Ontario—the Winisk, Attawapiskat, and Ekwan (FNSAP, 2010).

The Far North is part of the territory of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the political Treaty organization that represents 49 First Nation communities. All are signatories to the James Bay Treaty #9 or to the Ontario portion of Treaty #5 (Figure 4). Nishnawbe Aski Nation's territory covers two thirds of the Province of Ontario, and is one of four political territory organizations in Ontario. The others are the Association of Iroquois and Allied

Indians, Grand Council Treaty #3, and the Union of Ontario Indians. The Aboriginal population is of the large Algonquian language family, and includes Ojibwa, Cree, and Oji-Cree speakers.



**Figure 4.** Map of the Historical Indian Treaties signed in Canada (Natural Resources Canada, 2007). © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of Natural Resources Canada 2011, courtesy of the Atlas of Canada.

Ontario’s population of more than 12.16 million people is geographically skewed, with 94 percent of the population living in Southern Ontario in 13 percent of Ontario’s land base). The remaining 6 percent of the population (more than 800,000 people) lives in the rest of the Province (Statistics Canada, 2006). In the Far North, 24,000 people officially reside in the 34 communities of the region. More than 90 percent of the population is of Aboriginal descent, but this estimate does not include Band members living outside of the

reserves (Statistics Canada, 2006). The Aboriginal population is also a fast-growing population, with 27 percent of the population under the age of 15 (OMAA, 2011).

Most of the Far North Region is remote, accessible in winter through a network of winter roads, and in the summer by airplane. Economic opportunities are few, and significantly declined with the loss of the fur trade in the 1970s, and with the decline in government-supported activities such as commercial fishing. Subsistence activities remain important, but are also dependent on access to employment and, for most of the population, on government transfer funds. Local employment in the public sector is limited to few positions in health, education, and administration. Currently the region has two active mines (gold and diamonds) but mining exploration and staking is growing exponentially, especially in areas such as the “Ring of Fire”, where large chromite deposits were found in 2006. Other industries include hydroelectric development on the major rivers and, since 2009, forestry development in the Whitefeather Forest, the first license for community-based forestry to be approved in the Far North Region. Protected areas cover about 8.6 percent of the Far North Region (FNSAP, 2010).

### **3.2.2. Pikangikum First Nation**

Pikangikum First Nation is one of 34 communities in the Far North Region. It is a remote Anishinaabe community located in northwestern Ontario, on 18.08 sq km of Federal Reserve land on the shores of Pikangikum Lake and the Berens River, about 100 km north of the town of Red Lake. It is a large community with more than 2,420 people registered *on-reserve* and, unlike other communities with large off-reserve populations, a relatively small off-reserve population of less than 100 people (INAC, 2011).

Pikangikum First Nation is located in the center of their *Beekahncheekahmeeng Ahneesheenahbay ohtahkeem* (Pikangikum ancestral lands or cultural landscape)—the Whitefeather Forest. This is a gently rolling landscape defined by the Precambrian Shield. The people of Pikangikum have historically relied on the larger Whitefeather Forest, a 1.3 million ha land area traditionally held as family areas, and registered as trapping licensed areas since 1947 (Deutsch and Davidson-Hunt, 2010; Dunning, 1959). Families would meet in the summer by the larger lakes, such as Pikangikum Lake,



Roderick Lake, Nungesser Lake, Berens Lake, and Barton Lake, when activities such as commercial fishing were also carried out, and separate into smaller family groups in the winter for fur harvesting (Dunning, 1959; Hallowell, 1992). Settlement became more prominent after the 1950s, when the federal government provided cash transfer funds for families whose children attended the local school (Dunning, 1959).

Chapeskie et al. (2004) describe how people from Pikangikum continued to rely on subsistence activities, commercial trapping and commercial fishing well into the 1980s, when the market collapsed as a result of anti-fur campaigns. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Elders continued to discuss ways to continue their forest-based livelihood in the face of encroaching forestry south of their territory and plans being made for roads to extend northward through their territory. They contrasted their way of life with non-native forms of economic development through industrial resource extraction and felt that it would be very difficult to control such development on their lands in a way that would secure benefits for their people (Chapeskie et al., 2004, 8). In the 1990s, there was more support for First Nations to lead development. The First Nation first wrote to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources in 1996 requesting a dialogue to forward a community-based forestry initiative, the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (*Wahbeemeegwan Nohpeemahkahmik Mahcheedahwin*) on a “without-prejudice” basis to Aboriginal and Treaty rights.

In February 1996 I was elected chief in this community. At that time I saw the condition of my community and the state of my people; we were in a large deficit at that time. I wanted to change the situation in our community at that time. I had a vision for my community. The vision was for my people to go back to the land. I often stated that to my people: that we should go back to the land. But how should we go back to the land? One day Peter Quill and I were travelling to Red Lake and came to a cutting area on the Nungesser road. We were travelling along and I was talking to Peter about what happened to our people in the past. We were approached by forestry companies that wanted to work with our people. Our people said no. There were others who came to our community and our people always said no. I said to Peter, see all this clear cutting, it is near our community and we have to do something about this. Our people cannot just continue to say no. If we continue to say no we are going to be left out. We are going to be left out from the benefits. We have to do something about this for our community. At that time, as a leader of our community, I was in a position to support any kind of plan, or idea or Initiative that would begin the process of us beginning to look at where Pikangikum would fit into all the development that was going to take place

in the future. This is how it happened at that time. This is the birth of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative. Peter was the Economic Development Officer at that time and worked with Andrew to find information on how to proceed on the idea of doing forestry work for our community (Paddy Peters, as quoted in PFN and PMNR, 2006, 4).

The Whitefeather Forest Initiative is “guided by our understanding of our relationship to the land, of our responsibility as keepers of the land” (PFN and OMNR, 2006, 3). As analyzed in more detail in Smith (2007) and as I describe in Chapter 4, the Band Council mandated the Elders to guide the planning and management process. The Elders’ Steering Committee based the planning process on the *Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetahkeemeenaan*, or Keeping the Land teaching. Customary stewardship and authority for the land is rooted a system of family areas—now trapline areas—and exercised by senior trappers and their families (Deutsch and Davidson-Hunt, 2010). As a result, senior trappers were included in the decision-making process to develop and implement land-use planning. Planning raised a number of internal issues, but the Elders’ Steering Committee provided a platform to discuss disagreement and achieve a negotiated outcome within the community.

The community began digital documentation of their traditional knowledge in 1995, and by 1998 had created the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation to lead planning, and had developed with the OMNR “a cooperative strategic action process to develop the Whitefeather Forest Initiative” (Chapeskie et al., 2004, 9). As I analyze in Chapter 4, no policy direction existed for the government to work with First Nations on forest resource use until the Northern Boreal Initiative was developed in 2000. In May 2002, PFN signed the “Protected Areas and First Nation Resource Stewardship: A Cooperative Relationship Accord” with Poplar River First Nation, Pauingassi First Nation, and Little Grand Rapids First Nation to develop a network of protected areas and to seek UNESCO World Heritage Site recognition (Poplar River First Nation et al., 2002). In 2003, the WFMC partnered with the Partnership for Public Lands, a coalition of three environmental groups—the Ontario chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS—Wildlands League), Ontario Nature, and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) of Canada. In

2004, WFMC formed the Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative with the University of Manitoba, the University of Winnipeg and Lakehead University.<sup>5</sup>

Between 2003 and 2006, Pikangikum Elders, senior trappers, and OMNR staff worked towards the development of the “*Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetahkeemeenaan— Keeping the Land. A Land Use Strategy for the Whitefeather Forest and Adjacent Areas*” document (PFN and OMNR, 2006). The Chief of Pikangikum and the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources signed the Land Use Strategy in June of 2006 as the new policy direction for the Whitefeather Forest. In April 2009, the WFMC and OMNR acquired Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage for commercial forestry. This paralleled a process for the development of the management plan for the “Whitefeather Forest Dedicated Protected Areas, *Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn.*” A draft Protected Areas Management Plan was completed in March 2011 for public comments.

The WFMC is also part of the Pimachiowin Aki Corporation, a non-profit corporation led by the four First Nations’ partnership (Poplar River First Nation, Pauingassi First Nation, Little Grand Rapids First Nation, and Pikangikum First Nation) and Bloodvein First Nation (<http://www.pimachiowinaki.org>).<sup>6</sup> Pimachiowin Aki World Heritage Project submitted its nomination document to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in January 2012. The WFMC also partnered with Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation, Eagle Lake First Nation, and the Wood Tech Group from Finland to further their value-added commercial timber operations. They are also conducting a training program with Confederation College and a host of other partners, funded by provincial, federal, and Aboriginal governments, and industry, to ensure Pikangikum youth are employable in the new forestry operations.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Agreements are available for viewing at the Whitefeather Forest Initiative website: <http://www.whitefeatherforest.com>

<sup>6</sup> Pimachiowin Aki means ‘The land that gives life’ in Ojibwa.

<sup>7</sup> Project partners include: Northern Nishnawbe Education Council; Goldcorp; the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation; the Pikangikum Education Authority; Confederation College; the Pikangikum First Nation; the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities; the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Natural Resources Canada (NRCan)/Canadian Forest Service (Government of Canada). Retrieved from <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?nid=461669>).

### **3.3. Research philosophy**

Creswell (2009) identifies four philosophical worldviews—also referred to as paradigms or epistemology/ontology—including post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory, and pragmatism. My work can be ascribed to the constructivist and advocacy paradigms. For constructivist researchers, social meaning is constructed and interpreted. Thus, how different people perceive their environment, and their experience within it, provides a powerful way to understand motives and outcomes of people’s interactions with their environment. Political ecologists, for example, have shown that ‘narratives’ can advance simplified versions of reality, hide important complexities in the social and ecological systems, and lead to the development and implementation of policies and regulations with pernicious effects on the ground (Adger et al., 2001; Leach and Mearns, 1996; Roe, 1991; Roe, 1995). To counter this, a constructivist approach to the study of the social world “focuses not directly on a specific phenomena itself, but rather on claims concerning this phenomena, claim makers and the claims-making process” (Adger et al., 2001, 683). Taking an open stance towards different worldviews enabled me to take into consideration an important challenge within political ecology. This is the challenge between holding an extreme relativist approach to the ‘construction of nature’ and a critical realist position that acknowledges both a reality as well as the social construction of how we see that reality (Forsyth, 2003; Neumann, 2005). In order to understand the political ecology of land use planning, I had to take into account scientific findings about boreal systems as well as local perceptions of what drives environmental change. These seemed to be irreconcilable unless the political nature of different systems of knowledge was recognized and accepted (Clark et al., 2008; O’Flaherty et al. 2008).

While this research does not directly address the needs of the community in terms of moving forward the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, the WFMC was interested in the documentation of why conflicts arouse with regards to land use planning processes. These created local-level conflicts with environmental stakeholders, significant uncertainty regarding the outcome of their initiative, and affected all other First Nations, which had not yet completed their own land use plans. Studies that reflect the

complexities of reality by accounting for different interpretations of reality—for example, through framing—can show how counter-narratives can be used as change agents (Creswell, 2009). This research could be ascribed to an advocacy paradigm because it sought to unveil the power dynamics by which outside environmental groups intersected community-based processes and led to outcomes, which were unacceptable to many Aboriginal communities and organizations.

While it is more difficult for me to pinpoint a specific worldview, an important step of doing research (especially in a cross-cultural context) is to think carefully about the study design, how it was applied, what the outcomes were, and what the implications may be for the people with whom we have shared this path of learning. It is especially important to think about the role that we play as researchers, and the impacts that our actions may have in a post-colonial setting (Smith, 1999). By virtue of situating myself in the community, I tried to understand the message that Pikangikum Elders were conveying as a first step to understanding the challenges that changing policies have at the local level. They themselves perceived their message to be largely invisible (e.g., Mr. Alex Peters wrote about the “Invisible Indian” in *Wawatay News*). On the other hand, by taking a multi-scale approach, this research does not necessarily present information from the individual and group interviews in the way in which they would have described their situation or experience.

Witnessing political actions, outcomes, and responses as they occurred in a cross-cultural context greatly challenged me to think about research as a profoundly political act, and one that I had to deal with—including by not dealing with it. For example, I found myself not willing to tread a field of interaction that I did not know well. While in Pikangikum, I found that listening and participating as an observer became more and more important as ways to understand what the Elders and the representatives from the WFMC wanted me to learn. Elder Solomon Turtle expressed this expectation:

I haven't spoken about this yet. This is the first time. Over the years I have seen many white people come and work with us. We've given them our knowledge. All I'm saying is that they need to share this knowledge wisely. All that we are sharing we expect it back. We will see results out of working with them (Burlando field notes, community meeting trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 31/05/07).

When tracing the political process of changing land use planning policy in Ontario, I also had to identify methods that would allow me to understand a story that was still unfolding. The unbalanced relationship between perspectives which gained (or lost) different political traction, and the focus of the research as an inquiry into a contested political process, meant that both government and conservation organizations asked whether my perspective was biased (sometimes more or less humorously). Thus, in the second phase of the research, I relied more on document analysis than interviews in order to follow changes. Indubitably, following up with a focused set of interviews with key participants (including international actors from the foundations and conservation organizations involved) would have yielded a richer and more nuanced narrative. Instead, by virtue of my position as a researcher working from a process rooted in Pikangikum, the research process became an iterative and adaptive process between these two scales. In order to address this process, I documented both changes to my methods, as well as existing and potential biases and subjectivities.

### **3.4. Strategies of inquiry**

#### **3.4.1. Case study**

Creswell (2009) identifies three strategies of inquiry, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. Creswell (2007) also identifies five different research designs, including narrative, ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, and case study. The case study approach best conveys the design of this study because it represents a comprehensive research approach suitable to the use of multiple sources of evidence, qualitative and quantitative analyses, analysis of different variables of interest, and an approach that “benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis” (Yin, 1994, 13). “A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and the context are not clearly evident” (ibid., 3).

A case study approach also presents limitations. Prejudice against this method has come from a perception that it is only exploratory (as opposed to explanatory), lacks rigour, provides little basis for scientific generalization, and is time consuming (Yin, 1994). Yin

(1994), for example, argues that while multiple cases increase the ability to generalize, single case studies are justifiable “where the case represents a critical test of existing theory, where the case is a rare or unique event, or where the case serves a revelatory purpose” (ibid., 44). In this case, I could not rely on multiple cases since I worked specifically with the community of Pikangikum. However, a focus on events and processes at different spatial and jurisdictional scales made it possible to show how power relations changed with scales of planning, and thus, to demonstrate that the case study has explanatory value. The risk of potentially diminished rigour was addressed by keeping a case study protocol and a journal for documenting changes in the methods through the research process.

Creswell (2007, 76) also acknowledges that the different research designs are not mutually exclusive. A large part of this case study relied on the use of ethnographic methods and narrative analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2005; Polkinghorne, 1995). I adopted an ethnographic approach for accessing the community and listening to what the Elders and the WFMC representatives wanted me to know about protected areas and planning (Bernard, 2006; Reinharz, 1992; Smith, 1999). During the first phase I used ethnographic methods including participant observation and field visits (recorded in a journal and as notes), open-ended interviews and group interviews, and accessed materials such as maps and documents produced by the WFMC (Bernard, 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2005).

Narrative analysis was used to reconstruct the larger context of policy-making for conservation and land use planning in the Far North Region of Ontario. It is a powerful analytical tool to address explanation building, which is premised upon building causal links (Polkinghorne, 1995; Yin 1994). Narrative analysis relies on actions, events, and happenings that are sequenced and plotted to produce stories, which “exhibit human activity as purposeful engagement with the world” (Polkinghorne, 1995, 5). The plot allows for the integration of diverse happenings and events into chronological order, “to provide a dynamic framework in which the range of disconnected data elements are made to cohere in an interesting and explanatory way,” with a beginning, middle, and end (ibid., 20). It allows us to follow an internal organization of temporal sequence, and

thematic organization to convey meaning and purpose to the narrative (Glover, 2004, 49). Following fieldwork in Pikangikum (Section 3.6.1), I relied extensively on different types of document analysis to establish the chronology of policy change, the influence of different actors, and the implications for community-based land use planning (Section 3.6.2.1). I then verified them through media content analysis as well as with focused discussions with key informants from Pikangikum and from the Provincial Government staff (and 3.7.4).

### **3.4.2. Research Protocol**

This study followed two research protocols. The Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative Letter of Agreement is a research protocol signed by the community of Pikangikum, the University of Manitoba (Natural Resources Institute), and several other institutions (Available at: <http://www.whitefeatherforest.com>). The Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba approved the research project on December 14, 2006, and renewed the ethics approval twice, through to August 2009 (Protocol #J2006:139). The research plan was presented to the President of the WFMC for approval early in 2006, and was presented at a community workshop to both the Elders and the OMNR staff present (March 2007). A letter of introduction for the study was translated into Ojibwa, which described the purpose of the study, their right to confidentiality and anonymity, as well as their right to decline participation at any point. No signature was required of community respondents. The interviewees and group interview attendants from Pikangikum were given an honorarium for participating as agreed by the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation. Through the fieldwork, I discussed preliminary results with the President of the WFMC and with the Land Use Coordinator of the WFMC. Research partners from the OMNR, Ontario Parks, and conservation groups signed a letter of consent, and a copy was left with each respondent (Appendix 1).

This project started as part of a larger collaborative effort between the community of Pikangikum and the Natural Resources Institute, and I owe a great deal to the work of previous researchers. The long-term collaboration enabled me to access the community with less difficulty than if I had no previous relationship. This also meant, however, that I



had to understand the context in which I found myself, and be much more aware of the repercussions that my work could have, not only on the community, but also on the research community of which I was a part. On the other hand, given the long-standing problematic issue of research in Aboriginal communities, communities are more prone to accept research projects that will benefit their own initiatives. I would not have been able to develop this research without the previous experience of my adviser, the earlier results of other students, as well as the level of trust between the WFMC and my adviser. Particularly, Mr. Paddy Peters, Land Use Coordinator for the WFMC, presented an unparalleled level of political and cultural understanding of the English-speaking and Ojibwa worlds, a great ability to interpret the Elders' teachings, and profound care for his community which was both humbling and greatly inspiring. I was always struck by how powerfully he could convey Elders' messages.

### **3.5. Methods, research objectives, and research questions**

Initial objectives for fieldwork in 2007 were to examine the events, processes, and frames which characterized the interaction of narratives put forward publicly in the negotiation for dedicated protected areas; and analyze Pikangikum people's views of customary stewardship and desired outcomes in the negotiation for protected areas. These objectives were revised in 2008 and led to a second phase of research focused at the larger geographical level of the Far North (Table 3). First, discussions between Pikangikum First Nation and Ontario Parks for the new management of protected areas were only beginning. Secondly, preliminary results showed a conflict regarding the levels at which planning for protected areas should be led between participants in the Whitefeather Forest Initiative and outside conservation organizations. Third, changes in land use planning policy at the Provincial level showed a convergence with demands that conservation organizations were putting forward—and thus a change in opportunity for First Nations' ability to engage in planning.

**Table 3.** Summary of research objectives, questions, and methods adopted.

<b>Research objectives</b>	<b>Research questions</b>	<b>Methods</b>
1. Outline changes in land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario.	How did land use planning policy change in the Far North Region of Ontario?	Document analysis of Far North land use planning policies; interviews with OMNR; previous research studies.
2. Trace the role and strategies of non-state actors involved in conservation-based land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario through political process.	What are the events that signal the influence of non-state actors? How were windows of opportunity defined and seized? How were resources mobilized? How were scientific knowledge and public discourse mobilized?	Document analysis of websites (organizations, coalitions, campaign-based), annual reports, press releases and newspaper coverage.
3. Trace the strategic framing of planning approaches by different groups.	How were threats to the land, and opportunities for change, framed by different groups? How were the land use planning approaches strategically framed?	Ethnographic research in Pikangikum; interviews with conservation organizations; document review of boreal conservation campaigns and scientific reports.

### **3.6. Description of research methods**

Fieldwork started in the community of Pikangikum First Nation, in partnership with the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation. In the first phase, the data collection procedure included document and map review; ethnographic participant observation in the Whitefeather Management Corporation office, on field visits, in the community and at community meetings; group discussions with Elders; and open-ended interviews (Bernard, 2006; Dewalt et al., 1998; Reinharz, 1992). Interviews were also carried out with conservation organization partners to the Whitefeather Forest Initiative. The first phase was concluded with a verification workshop with community research participants at the end of 2007. Since the Whitefeather Forest Initiative is an Elders'-led initiative, the sampling strategy in the community followed a customary stewardship approach, in which I was guided through the different steps of learning, and guided to speak to authoritative and knowledgeable Elders and senior trappers.

First, Land Use Planning Coordinator Mr. Paddy Peters helped organize a trip on the land with the family of a senior trapper so that both my husband and I could become familiar with Pikangikum Anishinaabe ways of life on the land. Secondly, Mr. Peters encouraged me to speak to the Elders who were the leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, and to trappers who had customary authority over their traplines. While I also sought to understand the larger context by talking and interviewing younger members of the community (both staff at the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation office and members of the community), as well as members outside of the Whitefeather planning process, the objectives of the research were dependent on understanding the way in which the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation was framed strategically to move forward community-based goals.

Fieldwork in the community of Pikangikum rooted my research into the localized political process of land use planning and enabled me to respond to part of Objective 1 and 3. In the second phase, I adopted document analysis to trace the events and processes that led to changes in land use planning in the Far North. The second phase completed Objectives 1 and 2 (Summarized in Section 3.5).

I first presented a research plan to the President of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation in May 2006. I then traveled to Pikangikum in November and December for two weeks, where I was introduced to the staff from the WFMC. In March 2007, I began the research, presenting the objectives of the research at a community meeting with Pikangikum Elders, WFMC staff, and OMNR representatives. Fieldwork in the community and interviews with conservation organization representatives, OMNR, and Ontario Parks were concluded in November 2007. I returned to Pikangikum in March 2009 for further verification of the results from the first phase of fieldwork, and to discuss changes in policy for land use planning.

### **3.6.1. First phase**

#### ***3.6.1.1. Document review***

The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources produced a substantial amount of documentation which was available through

the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation website, and the Government of Ontario’s Environmental Bill of Registry website. In Table 4, I show the official documents that were developed as part of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative land use planning and management process, and that helped to contextualize fieldwork and subsequent analysis.

**Table 4.** Archival and online documentation for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative land use planning process.

<b>Organization/Author</b>	<b>Title/Issue</b>	<b>Date</b>
OMNR	Northern Boreal Initiative and Community-based Land Use Planning approach	2001 and 2002
Pikangikum FN, Pauingassi FN, Poplar River FN, Little Grand Rapids FN	Protected Areas First Nation's Accord	2002
PFN and OMNR	Terms of Reference for community-based land use planning	2003
PFN and Partnership for Public Lands	Partnership Agreement	2003
Environmental Bill of Rights	Whitefeather Forest Initiative, Land Use Strategy	2005
Pikangikum First Nation, consultants, OMNR, and Ontario Parks	Terms of Reference for Ahkee dialogue (Dedicated Protected Areas dialogue)	2006
PFN and OMNR	Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy policy direction	2006
Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and WFMC	Submission for Environmental Assessment Coverage	2007
PFN and Ontario Parks	Terms of Reference for the Whitefeather Forest Dedicated Protected Areas	2009
PFN and Ontario Parks	Draft Management Plan for the Whitefeather Forest Dedicated Protected Areas	2011

### ***3.6.1.2. Participant observation***

Participant observation provides insightful perceptions into interpersonal motives and behaviour. Participant observation occurred in four main venues: the office of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, trips on the land, home visits, and at community meetings. Limitations of this strategy include bias due to the possible manipulation of events, or in the case of cross-cultural encounters, potential misunderstandings or misinterpretations (Bernard, 2006; Yin, 1994). To address this,

observations at these sites were recorded as field notes and discussed with staff from the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation.

The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation office was the base, and thus the place where I spent most of the time. Here I was able to speak with Elders who visited, discuss observations with staff, meet other researchers, and speak to the consultants that worked with Pikangikum, as well as with visiting staff from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Ontario Parks.

Before starting formal interviews, my husband and I travelled with two families to their spring camps to learn about people's traditional activities on the land. We wanted to know, why was it important to be on the land? How do you keep the land? How do you see that the land is taken care of? What are the challenges to being on the land (e.g., in terms of policy regulation, tourism, and financial costs)? These were some of the initial questions. We spent two weeks on Mr. Larry Pascal's family trapline at Keeper Lake, and ten days with Mr. Gordon Suggashie's family in the northern bay of Pikangikum Lake. In the fall of 2007 we returned to Larry Pascal's trapline. Being a 20-minute flight from a remote community taught me what it takes to organize these trips, but once there, I truly experienced the change in perception from "a remote wilderness" to a "home." I learnt where it was best to harvest certain species (and that I could not have survived on my own) and how to prepare them. What seemed like a homogeneous landscape (burnt less than 10–15 years prior) started to show colour, depth, meaning, and personal attachment. I was told of how the girls used to see tourists who lodged further down the stream fishing, but they were shy, so they would hide in the bush. It was ironically funny as outsiders came to these areas to experience 'wilderness.'

Through food procurement, preparation, and consumption, I was shown how people carried out these different activities, and how to behave appropriately in this cultural setting. These precious weeks provided me with a vocabulary and rudimentary introduction to the names and uses of wildlife and species used by our host families. These trips allowed me to then speak to Elders with a basic understanding of what happened when families were on the land, as well as its importance for the family and the community. I could see some of the colour and depth to what the Elders were teaching

me. In August 2007, I was part of a cultural landscape documentation trip that showed how places were linked together through years of activities, ranging from fur trapping, fishing, and harvesting of wild rice, to current tourism ventures. These experiences enabled me to get a grasp of the territory in which Pikangikum was located, the resources, their uses, and seasonality. I was also shown the many ways in which Pikangikum people had lived from the resources on their land, and how they could continue living from their resources.

I was also able to spend a lot of time with the women from the camp and learn about their perspectives as mothers, grandmothers, and daughters. As I returned to the community, I noticed that women were less willing to come to the WFMC office where interviews were usually scheduled, and that instead I was able to go visit in their homes. I took every opportunity to walk around the community, to go fishing, or to visit with families that we had become close to, as ways to learn more about life in the community, including daily challenges but also cultural continuity and opportunities. Here I was able to interview Elderly women in a more comfortable setting, as well as speak to their children and grandchildren (sometimes there were five generations in a household).

Land Use Planning Coordinator, Mr. Paddy Peters, recommended that outsiders should become part of the community, rather than just coming to get their 'data'. The opportunity was presented to us in the fall of 2007. As the teachers returned and our accommodation became unavailable, Mr. Peters offered my husband and I a little house adjacent to his home where we could approximate what life in the Pikangikum Reserve was like: without running water and central heating, and with unreliable electricity. While from the summer apartment we had lakefront view and an almost idyllic perspective of life in the woods, once in the heart of the community we were privy to the effort made daily by worried parents, as well as to the laughter and optimism that supported continuous efforts for one's family and one's community.

From daily life in the community I was also present at a number of community meetings that were held during my stay in 2007. These included a three-day internal community meeting regarding the completion of the request for Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage in May, a two-day meeting with OMNR and stakeholder groups as part

of the focused consultation Environmental Assessment meetings in June, a follow-up in July, an Ontario Parks meeting organized in June, and a Forest Management Planning meeting in July. I was able to access audio recordings for two meetings where I was not present, that had occurred in 2005 with the OMNR and the Partnership for Public Lands, and in 2008 with Ontario Parks. Further, I was able to read meeting notes from the Protected Areas Working Group dating between 2001 and 2004. During the research, I also participated at three Annual General meetings organized by Pimachiowin Aki Corp. in February 2007, December 2008, and January 2010, in which Pikangikum Elders and WFMC staff participated.

Witnessing the meetings with staff from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and representatives from the Partnership for Public Lands allowed me to get a sense of how different parties responded and interacted. Through several readings of transcripts, I marveled at how Pikangikum Elders are great orators, and build on what each said previously in a nuanced way, producing a compelling narrative. I also saw how the Elders were able to get at the heart of the issue that was troubling them without being offensive, and challenged their audience to listen and take what they had learnt. As late Elder Ellen Peters<sup>8</sup>, stated, Elders challenged listeners to recognize the work they had done, respect their knowledge, and the authority they held over their traplines and what they wanted for their territory.

This has been in my heart for some time she says. [...] that the knowledge of our Elders must be respected she says (Late Elder Ellen Peters, community meeting with Ontario Parks trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, audio recorded, 25/06/07).

I was present at one of the last formal meetings between PFN and several ENGOs, in which the ENGOs asked why PFN wanted to work with them. Elder Gideon Peters spoke of how it was important to work together, to have good relations with everybody, and talked about a dream he had to express the importance of what he was stating. The Elders viewed this relationship as a new one compared with the relationship with the government, and for this reason they considered it appropriate for outsiders to listen and learn from them.

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<sup>8</sup> Elder Ellen Peters passed away on July 17, 2010.

For example, we began working with the MNR in 1946, that's 60 years we've been working with them. Our partnership relationship with the MNR is solid and we continue to work to make it stronger. We'll continue to work in our trapline areas. As I see it, the ENGOs, they are all young, they are facing us elders. Our working relation with the MNR is 61 years old; none of the ENGOs were even born at that age (Elder George B. Strang, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, Burlando field notes, 12/07/07)

I also had to learn to listen in order to understand what the Elders were teaching. How could I understand 'protection' as a way of life, when the legislative concept implies regulation, control, and foregoing use? When is it that the assumption that protected areas will help 'species at risk' became an oxymoron, or when the idea that woodland caribou in a protected space will attract predators became a real concern? When is it that I was able to understand animals will return if you take them, rather than if you leave them alone? When could I understand that our behaviour influences how we receive the gifts from the Creator, rather than the nature of our activities per se? Is it not that behaviour is the precursor to conducting activities, our predisposition to how we act? As one Elder remarked, it was qualitatively different doing an "open-eyed" forestry as opposed to a "blind forestry" as it was done in the south. While these concepts seemed to be irreconcilable with concepts held by outsider, scientific-oriented views, it was also true that outsiders' (including researchers') ideas were equally strange and foreign in the Pikangikum context. All involved needed a great willingness to listen to each other as a precursor to relationship building.

All the outside visitors that we have, they don't have all the answers. We have to push them back every now and then because they're not speaking the truth. They have no knowledge in what they say. And also what we do is that we, we have to hold back in some of the things that we have to say. At times we don't answer right away when we're asked questions he says. That is just our way of looking at things. We also have to look at the area of relationship, we have to make a good relationship with other people" (Burlando, group interview, audio recorded, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 18/07/07).

### ***3.6.1.3. Field notes***

The group and individual interviews described below were recorded and transcribed. However, I also took field notes on the interviews that I did not record. These included meetings and interviews with a larger number of community members in the



Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation office, in their homes, at work places such as the Pikangikum Education Authority and at the local nursing station, during fishing excursions as well as during traveling in and out of the community (Section 3.6.1.2). Notes from these encounters were also transcribed and coded with TAMS Analyzer (Section 3.7.2).

#### ***3.6.1.4. Group interviews***

Group interviews were adopted with a small group of Elders to clarify specific concepts that had emerged from interviews. I participated in four small group meetings, three of which were translated by Mr. Paddy Peters and one by WFMC staff Marlene Quill. The first meeting occurred with a group of women and asked them about the foods they ate seasonally. This meeting served to learn about the different foods that were available on the land ahead of traveling to the traplines. Elders Lucy Strang, Lillian Quill, Lizzie Turtle and Marie K. Strang talked about their years spent on the land and the seasonal cycle. The following meetings were not pre-arranged in terms of time, but occurred when two or three Elders met at the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation office and agreed to respond to a specific issue.

The second meeting was held in July 2007 on the issue of dedicated protected areas. Before the meeting, I spoke at length with Mr. Paddy Peters regarding the establishment of the dedicated protected areas. He clarified the values these areas represented, as well as concerns with the regulation of these areas under a restrictive legislation rather than under customary stewardship. This conversation allowed me to raise the issue with Mr. Peters and two Elders two days later. The small group highlighted in greater detail the challenges that dedicated protected areas posed to their system, and showed some of the tensions that existed around boundaries, the decision-making process, and the issues that remained unaddressed. Four years later, many of these issues were resolved through intense dialogue and negotiation, but this group interview raised issues around local authority, state policy, and regulation that challenge Aboriginal engagement in state-led planning practices. As described in Chapter 6, these challenges were of concern in the context of comprehensive approaches to planning being advocated for the Far North area.

The third meeting was held in September 2007 when I asked a group of three Elders about the meaning of “*cheemahnahcheetooyaun*.” This term emerged as a result of interviews with Elders, and was used to describe a Pikangikum approach to ‘protection,’ to juxtapose ‘protected areas’ with their own approach to protection. Its definition as “*cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn*”—meaning “to keep something that you know helps you in your life so that it will continue to provide for future generations in the same way it always has”—would later become the foundation for a common understanding of dedicated protected areas between Pikangikum and Ontario Parks (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011). The meeting provided me with a glimpse of a multi-faceted worldview that was recognized as difficult to explain, but that could be told through stories, references to animal behaviour, and experiencing powerful places. The final group interview was held in March 2009, as a verification meeting (see Section 3.7.4).

#### ***3.6.1.5. Individual interviews***

Interviewing is a targeted research method that allows the focus to be directly on the case study topic, and allows the interviewee to provide insight into causal links between events (Creswell, 2007). Some of the limitations of this method are the potential for leading questions, or poor construction (Creswell, 2007). Events could be reported inaccurately and the interviewer may get answers she wants to hear rather than more honest responses.

Open-ended interviews were carried out with respondents from Pikangikum, and semi-structured interviews with staff from OMNR, Ontario Parks, and non-governmental organizations in the first phase of the research process (Table 5). In the next two Sections, I describe how I conducted the interviews and how I addressed the limitations of this method in the different contexts of the community, government, and non-governmental organizations.

**Table 5.** Number of interviewees by affiliation and gender ratio.

<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Number of interviewees (recorded)</b>	<b>Number of interviewees (field notes)</b>	<b>Total interviews (F/M proportion)</b>
Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation staff	3 (0/3)	3 (2/3)	6 (2/6)
Pikangikum Elders and senior trappers	14 (2/12)	12 (8/4)	26 (10/16)
Consultants	0	2	2 (1/1)
Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources	4		4 (1/3)
Ontario Parks	3		3 (1/2)
Non-governmental organizations	4		4 (3/1)

### **Interviews in Pikangikum**

Interviews in Pikangikum were carried out following participant observation of two consecutive trips on the land (6 weeks in total) and following a number of spring and summer community meetings. Further, a number of informal and formal discussions with Mr. Paddy Peters throughout the fieldwork helped me to guide and refine the range of questions that I was able to ask successfully. Mr. Peters played both a key informant and interpreter role as he introduced me to the political context of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, helped me interpret some of the responses by setting them into a larger context, and guided me to speak to the knowledgeable Elders and trappers. Mr. Charlie Pascal succeeded Mr. Peters as Land Use Coordinator for the last two months of fieldwork and translated the final round of interviews. The role of a key informant shapes the direction of the research—including through the possible exclusion of community members—but the sampling strategy was structured by customary stewardship system and required that I speak to people who held authority for the land included within the Whitefeather Forest Initiative.

I initially had a long set of questions (see Appendix 2) in which I linked the issue of conservation and protected areas in the Whitefeather Forest. The questions related to past experiences with the creation of Woodland Caribou Park, experiences with recreation and tourism, and the process and criteria for setting aside Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs) as part of the land use planning process. I quickly realized that some of these questions

were very difficult to ask. With regard to the DPAs, some community informants stated that they did not know what those areas were. Mr. Paddy Peters played a key role by explaining that Elders did not understand what the DPAs that had been established in their territory meant, and would not speak about a land use designation for which they had not yet developed an agreement for their management with the Provincial Government—Ontario Parks. Such a response is consistent with the fact that Elders will only speak about issues on which they have knowledge and authority. When I conducted fieldwork in 2007, the discussions that the WFMC and the Elders had requested with Ontario Parks to clarify these issues had not yet occurred. Mr. Peters also said that these areas were problematic at the community level, as they had not yet discussed how benefits and impacts would be shared, since the Whitefeather Forest Initiative had to benefit the whole community. As a result, there were issues that had yet to be cleared among community members. I was also taught how asking about conservation did not make sense, unless I referred to experience with Woodland Caribou Park, or used the Pikangikum word, “*cheemahnahcheetooyaun*”—meaning “you keep it because it’s helping you maintain a way of life.” This is a very different concept than the one used nationally and internationally by IUCN, the International Union for Conservation of Nature.<sup>9</sup>

After extensive discussions with Mr. Peters, and as I began to understand the events that had shaped Pikangikum respondents’ weariness about the topic of protected areas, and the changing regulations that accompanied this designation, I narrowed my set of questions for Elders and trappers as well as for WFMC staff (Appendix 3). While I interviewed young trappers as well as younger members of the community, the Elders directed the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, and were therefore the most authoritative source of information. Overall I conducted a total of 26 semi-structured interviews, 10 with women and 16 with men. 14 of them were audio recorded with the Roland-Edirol recorder while I took notes for the remaining interviews. While women actively participated in the community meetings, they were less keen on formal interviews in the office—unless they were group meetings (such as the first meeting described in 3.6.1.4).

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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/pa/pa\\_products/wcpa\\_categories/](http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/pa/pa_products/wcpa_categories/)

As a result, I then visited the households of four Elder women who actively participated in the Elders' Steering Committee to conduct interviews, as well as those of the families of senior trappers.

The Land Use Strategy map of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative and the ortho-rectified aerial photographs of specific traplines (1:50,000) were used as visual prompts. Responses were generally translated during the interviews and they lasted between half an hour to 1 hour, and in some cases were conducted in conjunction with another PhD student. This occurred because it was sometimes difficult to coordinate both a respondent and an interpreter to be present at the same time. I also had several opportunities to talk informally to a small number of Elders that came more often to the WFMC office.

While the interviews shed some light into the benefits of, and concerns about, dedicated protected areas, they also introduced the Elders and the community members to the research topic. This process facilitated the discussions both for the group interviews (3.6.1.4) and the verification workshop that I organized at the end of the fieldwork (3.6.1.6).

### **Interviews with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and with Ontario Parks**

During my stay in Pikangikum in 2007, I interviewed one representative from Ontario Parks on three different occasions. In October of that year I also organized a trip to interview staff from both Ontario Parks and the Ministry of Natural Resources. These included staff from the OMNR and Ontario Parks in Red Lake (three respondents), at the regional office in Thunder Bay (three respondents), and at the provincial office in Peterborough (one respondent). In total, four representatives from the Ministry of Natural Resources were interviewed, two of them twice (follow-up interviews were conducted in March 2009). Two of them were district managers, while two of them worked in senior positions at the regional-level. Three representatives from Ontario Parks were also interviewed, their positions ranging from the senior policy-development level, to the regional and district levels. The interviews were recorded save for two. In one case I was explicitly asked not to record, and in the second case the interview was conducted over the phone. Respondents signed the consent form, and most respondents also requested

anonymity, which I adopted for all participants in the presentation of results. The semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix 4) followed four main topics.

1. Perspectives on boreal conservation and the role of protected areas in conservation
2. The role of First Nations in conservation and protected areas
3. Innovation in protected areas thinking that allows space for First Nations to negotiate culturally appropriate conservation systems
4. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative and the creation of Dedicated Protected Areas in the Whitefeather Forest.

The interviews were constructed around four main topics to address problems with bias and leading questions; by first focusing on the ways individuals framed the issue under discussion (i.e., conservation, protected areas, community-based land use planning), and secondly, the ways in which they perceived the political process for the development of new dedicated protected areas under the Northern Boreal Initiative (best represented by the completion of the Whitefeather Forest Land Use Planning Strategy). Follow-up questions were used based on the degree of experience or on the role that the respondents had played as partners to the Whitefeather Forest Initiative. The interviews generally lasted about 1.5 hours.

The first set of interviews provided a context for the enabling conditions that allowed the partnership between Pikangikum and the OMNR to develop, and provided a context for the development of policy for conservation and land use planning in the Far North. In March 2009, two OMNR representatives were interviewed together for verification, and regarding the Far North Planning Initiative (See Section 3.7.4).

### **Interviews with conservation organizations**

I conducted semi-structured interviews following the same interview protocol described above with four representatives from conservation organizations. Two were representatives from the Partnerships for Public Lands (the Ontario chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, Wildlands League, and Ontario Nature), which signed a Letter of Agreement with Pikangikum First Nation in 2003. I also interviewed a representative from the Wildlife Conservation Society and from the Canadian Boreal Initiative. All interviewees, except for the respondent from the Canadian Boreal

Initiative, had worked directly with the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation and were familiar with the planning process. Most interviews with conservation representatives were conducted in October of 2007, during a ten-day trip to Thunder Bay, Toronto, Peterborough, and Ottawa and were all recorded and transcribed. The third signatory to the Letter of Agreement with Pikangikum was from the World Wildlife Fund of Canada (WWF). WWF was not contacted for an interview as in 2007 I was told that WWF was focusing on the southern part of Ontario particularly as Forest Stewardship Council certification was an important focus area.

At this point in the research I was not prepared for the level of mistrust that my positioning within the community of Pikangikum engendered. The nature of the research and the place where I positioned myself—in Pikangikum—was challenging to some of the conservation and government groups. The interviews with conservation organization representatives followed the same protocol outlined for the representatives of OMNR and Ontario Parks (Appendix 4). These questions allowed respondents latitude of movement in terms of how much they wanted to discuss. In one case I was asked not to ask questions regarding the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, citing previous interviews in which the representative did not feel their organization had been portrayed fairly.

In the end, these interviews provided insight into the framing of different groups' perceptions of conservation and planning in the northern boreal region, a framing that was consistent with the document analysis I developed in the second phase of the research (see Section 3.6.2.). While a second round of interviews would have been useful to understand the underlying processes and lobbying used to achieve policy change through the Far North Planning Initiative, I did not follow-up with interviews but turned to document analysis instead (Section 3.6.2). I decided to adopt this strategy because policy development was under way, the context was changing rapidly, and actors were positioning and re-positioning themselves in relation to government, First Nations, and conservation organizations; thus making it difficult, at that stage, to gain definitive narratives and interpretations of what was happening. Further, it was difficult to gain the required trust from both the community and involved conservation organizations.

For this reason, it is important to note that the limited number of interviews conducted with conservation organizations could not be generalized to represent their organizational diversity as well as the diversity of opinion among individuals. More interviews would be needed to ascertain the “inside story”—the long-term interests and internal discussions—of the provincial organizations, their relation to Big International Non-government Organizations (BINGOs) and the foundations that support them.

#### ***3.6.1.6. Community Verification Workshop***

I concluded fieldwork in Pikangikum by coordinating a two-day workshop in November 2007, on Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs) in Red Lake, together with my adviser Dr. Iain Davidson-Hunt and Land Use Planning Coordinator Mr. Paddy Peters. The workshop provided a space to reflect on what new protected areas could look like in the Whitefeather Forest. Despite being asked to talk about what DPAs would look like, we agreed that an answer had to come from the Elders who participated in the creation of these areas and who needed to clarify what they wanted these areas to do for them. Thus, the workshop had the following objectives:

1. Build cross-cultural understandings of what parks and protected areas mean that will contribute to the future development of the dialogue on the Dedicated Protected Areas (also known as the Ahkee dialogue).
2. Bring together Elders and head trappers that participated in research activities in the period between March and November 2007, and offer an opportunity to share lessons learnt as the conclusion to the first part of the research in the community.

We introduced the workshop with an overview of the current Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act (2006), and with our understanding of what parks and protected areas mean from the perspective of the western/scientific world and as reflected in the legislation. It was then followed by an open discussion in which we asked about participants’ understandings of the potential benefits and challenges of setting aside areas for protection, and the role that the OMNR/Ontario Parks can play to foster a positive partnership with PFN for the future management of DPAs. The workshop was audio and video recorded, and a transcript was provided to both the WFMC and Ontario Parks. Staff members from Ontario Parks were invited but could not attend.



The interviews and workshop with WFMC staff and Elders showed that more dialogue was needed between the WFMC and Ontario Parks in terms of assessing how far the WFMC could go in setting new policy for the DPAs. Many of these discussions were happening on a government-to-government level, confidentially. After the first phase of research, it became clear that without the discussions and negotiations having played out between the WFMC and Ontario Parks/OMNR, I could not report conclusively on the outcomes of the discussions for the management of new Dedicated Protected areas.

Fieldwork also pointed out that there was tension between community-based land use planning and regional planning. The different views on the appropriate levels at which decisions for protected areas should be made showed this as a major area of contention with large conservation organizations lobbying for boreal conservation. In 2008, the Premier of Ontario, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, announced a new land use planning policy, which would include both community-based land use planning and regional planning for the protection of 50 percent of the Far North Region of Ontario. Such announcement paralleled conservation organizations' demands for boreal conservation, and it indicated that conservation organizations had moved from working at local land use planning processes, to lobbying for a different approach to land use planning and conservation in the Far North. The second phase of the research began in 2008, when I refined the objectives of the research to document how civil society organizations supported changes to the land use planning policy, and to situate these changes within a historical context of northern planning.

### **3.6.2. Second phase**

This research involved two main phases that focused on two distinct geographical scales—a multi-scale research approach. The first phase was rooted in learning about Pikangikum people's approaches to planning and management. In this phase I also sought to understand the views of conservation organizations and government representatives that partnered with the Whitefeather Forest Initiative of Pikangikum to analyze the territorial politics of conservation. The second part focused on the intersection of conservation groups' agendas for boreal conservation with community-based planning and its implications for Aboriginal decision-making processes in policy development and

implementation for land use planning in the Far North of Ontario. I decided to use document analysis because it can provide for exact information (names, references, details of events) that is not created as a result of the study (Yin, 1994), and at a time in which policy change was unfolding it provided traceable sources of data.

The second research phase aimed to complete the analysis of land use planning policy changes in the Far North by tracking the development of the Far North boundary in 1985, as well as accounting for the more recent developments in land use planning (from 2001–2010) (Objective 1); and to analyze the role and strategies of non-state actors involved in conservation-based land use planning in the Far North (Objective 2). I chose four different ‘document formats’ from which to draw data: websites, annual reports, press releases, and relevant news outlets. I analyzed four different types of media in order to address the potential for biased selectivity and incomplete collection (Roy et al., 2007), and developed a protocol outlining a consistent range of topics I would search for in the different document formats. These topics were first selected from the results of the interviews, and then partly emerged during document analysis. For example, the broad categories initially selected were both geographical (i.e., ‘boreal forest’ and ‘Far North Region’) as well as conceptual (i.e., ‘50 percent protection,’ ‘comprehensive planning’ and ‘community-based land use planning’). The geographic area served to narrow the sampling strategy to the area of interest. The conceptual categories were the result of interview responses regarding approaches to land use planning. Since a conservation-based message founded on these two main components was translated into policy and legislation (the Far North Act, 2010), I expected to see this message used through different media, including in mainstream newspapers.

It is important to note that websites, annual reports and press releases introduce biases with respect to the message conveyed since conservation organizations, Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs), foundations and governments have access to resources devoted exclusively to the development of consistent ‘messages’.

Conversely, First Nations, district-level Ministries and other actors are less able to shape the framing and public discourse. The use of national and provincial newspapers helped to address the correspondence between the framing of events in the media as opposed to

the framing proposed by conservation organizations, while the use of Wawatay News helped to provide a public Aboriginal perspective. Further, documents produced as part of the Whitefeather Forest land use planning process provided a view into a locally negotiated framing and outcome (see Table 4 in Section 3.6.1.1).

### ***3.6.2.1. Document sampling strategy***

The document sampling strategy relied on the framework for contentious interactions identified in Figure 3 (from McAdam, 1982 and McAdam et al., 2001) to address the factors for the mobilization of non-state actors in shifting land use planning policy in the Far North. The building blocks are described in Table 6.

**Table 6.** Methods for tracing the strategies adopted by conservation organizations to influence land use planning policy change in the Far North Region of Ontario, and response.

<b>Political process model components</b>	<b>Sampling documents</b>	<b>Information retrieved</b>
Organization	Websites and annual reports	Boreal forest campaign focus, geographic area of interest, themes of interest, mission statement.
Mobilization/ Collective action	Websites, annual reports, campaign websites	Campaigns, published reports, press releases, endorse the BFCF and other agreements, partnership with First Nations.
Framing	Websites, published reports, advisory groups' reports, interview transcripts	Description of threats to the boreal region, description of solution or advocated action, endorse the BFCF framework, comprehensive land use planning, 50 percent target, and published reports, press releases.
Network	Websites/ campaign websites	Links to multi-party campaigns that organizations were leading or being part of and that had their own website, ties to the Pew Charitable Trusts and/or the Canadian Boreal Initiative, partnership with First Nations.
Incentives/ Funding	Websites and annual reports	Ties to the Pew Charitable Trusts and/or the Canadian Boreal Initiative, Ivey Foundation; sources of funding, amount of funding, objectives of funding, beneficiaries.
Response	Websites, annual reports, press releases	Response to the changes in land use planning policy (Far North Planning Initiative, Far North Act, 2010)

These included an analysis of the events that led to policy change (as well as an analysis of historical antecedents to land use planning policy in the Far North), the network that facilitated policy change, the funding sources which enabled mobilization, and the actions (including framing) that were undertaken to mobilize the network. The framework in Figure 3 enabled me to account for multiple actors—and in this case I focused on the challengers to the changes in land use planning policy.

### **Websites**

The first phase of the fieldwork served to analyze policy development in the resource planning of Pikangikum First Nation, referred to as the Northern Boreal Initiative. In order to address changes in land use planning at the larger spatial scale (Objective 1), I searched for policy directives for land use planning that had both preceded and followed the Northern Boreal Initiative. These included the West Patricia Land Use Plan (OMNR, 1982); the Commission of Inquiry on the Northern Environment (Fahlgren, 1985); the ‘Lands for Life’ (1997–1999); and the Far North Planning Initiative (McGuinty, 2008, July 14)<sup>10</sup>. All documents except for the West Patricia Land Use Plan were available on the Internet. The West Patricia Land Use Plan was never implemented, and the paper report was found in the Red Lake Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources offices. Specific websites from the Provincial Government included the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (<http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca>); the Environmental Bill of Registry (<http://www.ebr.gov.on.ca>), where the Ministry of Natural Resources posts notices for comments on land use planning policies, and regulations; the Premier’s Office (<http://www.premier.gov.on.ca>); the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs (<http://www.aboriginalaffairs.gov.on.ca>); and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (<http://www.ontla.on.ca/>).

The website of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario provided not only the pieces of legislation passed by the Government of Ontario, but also the detailed transcripts of their development, including the status of the Bill, the debates in the Legislative Assembly at Second and Third Readings, the minute notes for Standing Committee meetings that were carried out in 2009, and the Government press. As I detail below, the websites of both

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<sup>10</sup> Complete dates for in-text citation are provided for press releases and newspaper articles.

Nishnawbe Aski Nation (<http://www.nan.on.ca>) and the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario (<http://www.eco.on.ca>) were analyzed for responses to changes in land use planning policy in Ontario.

In order to address Objective 2, the document review of websites of conservation organizations, foundations, and boreal campaigns was an iterative process designed to identify non-state actors involved in advocating for land use planning policy changes in the Far North, as well as the access to resources and strategies adopted by these non-state actors (McAdam, 1982; see also Table 6). Organizations were identified starting with their relationship to the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (i.e., the Partnership for Public Lands), and to the Canadian Boreal Conservation Framework. The Partnership for Public Lands included three organizations: the Ontario chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS–Wildlands League), Ontario Nature, and the World Wildlife Fund of Canada (WWF–Canada). The signatories to the Canadian Boreal Conservation Framework were CPAWS–Wildlands League, WWF–Canada, Ducks Unlimited Canada, the Nature Conservancy, Forest Ethics, as well as the Pembina Institute (listed as an environmental organization, a citizen group, as well as a research center). Supporters of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework included charitable foundations such as the Ivey Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts, and Tides Canada Foundation. Further, the Pew Charitable Trusts linked to organizations such as the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, the Boreal Songbird Initiative, and the Canadian Boreal Initiative, all of which are working towards the mandate of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework to protect at least half of the Canadian boreal forest. The websites were analyzed based on the model for Political Process described in Table 6.

Within the relevant websites, I then searched for annual reports, press releases/letters, and publications. For example, an organization like the Canadian Boreal Initiative provided a consistent stream of press releases and commissioned reports, but no access to annual reports. The International Boreal Conservation Campaign website had a specific link to all publications on the boreal region that had been prepared by conservation organizations. Organizations involved in the Far North were coded if they had actively taken part in conservation campaigns for the Far North Region of Ontario. For example,

organizations such as Greenpeace and Global Forest Watch both appeared as authors of reports on the Ontario boreal forest, but were not signatories to the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework.

While annual reports, press releases, and news stories were analyzed between the dates on which they were available online until 2009, websites of the organizations described in this Section were continually revisited because they provided updates on the evolution of the planning policy for the Far North Region (which culminated in the Far North Act, 2010).

### **Annual reports**

Annual reports of foundations and conservation organizations enabled the tracing of funding allocation for boreal conservation, and between 2001 and 2008 were coded for sources, beneficiaries, amounts, and objectives of funding. Foundations have detailed accounts of grants. For example, the Pew Charitable Trusts (PCT) allowed me to narrow the sample for funding allocated to boreal conservation by searching for ‘boreal forest’ on their website. The results included dollar amounts, years in which funding was allocated, recipients, and descriptions of causes supported. The Ivey Foundation also provided the same information in detailed annual reports. The Tides Foundation, while active in western Canada and the West Coast of British Columbia, did not emerge as a significant contributor in Ontario and was therefore not analyzed.

Conversely, conservation organizations do not generally have detailed reports on amounts and sources of funding, preferring instead to report the total sum of foundation and donations funding. For example, the annual reports of organizations directly affiliated with signing the Canadian Boreal Conservation Framework were examined to see if there was a correspondence between funding allocated from the PCT and funding received from national conservation organizations. When annual reports mentioned funding from the Canadian Boreal Initiative—which was sometimes considered a foundation and sometimes a conservation organization—they often simply described the total amount of funding that was coming from foundations as opposed to public or private sources. However, annual reports also indicated participation in, or organization of, campaigns,

publications, partnerships with Aboriginal communities or other players (i.e., industry), and projects underway.

Annual reports were also coded to evaluate the response, both supportive and critical, of other actors to changes in land use planning in the Far North between 2002 and 2009. In this case, interviewees and previous research studies (i.e., Smith, 2007) identified two main actors: Nishnawbe Aski Nation, whose territory includes the Far North, and the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario. As the territorial political organization for Treaty #9 and Ontario's portion of Treaty #5 communities, Nishnawbe Aski Nation's annual reports provided summaries of programs, resolutions, projects, and discussion tables (<http://www.nan.on.ca>). They enabled me to assess Nishnawbe Aski Nation's reactions to the Far North Planning Initiative and Bill 191 (Far North Act, 2010).

As the independent environmental 'watchdog' for the Province, the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario was "tasked with monitoring and reporting on compliance with the Environmental Bill of Rights" (<http://www.eco.on.ca>). The annual reports of the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario between 2003 and 2009 were used to identify environmental perspectives (but that did not come directly from an advocacy group) on land use planning policies developed for the Far North Region of Ontario.

### **Press releases**

The Pew Charitable Trusts, the Canadian Boreal Initiative and the International Boreal Conservation Campaign websites all held databases for press releases on boreal conservation. For example, the Canadian Boreal Initiative issued 78 press releases between 2003 and 2009. The IBCC also provided links to newspaper articles that highlighted success stories in boreal conservation. In Ontario, the website of CPAWS–Wildlands League provided access to their responses to legislation changes in land use planning policy (i.e., Northern Boreal Initiative, Bill 191).

Nishnawbe Aski Nation also provided press releases and background documentation that were sorted between 2007 and 2010 for issues such as the Northern Tables, bilateral discussion tables that had been developed with the Province of Ontario; Far North land use planning policies and legislation; and protected areas, mining, and forestry. Further,

five resolutions regarding land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario were forwarded through an e-mail list, and were included in the analysis because they summarized Nishnawbe Aski Nations' position in relation to changing land use planning policies.

### **Advisory reports**

The Government of Ontario commissioned two advisory reports in response to the Far North Planning Policy. The Far North Plan Advisory Council (FNPAC), which was composed of representatives from conservation organizations as well as members of industry (hydro, mining, forestry, and tourism), released a "Consensus Advice to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources" in March 2009. The Far North Science Advisory Panel (FNSAP) composed of university, government, and NGO scientists (i.e., Nature Conservancy of Canada and Wildlife Conservation Society) released the report "Science for a Changing Far North" in April 2010. These reports were included in the analysis for the following reasons:

- (1) Organizations who signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework participated in of the two advisory groups;
- (2) Advisory groups lacked an Aboriginal representative;
- (3) The reports reflected the framing of boreal conservation campaigns;
- (4) They were directly tied to planning land uses in the Far North Region
- (5) The scientific report provided a comprehensive view of the challenges and proposed solutions for development in the Far North. This scientific assessment provided me with a framing for the rational for comprehensive planning, which I could compare to the framing proposed by Pikangikum First Nation for community-based land use planning (Objective 3).

### **Newspapers**

The analysis of websites and annual reports provided me with background on the main actors involved in boreal conservation, their connections, their particular message for boreal conservation, their access to funding, their campaigns, publications, and main advocacy strategies. Media analysis was then used to: (1) verify events which shaped land use policy development on the boreal forests of Ontario; (2) identify temporal trends; and (3) reconstruct the correspondence of the framing of events in the media as opposed to the framing of other groups (i.e., environmental groups and Aboriginal



communities). I hypothesized that the message of conservation campaigns would become the dominant framing in mainstream newspapers.

Roy et al. (2007) stated that online searches are more effective because they locate articles which only mention the word searched at least once; however, they also produce more ‘false positives’. ProQuest has a search engine for Canadian Newsstands. I opted to search for ‘boreal forest’ as it would include conservation initiatives as well as development initiatives and stories on boreal communities. Given the way in which the term ‘boreal’ has been framed, it does not represent a neutral term, but the geographic scope of it means that all parties can claim it and frame it for their own purposes, from conservation organizations to Aboriginal communities. This was confirmed as results in the Aboriginal press included Aboriginal initiatives in the ‘boreal’ region.

An initial search for ‘boreal forest’ in news stories from 1997 to 2009 yielded 3229 documents. To narrow the search, I chose three newspapers for which I had online access: The Toronto Star (Toronto-based, southern Ontario audience), The Globe and Mail (national print), and Wawatay News (Northern Ontario Aboriginal audience). This search carried with it biases. For example, The Globe and Mail and The National Post are both national in scope but reflect different agendas, the former having a more liberal perspective, and the latter a more conservative one. The Toronto Star is also a more liberal newspaper and as such closer to The Globe and Mail. The goal of the analysis was to identify and reflect upon the relationships between conservation organizations and the media, and to address the ways in which Aboriginal people were (or were not) considered allies in the environmental agenda. I used both The Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail because of the conceptual/political closeness of these two news outlets compared to the National Post allowed me to see trends at different regional and national levels. At the same time, to adopt both the National Post and the Globe and Mail might have duplicated the effort since protected areas have become an agenda that can be adopted by political views at opposite sides. These assumptions would have to be tested with the inclusion of The National Post in a follow-up analysis. In addition, while temporal peaks and ebbs were applied to all three newspapers, detailed coding was performed specifically for The Toronto Star and Wawatay News for a more narrow temporal range (2006–2009) that

would yield information on the events and processes that led to policy changes in land use planning in the Far North.

A number of newspapers reflect the context of Northern Ontario, including the Thunder Bay Chronicle and the Kenora Daily Miner. However, Wawatay News was seen to best reflect the interests of northern Aboriginal communities because it is an Aboriginal-owned newspaper, and it is the only printed news to be widely distributed in northern remote communities (see Table 7).

**Table 7.** Sample size of articles for ‘boreal forest’ before and after removal of articles that were counted twice (duplicates), temporal range, and search engine used.

<b>Newsprint</b>	<b>Initial sample (no duplicates)</b>	<b>Range</b>	<b>Search engine</b>
The Toronto Star	203 (217)	Jan 1, 2000–Dec 31, 2009	Newsstand, in ProQuest
The Globe and Mail	272 (372)	Jan 1, 2000–Dec 31, 2009	Newsstand, in ProQuest
Wawatay News	113 (160)	Jan 1, 2000–Dec 31, 2009	Wawatay website

Unlike national and provincial media, Wawatay News is not listed in the Newsstand database of ProQuest. Instead, Wawatay News has its own search engine. The limitations of the Wawatay News search engine are that the query performed produced inconsistent numbers of articles and duplicates, and the search does not allow the specification of a range of dates. For example, I first performed a trial search in May 2009, and found 23 articles that mentioned ‘boreal forest’. In November 2009 it delivered 170 articles and in February 2010, 160. Because the end search for the different articles was December 31, 2009, I opted for the final search in February 2010. The final number (113 articles) was the result of deleting duplicates, articles about sports, elections, births and deaths, as well as articles dated before 2000.

The limitations of internet searches include the inability to see how news stories are located on the page, misses that are not indexed, and the fact that searches for a specific topic may miss words that are similar, or groups of words expressing the intended meaning (Roy et al., 2007). The limitations described in using this sampling strategy

were deemed acceptable since I was interested in the differences expected to emerge specifically between Wawatay News and the more urban-oriented and non-Aboriginal audiences of The Toronto Star and The Globe and Mail.

A more important limitation is that content analysis may not be the most appropriate method for analyzing public concerns such as environmental issues, because it implies a direct influence between media and audience which may not be present (Anderson, 1991). In the case of this thesis, media content analysis provided one venue to analyze framing, and integrated other methods and document reviews in order to address the paths of influence between conservation organizations and the media. The analysis is described further in Section 3.7.3.

Finally, while I approached media content analysis through the search for ‘boreal forest’ in specific newspapers, throughout the research I both searched for, and was forwarded, articles that expressly revealed the linkages between actors (which were sometimes not traceable through simple website searches), and articles from newspapers such as The Dominion and Canadian Dimension, that supported a critical view to the events that I describe in this research. These articles were used when they helped to clarify the events described in the research.

### **3.7. Data analysis procedures**

Analysis starts before one begins to think about ‘analysis’ per se (Dewalt et al., 1998). The act of taking notes, deciding what needs to be recorded and the context that is described to explain certain events are analysis in their own right. As Yin (1994) describes, there are different techniques for analysis. As part of this research, I developed a coding framework for analyzing research responses and compare different framings, and I set events in chronological order (Annex 2). These were then brought together through the development of a plot and story (Polkinghorne, 1995). Polkinghorne (1995) identifies these two processes as: (1) *analysis of narratives*, and (2) *narrative analysis*. The first process, analysis of narratives (see Section 3.7.2.), seeks to identify common themes and their interrelationships. The second process, narrative analysis (see Section 3.7.3), seeks to organize data into a coherent account that advances a plot. In the

remaining of the Chapter, I first discuss the issue of translation and transcription, the coding and indexing of interview transcripts through both previously planned codes as well as through emergent codes, document analysis, and the process of narrative analysis. I conclude with a discussion of how validity and reliability were addressed, of the issue of ‘voice’ during the writing process, and the associated challenges that emerged during the research.

### **3.7.1. Translation and transcription**

In Pikangikum, Elders spoke little English and preferred to communicate through an interpreter. This was a significant aspect of the land use planning process. It reinforced the position of Pikangikum as a distinct Aboriginal community with its own language and cultural norms, and it made cross-cultural communication an obligatory passage for project and partnership development with any outsider wanting to consult or work with them. At the same time, translation adds to the challenges of community-based work (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1999).

On the one hand, at least ten years of cross-cultural communication with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) and the publication of several reports and policy documents, including the “Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy” (PFN and OMNR, 2006) partly aided the research process since it had familiarized participants with the terms and concepts of land use planning. On the other hand, the previous definition of many of the planning terms (i.e., parks and protected areas) also meant that these terms were loaded with the historical connotation of places that have historically excluded Aboriginal people. Early on, for example, the OMNR learnt to distinguish between the terms ‘parks’ and ‘protected areas’.

In my case, I had to learn what different terms signified beyond the meaning that I would have attributed to them, and ask questions with the awareness that the term used predisposed certain responses (e.g., ‘conservation’ as opposed to ‘*cheemahnahcheetooyaun*’). In most instances, Mr. Paddy Peters, the Land Use Planning Coordinator, facilitated the interpretation of interviews with Elders and workshops. Knowledge of the political process involved in land use planning and protected areas, as

well as knowledge of the terms which Elders had adopted through the different stages of planning, made translation of both questions and answers also a process of interpretation. When younger staff from the WFMC helped with translation, some of the terms used proved difficult to interpret in English (i.e., “cheemahnahcheetooyaun”) or in Ojibwa (i.e., ‘conservation’ or ‘protected areas’), and some of the interview questions had to be postponed or the responses translated later when Mr. Peters was present. When the questions had been pre-arranged, younger staff members were encouraged to translate the responses from the tape at their convenience. In this case, they provided both a transcription of the interview, which they could verify with older staff from the WFMC, and the translation of important concepts Elders had used.

### **3.7.2. Analysis of narratives**

Konopásek (2008, n.p.) argues that ‘we think while doing’. She argues that it is unfortunate that we miss a “unique opportunity for better understanding qualitative analysis as a set of mediations and embodied practices [...]. Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data are often seen as performances of ‘pure reason’ to such an extent that it is very difficult to provide a clear and practice oriented account of it.” And yet, she argues that the physical acts of assigning primary documents, defining quotations, and coding, are part of a translation process, or “manipulations [through which] can we see (and show) differences and similarities, emerging patterns, new context” (Konopásek, 2008, n.p.). Coding helps make quotes from interviews and field notes more manageable, by linking the quotes to form thematic groups: “Codes are useful handles [that] can be selected, commented upon, ordered, filtered, moved, renamed, split, linked to each other. They can be viewed in lists, hierarchies, network views or as particular occurrences” (Konopásek, 2008, n.p.), thus making retrieving of information organized and efficient.

All interviews (audio recorded and field notes), group interviews, meetings, and participant observation field notes were transcribed and coded using the Text Analysis Mark-up System (TAMS) software, an integrated package for coding and analysis. It allows the researcher to code not only data but also context for the data in a simple manner. It also allows for searches and sorting for any number of criteria needed for analysis (Weinstein, 2006). This program was chosen because, unlike much qualitative

software, TAMS Analyzer is an open source program under GNU (free operating system) Public Licenses and works on Macintosh and Linux platforms.

Concepts used for analysis can either derive from theory or from the data (Polkinghorne, 1995). In the first phase of analysis, I first allowed themes to emerge from the questions, and used political ecology's critical view of protected areas to analyze the different perspectives on the expectations, values, and challenges of protected areas (Adger et al., 2001; Roe, 1991). I then adopted the Political Process Model (McAdam, 1982) to address how different groups strategically framed their actions, and to analyze how civil society organizations mobilized to change land use planning policy.

Interviews and meetings in Pikangikum were first sorted based on the interview themes. Themes included: (1) knowledge of Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs); (2) Woodland Caribou Park; (3) the meaning of "*cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaag*"; (4) values for protection; (5) the benefits of new DPAs (including reference to tourism and community enterprises); (6) challenges of new protected areas; (7) the dialogue on DPAs (the Ahkee dialogue) process; and (8) the community-based land use planning process. Field notes included topic, location, activity, and attributes (Appendix 2).

I then coded based on the topics that emerged from the interview questions, group discussions, and participant observation field notes. For example, codes that emerged from 'Values of protection' included issues as diverse as clean waterways and wildlife, cultural significance—such as continuation of one's activities and survival for future generations—and reference to places of special spiritual significance, and new economic opportunities. Codes that emerged from 'Challenges of new protected areas' included impacts of regulation, changing policies, enforcement, restrictions on customary stewardship, boundaries, 'permanence' and outside-led agendas. Finally, 'the dialogue on Dedicated Protected Areas' and the Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas identified process, authority, partnership, mutual respect, and continuation of customary activities and creation of new activities as emergent codes (see Section 3.6.1.6). Some of the emergent codes applied to more than one question and were grouped together.

With regard to interviews with government officials and conservation organizations' representatives, I first coded interviews by the theme of the question, including definitions (i.e., conservation, boreal North and South), reasons for conservation, tools for conservation, and the role of First Nations in conservation planning and management. I addressed the role of protected areas (i.e., benchmark, climate change, species at risk, benefits and tourism, traditional livelihood) and the target (50 percent, representation, security, and accountability). I then coded the interviews based on the relationship between PFN and ENGOs, including common ground, actions, and challenges (i.e., planning process, integration of knowledge, woodland caribou). Cross-cultural meetings between conservation organizations, government representatives, and Pikangikum community members brought into sharp relief the strategic framing that the different parties adopted. I define it as 'framing' to highlight the strategic and contentious approaches within and among parties.

Meeting notes were coded based on emergent themes and the speaker. Comparison between different meetings highlighted the more commonly raised themes, whether they were linked to a specific speaker or brought up by different people, and whether they formed part of each party's underlying framing. These encounters provided me with a point of reference from which to situate the different framings, and understand the conflict between Elders wanting conservation organizations to listen and conservation representatives feeling that their concerns were not being taken into consideration.

This first analysis revealed different frames for conservation and development, as well as for the scales at which planning should be conducted. Specifically, comprehensive and community-based land use planning emerged as important terms for identifying the challenges of these two approaches to land use planning, and for tracing the practices of the different actors in promoting specific approaches. In order to understand the strategic framing of both Pikangikum First Nation and civil society organizations, I revisited the transcripts of interviews, meetings and field notes and re-coded them based on 'threats,' 'outcomes,' 'vision' and 'actions' (Chapter 6). These codes represented the 'attribution of threat and opportunity' that enabled both actors to construct their own framing or narrative for action (McAdam et al., 2001). While cross-cultural focused consultation

meetings highlighted the differing perspectives and the reasoning behind different perspectives, these framings emerged as clear messages in documents related to Pikangikum First Nation's land use strategy, and reports published by conservation organizations.

The second phase was concerned with tracking the political process of change in Ontario's land use planning policy to include the bio-regional approaches advocated by conservation organizations as precursors to community-based land use planning. In order to address the emergence of civil society organizations as contenders to the Northern Boreal Initiative—the policy enabling community-based land use planning approach—I analyzed websites, annual reports, press releases and media according to the following elements of the Political Process Model (Figure 3 in Chapter 2.4.1):

1. Document events that show influence of different groups (e.g., ENGOs) in land use planning policy change:
  - Land use planning policies
  - Responses to outcome of land use strategies and changes in planning policy
  - Media coverage
2. Document the resources that allow for mobilization (organizational strength):
  - Network
  - Target/goal
  - Leadership
  - Funding
3. Document the strategies adopted for mobilization:
  - Identifying window of opportunity (i.e., political pressure)
  - Mobilizing public opinion (campaigns, media)
  - Mobilizing knowledge (reports, maps)
4. Document the framing that underscores policy change (attribution of threat and opportunity)

Content analysis of newspapers strengthened this analysis by focusing on the specific topics that articles about 'boreal forest' dealt with, and noting differences in coverage between a Southern Ontario and an Aboriginal newspaper. I coded articles from The Toronto Star and articles from Wawatay News between 2006 and 2009 to capture events preceding the Far North Planning Initiative, and following the introduction of Bill 191 (later the Far North Act, 2010). I identified each column with an ID, date, time code, title, author, and list of code words.



First, I divided the articles by year to develop a temporal sequence for articles on the ‘boreal forest’ (Edey, 2008). Secondly, I highlighted the topics that were more commonly discussed to identify differences between Aboriginal and mainstream news. Thirdly, I read through the articles to reconstruct events of relevance to the boreal conservation campaign and changes in land use planning in the Far North. The articles were coded if they dealt with one of the issues in more depth than simply mentioning one of the words in Table 8.

**Table 8.** Codes used for media content analysis of The Toronto Star and Wawatay News.

<b>Major themes</b>	<b>Actors</b>	<b>Sub-themes</b>
Conservation initiative	First Nations—Land use plan	Trade-off between conservation and development
Forestry	First Nations—partnership with industry	Climate change
Mining	First Nations—resource conflict	Endangered Species Act
Oil and gas	ENGO-led initiative	Wildlife (caribou)
Tar sands	Industry-led initiative	Wildlife (birds_)
Hydro development	Government-led initiative	Wildlife (others)
Policy initiative	Science-based perspective	Natural causes of disturbance (pine beetle)
Research project	Court case	Natural causes of disturbance (fire)
Other	Other	Human causes of disturbance
		Socio-economic needs
		As for protection
		Forest Stewardship Council certification/ Sustainable Forest Management
		50 percent conservation commitment
		McGuinty’s promise

As mentioned above, one of the dangers of content analysis is broadening the search (Roy, 2007). The Canadian Boreal Initiative issued 78 press releases between 2003 and 2009. However, I only found 4 references to the Canadian Boreal Initiative in The Toronto Star over the same time period. I decided to test trial a search in

Newsstands/ProQuest for “Canadian Boreal Initiative” and found 126 references in Canadian newspapers between 2003 and 2009. While an analysis was not performed, a cursory scan revealed that several newspapers released the same article concurrently (five or more appearances, same date and/or same title). Content analysis can provide a powerful analysis tool, but finding appropriate search terms to the research and building a hypothesis are essential since the results can vary widely from one search term to the next.

### **3.7.3. Narrative analysis**

In Section 3.7, I outlined two main approaches to text analysis, analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995). In this thesis, I integrated both types of analysis to understand areas of conflict concerning protected areas, and to trace changes in land use planning. In Section 3.7.2, I described a first inductive phase in which I sought to find common and contrasting concepts, and a second phase in which I used the Political Process Model to organize data that would explain the plot behind policy change in the Far North Region of Ontario (Figure 3 in Chapter 2.4.1). As a thesis based on the constructivist and advocacy paradigms, data collected for this research was then constructed and interpreted to counter prevailing or hegemonic narratives of what a ‘successful’ land use planning policy model should look like (Cresswell, 2009). I followed a process of ‘restorying’, which consists in “gathering stories, analyzing them for key elements of the story (e.g., time, place, plot, and scene), and then rewriting the story to place it within a chronological sequence” (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002, 332). For example, “the process of ‘restorying’ includes reading the transcript, analyzing the story to understand the lived experiences and then retelling the story” (Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002, 330).

More specifically, Polkinghorne (1995) refers to narrative analysis as a process that is retrospective and responds to the questions of how and why an event occurred; relies on multiple sources of evidence that need to be integrated and interpreted in a plot; is temporally bounded and chronologically ordered; and requires recursive movement from the data to the emerging plot. Restorying or narrative analysis are a major strength of case studies. According to Yin (1994,116), “chronological sequence again focuses directly on

the major strengths of case studies cited earlier—that case studies allow an investigator to trace events over time,” and make apparent how certain causes lead to a certain event, and how disconnected events are made to cohere.

Rather than providing a synthesis of stories, data for the case study research was analyzed to develop a new account, based on describing the setting and historical planning context, the role different actors played in this specific land use planning policy development arena, and constructing a plausible sequence of events and strategies that led to changes in land use planning policy. For example, in order to situate land use planning policy changes between 2000 and 2010 in the specific case of the Far North Region, I had to understand how this region had emerged as a planning area within a longer historical context of land use planning processes. Through the analysis of narratives rooted in a local planning process I was able to understand the role local actors had played in shaping planning policy, what were the enabling conditions, and what was the nature of outside pressure—in this case from civil society organizations (Section 3.7.2). Finally, scaling up to the larger geographical and institutional levels were necessary to understand how the framing of policy had changed through strategic actions to represent that of civil society organizations and Big International Non-governmental organizations—including through organizational strength, mobilization (innovative collective action), and framing as described in Section 3.7.2.

#### **3.7.4. Verification, validity, and reliability**

Venues for final verification included a community workshop in 2007 (described in Section 3.6.1.6), triangulation with key informants from the community and from the district-level Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources in 2009, as well as media content analysis. Further interviews with members of conservation organizations were not sought, but informal meetings provided further perspectives into the outcomes of policy change. In Pikangikum, a group interview was conducted in March 2009 with three Elders and concentrated on the relationship between the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation and environmental groups as part of the Partnership for Public Lands (CPAWS–Wildlands League, World Wildlife Fund, and Ontario Nature). This small meeting assessed current views on changes in land use planning policy in the Far North,

and verified issues and concerns that had been observed at previous meetings, as well as through more informal discussions with leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation. The visit further enabled me to discuss these issues with staff from the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation.

In March 2009, two OMNR representatives were interviewed together regarding the Far North Planning Initiative. The interview was held in Red Lake three months before the Far North Act (2010) was introduced as Bill 191, and lasted close to 2 hours. Questions focused on the role of the OMNR in the Far North Planning Initiative, the relationship between community-based land use planning and regional landscape planning, and the differences between the Far North Planning Initiative and the Northern Boreal Initiative. I also asked about the role of the OMNR within other communities' land use planning processes, and what the implications of the 50 percent target for protected areas was in these cases. In October 2010, the 13<sup>th</sup> North American Caribou Workshop held in Winnipeg over a period of three days enabled me to meet and informally discuss the results of the Far North Act (2010) with a member from the Canadian Boreal Initiative and one from the World Wildlife Fund.

Media content analysis as described in Section 3.7.2 provided access to newspaper articles with information on events, participants, and perspectives. A document was created outlining events pertaining to land use planning in Ontario, conservation (including strategies related to the Endangered Species Act and woodland caribou), forestry development, mining development, and conflicts with Aboriginal communities, Nishnawbe Aski Nation agreements with the Government of Ontario, and funding for community-based land use planning. Reports, maps, and campaign initiatives were also included. The timeline for content analysis (2006–2009) allowed me to locate the sequence of events that contributed to changes in land use planning policy.

Validity and reliability form an essential component of qualitative research, even more so in the case of telling a story which needs to be plausible, understandable and accurate (Polkinghorne, 1995). This does not mean that the final reconstruction is the only possible story, but rather that it represents a plausible explanation of events. The present research followed a case as it developed, and so different sources of documentation were

sought to follow changes in the context. Further, the case started in the community of Pikangikum, and moved to an analysis of events at a broader scale. I adopted this change because ‘scale’ was identified as a factor of conflict, and as Aboriginal communities reacted to policy change, some of the underlying challenges became more apparent.

The events described in this thesis can be traced to specific events, and the story is plausible—corroborated by the open confrontation that has ensued since 2010. However, these facts could be ordered in different ways, highlighting different aspects of policy change and perhaps a different ordering of relevance. Because they are part of a larger strategic engagement in which many actors were involved in distinct actions, and interactions were often based on private discussions, those closer to the events narrated may give a different interpretation to these facts. However, as the product of a constructivist-advocacy approach, the aim of narrating this story was not simply to “produce a reproduction of observations” but rather to propose a counter-narrative that could provide the reader with insight and understanding into a contested political field of Aboriginal–state relations and impacts of non-state actors’ influence in policy development (Polkinghorne, 1995, 20).

### **3.8 Issues of voice and positionality**

Fairly representing different perspectives and giving voice to the research participants is one of the most pressing and problematic issues researchers have when working in Native communities, as there is a potential for reifying neo-colonial positions (Smith, 1999). In order to understand why the events narrated here were problematic, I had to show how framings were established and contested, suspend my own assumptions of what protection and conservation mean, and try to understand what Pikangikum Elders were saying when they challenged western assumptions of conservation. I had to understand why the community had to continually assert the need to “be in the driver’s seat,” and how a piece of legislation that in actual fact supported community land use planning, such as the Far North Act (2010), was perceived by the Nishnawbe Aski Nation to constrain communities rather than putting them in a proactive position.

I also had to address my positionality in relation to the community of Pikangikum, both in relation to the community and in relation to outside players (i.e., ENGO, Nishnawbe Aski Nation). For example, I saw the initiative carried out by Pikangikum as presenting a counter-framing to that proposed by ENGOs active in the boreal region. However, I realized that this was not a position with which Pikangikum leaders themselves felt comfortable. Indeed, according to the Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative Agreement, research carried out with the WFMC was to bring forward the WFMC initiative. Even though they were interested in how these large-scale processes were influencing policy, becoming a counter-example to the large-scale campaigns that conservation organizations were carrying out did not necessarily advance their initiative. I realized this in 2010, when a Pikangikum spokesperson questioned our mentioning of their Initiative in the context of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. When it came to presenting the results of this work, I tried to address Pikangikum leaders' concerns by focusing on their presentation of the reasons for engaging in the development of commercial forestry and land use planning, their vision and approach as it emerged from the analysis of policy documents, and the meetings in which Elders framed their initiative with the clear goal of reaching out to outside players.

A similar difficulty emerged in relation to the presentation of conservation organizations' perspectives, who had adamantly supported community-based planning, but that through their lobbying efforts for policy change, had ultimately been unable to account and support the broader agenda of Aboriginal communities. The interviews that I carried out did not allow me to make generalizations, or to specifically address the agency of different organizations. Here, I approached the challenge of presenting conservation groups' framing for planning by integrating responses from interviews with those expressed in conservation organizations' reports.

In this Chapter I presented the methods adopted to carry out this research. In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I present the results of the research. In Chapter 7 I discuss the implications of this research in terms of analyzing the politics of scale in the Far North Region, and in Chapter 8 I conclude with a discussion of the main theoretical contributions of this thesis,

and a final discussion of the benefits and challenges that I encountered in using this methodology.

## **Chapter 4. Evolution of land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario and implications for Aboriginal–Provincial Government relations**

A focus on land use planning processes between 1975 and 2010 sheds light into the ways First Nations have responded to post-colonial state-led land use planning initiatives through (1) direct opposition and resistance to planned large-scale development; (2) withdrawal from participation in multi-stakeholder land use planning processes; (3) participation and leadership in planning; and (4) resistance to provincial jurisdiction. Internationally, land use planning represents a contested terrain in Indigenous–state relations (Hibbard et al., 2008; Lane, 2006)—one that Aboriginal governments in Canada have sought to rectify and find ways to participate in, provided they are able to uphold a qualitative distinctive relationship with the federal and provincial governments, as in government-to-government relations (Thielmann and Tollefson, 2009; Wellstead and Rayner, 2009).

In Canada, Aboriginal people have recently sought to engage the post-colonial state (both provincial and federal governments) on a fiduciary understanding of the treaties (historical and modern), defined as a “trust-like rather than adversarial” relationship (Teillet, 2005). First Nations’ political organizations have moved forward Aboriginal and Treaty rights through their recognition and affirmation in the Canadian Charter of Freedoms and Rights, while communities have used the courts to define the extent of these rights (Annex 1). For example, First Nation communities have challenged Canada’s constitutional divisions of power between the federal and provincial governments in the courts, arguing that both retain the “duty to consult” for activities that infringe Aboriginal and Treaty rights to access and maintain their customary practices in their traditional territories (Newman, 2009).

In Ontario, Aboriginal communities consistently disputed and resisted their dispossession from lands and resources (Hodgins, 2002; Koenig, 2005; McNab, 1999; York, 1990).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In northeastern Ontario, the Temagami road blockades in 1988–1989 (Hodgins, 2002), the Saugeen First Nation court challenge to subsistence and commercial regulations for fishing



Based on the mutual recognition of the need of the Provinces to consult, land use planning has presented a more recent venue for developing Aboriginal–state relations. However, communities and Treaty organizations have sought different ways to engage with provincial and federal governments depending on their internal political and social context and relations with the provinces and territories (Booth and Muir, 2011). In this Chapter I analyze four major planning initiatives that succeeded each other in Northern and the Far North Region of Ontario between 1975 and 2010. They defined, both through their lack of implementation or their successes, a trajectory for Aboriginal responses. These include the draft West Patricia Land Use Plan for northwestern Ontario (1982), Ontario’s ‘Lands for Life’ process south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel in areas allocated to timber harvesting (1997–1999), the Northern Boreal Initiative north of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel along the forest boundary (2001–2008), and the Far North Act (2010) including the entire Far North Region (Annex 2).

I specifically focus on how Aboriginal communities responded to different state-led initiatives, and directly engaged the Provincial Government in developing enabling policy for community-based land use planning. I present a less detailed account for the first two planning initiatives in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, because their history has been described more thoroughly elsewhere (Cartwright, 2003; Smith, 2007), and because my interest lies in analyzing the more specific intervention of civil society organizations in shifting planning policy—and nascent Aboriginal–state relations—between 2001 and 2010. I situate the specific cases of Pikangikum First Nation’s land use planning process, and Treaty organization Nishnawbe Aski Nation’s attempt at providing a policy-based approach to community-based land use planning within this timeframe, and context of shifting land use planning policies (and opportunities).

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(Koenig, 2005), and the Ipperwash land dispute of 1995, which led to the death of an Aboriginal man, Mr. Dudley George—the first death to occur in the history of land claims (Hedican, 2008)—are only some examples of the most recent and dramatic events that sought to change the regulatory regime for resource management, and that shaped the 1990s relationships between the Ontario government and First Nations’ governments.

## **4.1. Early land use planning**

In the 1970s, the Government of Ontario decided on a comprehensive effort to meet the multiple demands for land and water resources in the province. The Government of Ontario created a hierarchy of three planning layers which enabled the Ministry of Natural Resources to provide a consistent and balanced approach across the Province which could then be refined through local-level planning initiatives. These included a provincial level setting broad policy directions, a regional level providing specific targets, and a set of district-level plans with detailed allocation of resources (OMNR, 1982). Based on the “Guidelines for Land Use Planning” published in 1980, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources developed Strategic Land Use Plans for the Northwest and the Northeast planning regions, and attempted to produce local-level plans (OMNR, 1982). Of the local plans produced, the West Patricia Land Use Plan represented one of the first attempts at land use planning in northwestern Ontario. This plan raised significant opposition from Aboriginal communities in the region, in part because of the allocation of a large portion of unlicensed forest to the private forestry company Reed Ltd. Opposition would eventually lead to the closure of forestry development north of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel until the introduction of the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework in 2001.

The West Patricia Land Use Plan represented a local-level plan and included a portion of the northwest corner of the Province of Ontario, bounded to the north by the forestry line and the Hudson Bay lowlands, to the West by the Manitoba border, and to the south by the 50<sup>th</sup> parallel. During the time that the West Patricia Land Use Planning process was being carried out, only the southern portion was committed to forest management and was under Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage. North of the area allocated to forestry (roughly at the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel), the company Reed Ltd. had proposed in 1976 “to log 30,400 sq km of bushland north of Red lake—the largest uncut stand in all Ontario—to supply a planned forest products complex in the Red Lake/Ear Falls area” (Fahlgren, 1985, 1–11). A Memorandum of Understanding between the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Reed Ltd. regarding timber forestry development generated significant

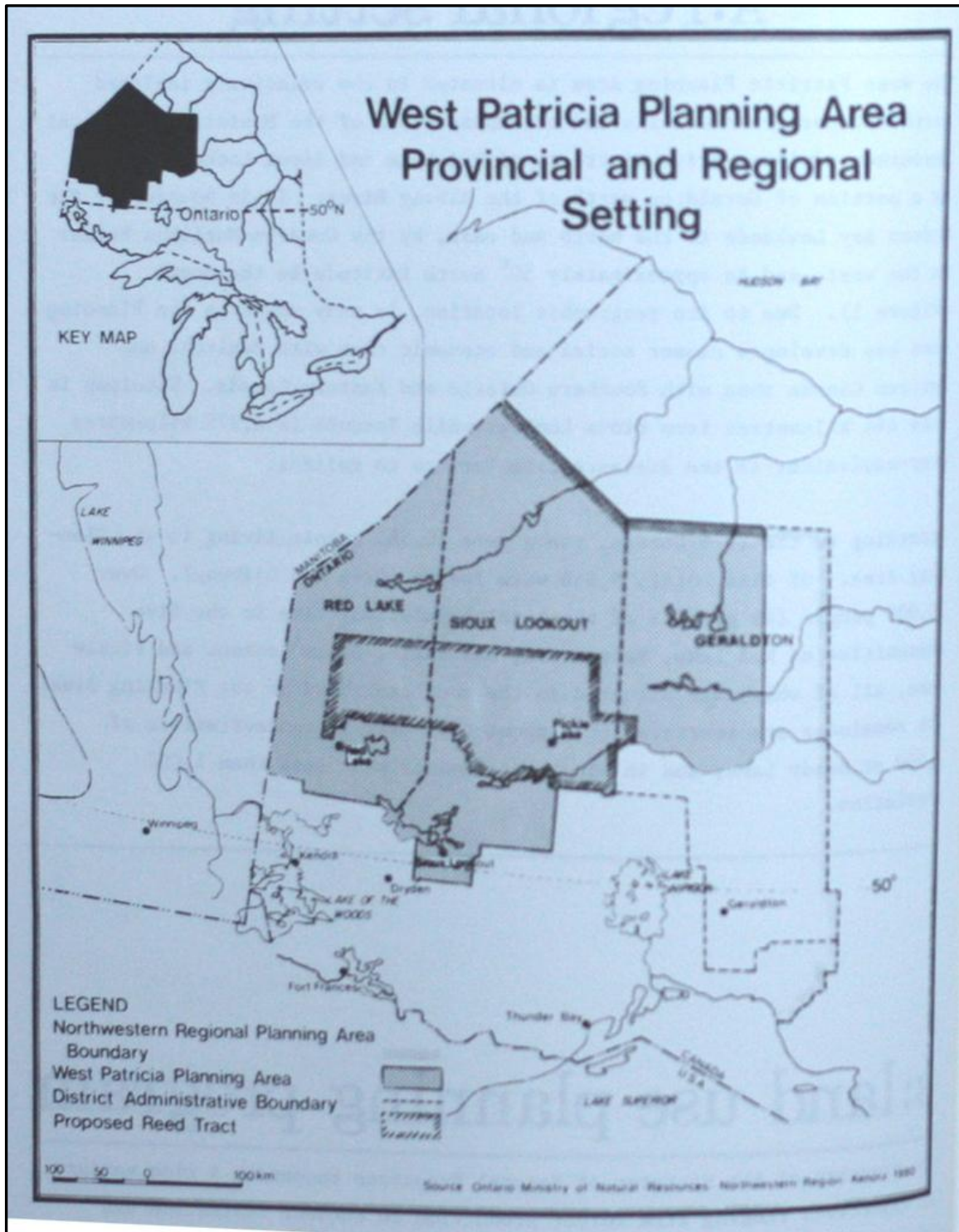
concerns for northern communities, including from communities, which would have been affected by the allocation, such as Pikangikum First Nation.

The political organization representing northern communities from the Treaty 9 area, the Grand Council Treaty #9 (which changed its name to Nishnawbe Aski Nation in 1983), actively opposed the allocation. Grand Chief Andrew Rickard, with the support of environmental groups, and on the trail of a successful campaign against Reed Paper's pollution of the Wabigoon River system, asked the Provincial Government to open an inquiry with regard to the merits of such development (Fahlgren, 1985, 1–11; <http://www.nan.on.ca>). In response, the Premier of Ontario, William Davis, established the Royal Commission of the Northern Environment in 1977 to investigate events in the West Patricia Land Use Planning Area, and further expanded its mandate to assess resource development opportunities and constraints across the entire Far North Region (Figure 5).

As the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources developed district level land use plan options for the West Patricia and other areas, the Commissioner collected the testimony of a wide range of stakeholders including political organizations such as Treaty #3 and Treaty #9, by holding hearings across all major northern communities, First Nation reserves, and in Toronto (Fahlgren, 1985, Appendix 8). The Commissioner reputed the lack of northern support for the planning process, the broader set of issues that would be affected during planning (i.e., Aboriginal use of the land and the need for larger community areas, the need for Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage as part of planning), and the limitations inherent in the mandate of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to severely constrain the effectiveness and legitimacy of the planning process as conceived by the Provincial Government.

As a result, Commissioner Ed Fahlgren strongly rejected the adoption of the West Patricia Land Use Plan and recommended that the Ministry rescind the Memorandum of Understanding with Reed Ltd. (Fahlgren, 1985). Specifically, the plan did not explore the environmental, economic, and social impacts of new development. It had been carried out without including the perspectives of northern inhabitants. As a top-down planning approach, it left too much discretionary power to politicians and senior bureaucrats, with

little possibility for public accountability.



**Figure 5.** West Patricia Planning Area, Provincial and Regional Setting (OMNR, 1982, 2). © Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1982. Reproduced with permission.

Finally, the Commissioner did not accept the plan because it did not make provisions for undergoing an Environmental Assessment ahead of granting licenses for development. Commissioner Fahlgren (1985) committed that,

Northerners should be involved in decisions affecting them and northern development should only be permitted if it is carefully controlled. Economic growth should and must take place but can do so only if it benefits the people of the north and does not have adverse social or environmental consequences (Fahlgren, 1985, 1–14).

Three Royal Commission of Inquiry had three main effects. First, the recommendations to rescind the Memorandum of Understanding between the Province and Reed Ltd. to provide Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage ahead of development and to ensure northern interests could be accounted for, contributed to excluding forestry allocation from all areas that had not yet been allocated, including the Reed Tract (roughly at the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel), until the Northern Boreal Initiative was proposed in 2001 (see Section 4.3). Secondly, developments such as mining, tourism, and protected areas were allowed throughout the province. Tourist outposts and provincial parks, for example, engendered their own sets of conflicts because they occurred without proper consultation with northern communities, were often left with no management plan in place—further stalling northern collaboration processes and opportunities for employment—and infringed on customary and commercial activities (e.g., Woodland Caribou Park Reserve was expanded and regulated as a wilderness park following the draft West Patricia Land Use Plan. See the perspectives of Elders interviewed in Pikangikum in Section 6.4.3.1). Thirdly, when the Government of Ontario called for a new comprehensive planning process that would secure access and certainty to industry, while addressing the needs of other sectors such as recreation and protected areas—the ‘Lands for Life’ process held between 1997 and 1999—the area chosen would exclude the Far North Region and include the areas to the south already allocated to forestry and with Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage.

## **4.2. ‘Lands for Life’ and the emergence of ‘orderly development’ for planning in the Far North Region**

While the Far North Region did not see any new attempts at land use planning until the turn of the 21st century as a result of the Fahlgren (1985) report, the 1990s were a period of significant developments for the central Ontario timber-growing region. ‘Lands for Life’ was a comprehensive land use planning process carried out between 1997 and 1999, which led to the “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy” for the Northeastern and Northwestern Regions of central Ontario, south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel. The main goal of the process was to complete the district plans that had been carried out in the 1970s and 1980s (including the failed West Patricia Land Use Plan), and to provide guidance and direction for the management of 39 million hectares of Crown lands and waters in the areas of the Province allocated for forestry. More specifically, the objectives of the ‘Lands for Life’ planning process were to complete the system of protected areas, recognize the different resource needs of industry and recreation, and provide greater certainty of access to resource industries (OMNR, 2001).

However, these developments paralleled turbulent years and deterioration in the relationship between Aboriginal people and the Province of Ontario (Cartwright, 2003). The ‘Lands for Life’ process took place at a time of shifting institutional arrangements between the Provincial Government and Aboriginal communities (Smith, 2007). The New Democratic Party, in power under the leadership of Ontario Premier Bob Rae between 1991 and 1995, recognized in 1991 the inherent right of First Nations to self-government, and included the need for Aboriginal people’s participation in major policy and legislation decisions<sup>12</sup>. However, the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario, headed by Ontario Premier Mike Harris between 1995 and 2002, took a strong stance against dealing with Treaty issues, restricted the involvement of Aboriginal communities to development initiatives within reserve lands, and considered their participation in

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<sup>12</sup> In 1988–1989, the Tema Augama established two road blockades to prevent construction of a road in the Tamagami forest in northeastern Ontario in an area that had not been covered by Treaty and, as such, on unceded territory to the Province of Ontario. Environmental groups also stage a separate road blockade in which the Leader of the New Democratic Party, Bob Rae, was arrested together with other environmental protestors (Hodgins, 2002; McNab, 1999).

policy development at the same level as other stakeholders. The Progressive Conservative Party also found themselves mired in the death of Mr. Dudley George, the “first Aboriginal person to die in the 20th century in a land rights dispute” in Ipperwash Provincial Park, at the hands of the Ontario Provincial Police (Smith, 2007, 89). The case ultimately led to the resignation of Premier Mike Harris in 2002. Following elections in 2003, the new Premier of Ontario, Dalton McGuinty, instituted a public Inquiry.<sup>13</sup>

Three outcomes resulted from the ‘Lands for Life’ process. First, decisions taken for land use allocation in the ‘Lands for Life’ were ultimately made without proper consultation of affected Aboriginal communities, who withdrew from the multi-stakeholder consultation processes. Secondly, decisions ultimately sought a compromise with conservation groups involved in the ‘Lands for Life’ process<sup>14</sup> rather than with affected First Nation. Finally, this planning process coincided with demands that Aboriginal communities in the Far North Region were forwarding with the Provincial Government to develop new forestry opportunities, and work towards better relationships around community-based resource allocation and use. I detail these in turn.

While Consolidated Recommendations submitted for review in 1998 asked the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to address Aboriginal people’s concerns with the ‘Lands for Life’ process, the Provincial Government did not contemplate an appropriate inclusion process, and considered Aboriginal communities as stakeholders rather than as

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<sup>13</sup> The Stoney Point First Nation occupied the Ipperwash Provincial Park in 1995 to protest the lack of Provincial and Federal redress to the loss of their reserve land. This was decades after their reserve had been decimated by land surrendered to developers, Ipperwash Provincial Park was established (in 1936), and after the Department of National Defense had expropriated the remaining reserve for training purposes in 1942 and never returned it (Hedican, 2008; Linden, 2007). Mr. Dudley George was an Aboriginal man from the Stoney Point Reserve who occupied the Park together with other community members and First Nations. During a confrontation between Aboriginal people outside the park and the Ontario Provincial Police, a police officer shot and killed him. In 2003, Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty appointed a Commission of Inquiry to inquire and report on the events that led to Mr. Dudley George’s death, and to provide recommendations that would impede the future escalation of violence under similar circumstances (Hedican, 2008; Linden, 2007). The Commission submitted their recommendations in 2007.

<sup>14</sup> The Partnership for Public Lands included the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS–Wildlands League), the World Wildlife Fund-Canada (WWF-Canada) and Ontario Nature.

governments (Michels et al., 1998). In 1998, all four Aboriginal provincial territorial organizations in Ontario (including Nishnawbe Aski Nation) rejected the ‘Lands for Life’ process for lack of proper consultation at a government-to-government level, and withdrew from the planning process (Smith, 2007).

Conversely, the government tried to accommodate the concerns of environmental groups (Cartwright, 2003). In 1999, the Premier of Ontario Mike Harris held a behind closed-doors meeting north of the city of Toronto with representatives from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, the forestry industry, and the Partnership for Public Lands, to identify protected areas, something that had not emerged from the Provincial-level consultation process and from the Consolidated Recommendations. The Premier had indeed promised environmental groups to double the amount of protected areas from 6 percent to 12 percent of Ontario as a result of the ‘Lands for Life’ process (Cartwright, 2003). The private discussions led to the “1999 Ontario Forest Accord—A Foundation for Progress” report (OMNR, 1999). The ‘1999 Ontario Forest Accord’ addressed the present and future needs of the forest industry and identified 378 new protected areas. It specified that trade-offs from the Far North Region would be made available to compensate for eventual losses in timber to the south resulting from the new protected areas. However, it also promised conservation groups that ‘orderly development’ in the Far North Region would be parallel to the creation of new protected areas.<sup>15</sup>

Aboriginal groups had fewer reasons to be satisfied with the decision-making process and rejected the outcomes of the ‘1999 Ontario Forest Accord.’ The Accord, a last minute effort at increasing protected areas in Ontario, failed to address demands for a distinct dialogue at the government-to-government level, and to recognize the desire of

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<sup>15</sup> Conservation organizations gained significant traction in other areas as well. The Partnership for Public Lands was allowed to examine and comment publicly on any new proposals that would affect a protected area; examine the ecological soundness of new proposals for development requests north of the ‘Lands for Life’ area; ensure the exclusion of logging, mining, and hydro-electric development from parks (except for Algonquin Provincial Park); and require public consultation for changes to access for hunting and mining exploration (Cartwright, 2003). Dissatisfaction with the process, the lack of inclusion of the mining sector, and the lack of discussion on forestry methods, were all tempered by what was gained.



Aboriginal communities to develop partnerships and ownership of development opportunities on their lands (Cartwright, 2003). Since then, many communities have had to contend with the legacy and enduring consequences of a land use strategy that was completed without their consent, and that enabled access to development—including protected areas—on their lands. Prolonged protests to park expansions and forestry blockades such as the one sustained by Grassy Narrows First Nation for six years—between 2002 and 2008—are the results of these exclusionary decision-making processes (Wallace, 2010).

A third effect of the ‘Lands for Life’ process was the support for the development of policy that would enable moving forward dialogue that Far North communities such as Pikangikum First Nation had initiated with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to lead forestry development. Specifically, article 24 of the ‘1999 Ontario Forest Accord’ stipulated the opportunity for “orderly development north of the Area of the Undertaking” subject to the “full agreement of affected First Nation communities” (OMNR, 1999).

MNR, the forest industry and the Partnership for Public Lands will support initiatives directed toward the orderly development of areas north of the Area of the Undertaking (the area which was considered in the Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management on Crown lands), on a best efforts basis and as quickly as possible, subject to the following conditions: (1) Full agreement of affected First Nation communities; (2) Permitting commercial forest management on lands north of the Undertaking, subject to obtaining the concurrence of the Minister of the Environment to provide coverage modeled after the coverage of the Timber Class Environmental Assessment terms and conditions; and (3) Recognition and regulation of parks and protected areas on these lands (OMNR, 1999).

The resulting “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy” opened the doors to funding for planning in the Far North, and to develop new policy guiding planning. The Provincial Government created the Ontario’s “Living Legacy Trust” in 1999 to fund projects that would follow-up the outcomes of the ‘Lands for Life’ process, including new forestry opportunities in the Far North Region. To this end, it administered close to 30 million dollars over the five-year period of its mandate, and allocated several million dollars for northern communities interested in new development opportunities,

particularly forestry (e.g., Pikangikum, Constance Lake, and Moose Cree First Nation) (Smith, 2007). Other sources of funding also contributed to enabling communities to begin documenting their traditional ecological knowledge, and prepare to engage in new decision-making processes for their lands.

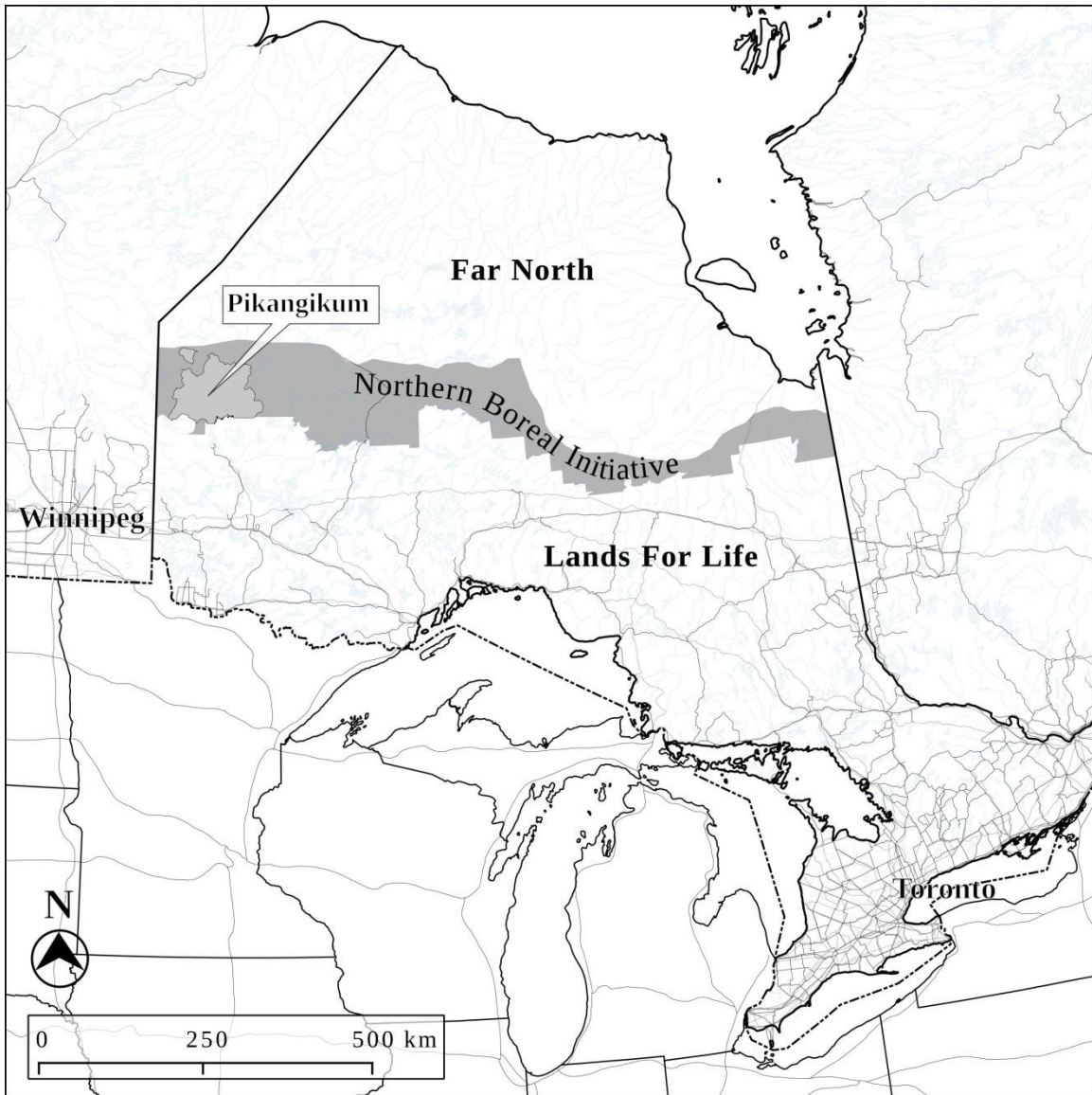
The opportunity to create new planning policy for accessing northern resources was not only the result of government and forestry industries' interests in Northern resources, but also of community interests in resource development which had been expressed to district-level Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources in the mid 1990s (Chapeskie et al., 2004; Smith, 2007). As I detail in the next Section (Section 4.3), the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) developed, together with interested communities, new policy for land use planning in the timber growing area of the Far North Region—the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework (OMNR, 2001). Common interest and willingness to work on the basis of consensus and partnership meant that in the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework, the provision of the '1999 Ontario Forest Accord' for the “full agreement of affected First Nation communities” became to “provide First Nations with opportunities to take a leading role in land use planning and forest management” (OMNR, 2002). A new direction was sought to avoid both tragedies such as the death of Mr. Dudley George at Ipperwash Provincial Park, and the continuing exclusion of Aboriginal communities from land use planning processes.

### **4.3. The Northern Boreal Initiative**

#### **4.3.1. Development of a Community-based Land Use Planning approach**

First Nations were asking the Provincial Government to lead planning and management in their traditional territories through a distinct partnership-based decision-making process for new economic activities. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) established the Northern Boreal Initiative in 2000 to respond to the interest of communities such as Pikangikum First Nation (PFN), Moose Cree First Nation, and Constance Lake First Nation, in pursuing commercial forestry in the Far North. The specified goal of the Initiative was to provide an institutional space for interested communities to take a leading role in developing new commercial forestry opportunities

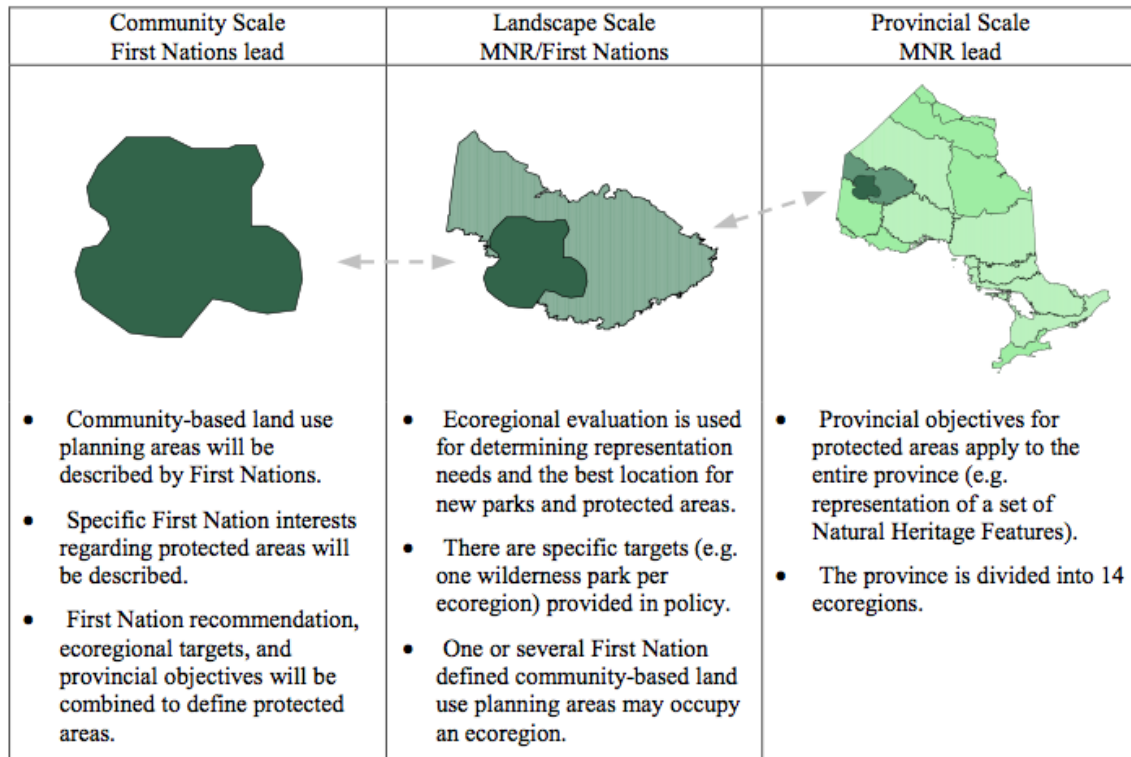
in their traditional territories, for an area that spanned a total of 6–7 million hectares, forming a band 150–200 km wide across the Province, north of the area covered by the ‘Lands for Life’ process (OMNR, 2001). Figure 6 shows a map of Ontario, including the area where the ‘Lands for Life’ process was carried out, the Northern Boreal Initiative area, and the Far North, which includes the Northern Boreal Initiative.



**Figure 6.** Map of the Northern Boreal Initiative. The Far North comprises the Northern Boreal Initiative. Created by N. Deutsch (2011).

Together with interested First Nations, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources based the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework on a multi-level planning approach for

decision-making in which appropriate authorities would lead planning at the appropriate planning scales, and where First Nations would be provided with opportunities to “take the a leading role in land use planning and forest management” (OMNR, 2002, 1). Communities would take the lead at the level of their traditional territory through a Community-based Land Use Planning (C-LUP) approach, while the OMNR would take the lead for provincial scale issues. The C-LUP enabled to make decisions at the lowest and least centralized level of authority, while the multi-level framework enabled to make operational the partnership between First Nations and the Provincial Government, and “to integrate economic, social, and environmental values; balance competing demands; and make decisions that contribute to the goal of sustainable development in Ontario” (OMNR, 2002, 3; see Figure 7).



**Figure 7.** Example of protected areas interests at different scales (OMNR, 2002, 4). © Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 2002. Reproduced with permission.

The community-centered process occurred at the community level to “build direction for land and resource use through consensus within the community” for their traditional territories (OMNR, 2001, 5). The Northern Boreal Initiative established enabling criteria

for communities to define an appropriate planning process approach at the community level through the *Community-based Land Use Planning* approach, and set a role for government agencies to address larger landscape-scale planning (Table 9).

**Table 9.** Criteria for Community-based Land Use Planning in the Northern Boreal Initiative based on a multilevel planning approach.

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Objectives and approach</b>
Goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Provide First Nations with opportunities to take a leading role in land use planning and forest management.</li> <li>2. Foster sustainable economic opportunities in forestry and conservation.</li> </ol>
Community-based Land Use Planning approach	<p>Cooperative planning arrangement led by First Nations.</p> <p>FNs identify cultural values and lead to the evaluation of PAs and proposed new uses.</p> <p>FNs define individual planning areas.</p> <p>FNs define time frame</p>
Landscape scale planning approach	<p>Government agencies facilitate regional integration and provide dialogue opportunities with interested stakeholders.</p> <p>Location for PAs in the absence of a broad land use strategy is based on community needs, broader ecological considerations (vegetation and landforms representation at the eco-district and eco-region levels), and provincial interests.</p>
Limitations	<p>Funding is sought from a variety of sources</p> <p>Ability to prevent or approve development if plan is not in place is not specified.</p>
Approvals	Dual final endorsement by FN and by the OMNR

First Nations would lead the local level planning through a Community-based Land Use Planning approach, based on Elders’ and stewards’ knowledge of the land, while government agencies would provide inputs based on broader ecological considerations and provincial interests. Communities could also decide the extent of their planning area—in consultation with neighbouring communities and the Provincial Government—

and the time frame—including whether or not they would engage in planning, and when. Communities were also involved in preparing the Indigenous Knowledge information base (ecological and cultural values) that could be used for regional integration at the landscape-level. The policy itself did not specify funding sources, but only that funding would be sought from a variety of sources. Organizations such as the First Nations Forestry Program provided funding for initial documentation at the community level, while access to provincial funding from the Ontario’s “Living Legacy Trust” provided communities with resources needed to move forward planning requirements (Smith, 2007). Further, the policy did not specify whether First Nations could prevent or approve development if the plan was not in place, but defined that approvals would have to have dual endorsement by the First Nation and the OMNR.

The *landscape-scale planning* was the second spatial and institutional level of planning, and addressed issues with broader landscape-scale implications such as “wildlife habitat range, and watersheds or eco-regions” (OMNR, 2001, 5). As part of the landscape-scale planning, the OMNR would invite First Nations to participate in the integration of community plans with larger scale issues such as designation of protected areas and wildlife protection strategies. For example, in the case of the West Patricia area, the OMNR developed a Protected Areas Working Group, and invited conservation organizations (such as the Partnership for Public Lands) and First Nations to develop common ground on the establishment of new protected areas.<sup>16</sup> Finally, the *provincial context planning* represented the third institutional level and provided the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources with the means to integrate provincial policy directions in the decisions that were made locally.

The planning process was only the first of a number of requirements for accessing commercial opportunities. The development of a land use planning strategy was to be

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<sup>16</sup> The Protected Areas Working Group first convened in 2001 as a table for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and conservation organizations to discuss future protected areas. In 2002, First Nations were invited to participate in order to create common ground and understanding of objectives and goals. This process of integration eventually failed since First Nations wanted to do their own community-based land use planning before deciding on protected areas, while conservation organizations did not like participating in a process that failed to lead to commitments for protected areas.

followed by a request for Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, the issuing from the Province of a forestry license, and the development of management plans for the different designation areas. Both communities and the OMNR agreed that the process would not challenge provincial jurisdictional authority—resource allocation and tenure and economic rights remain under provincial jurisdiction—and that it would be without prejudice to Treaty rights. As I address in Chapter 6, communities such as Pikangikum accepted this trade-off—and the requirements for planning that the community had to undertake—as providing a venue to acquire allocation of resources and develop their own enterprises, without getting mired in court cases and lengthy negotiations to gain tenure and economic rights. As I describe in Section 4.4.1, Treaty organization Nishnawbe Aski Nation was more akin to pursue a jurisdictional rights approach on which to base community-based land use planning.

#### **4.3.2. Community-based Land Use Planning and the Whitefeather Forest Initiative**

While the Northern Boreal Initiative came into effect in 2001, the process for its establishment started in the mid-1990s, when Pikangikum First Nation (PFN) and other communities had asked the government to enable access to forestry tenure through a partnership-based approach (Chapeskie et al., 2004). In 1998, PFN had created a corporation, the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation (WFMC), to move forward the planning requirements to access new economic opportunities in the Whitefeather Forest. PFN and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) signed the Terms of Reference in 2003, and completed the Land Use Strategy in 2006, the first community-based land use plan to be completed under the Northern Boreal Initiative framework. The final land use strategy, the “*Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetwahkeemeenaan* Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy,” included more than 35 percent of their territory as dedicated protected areas, a larger protected area system than any other forestry licensed area in Ontario (PFN and OMNR, 2006). Following extensive discussions, these areas were included in the Ontario Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves system in 2009 (see Chapter 6.4.3.1).

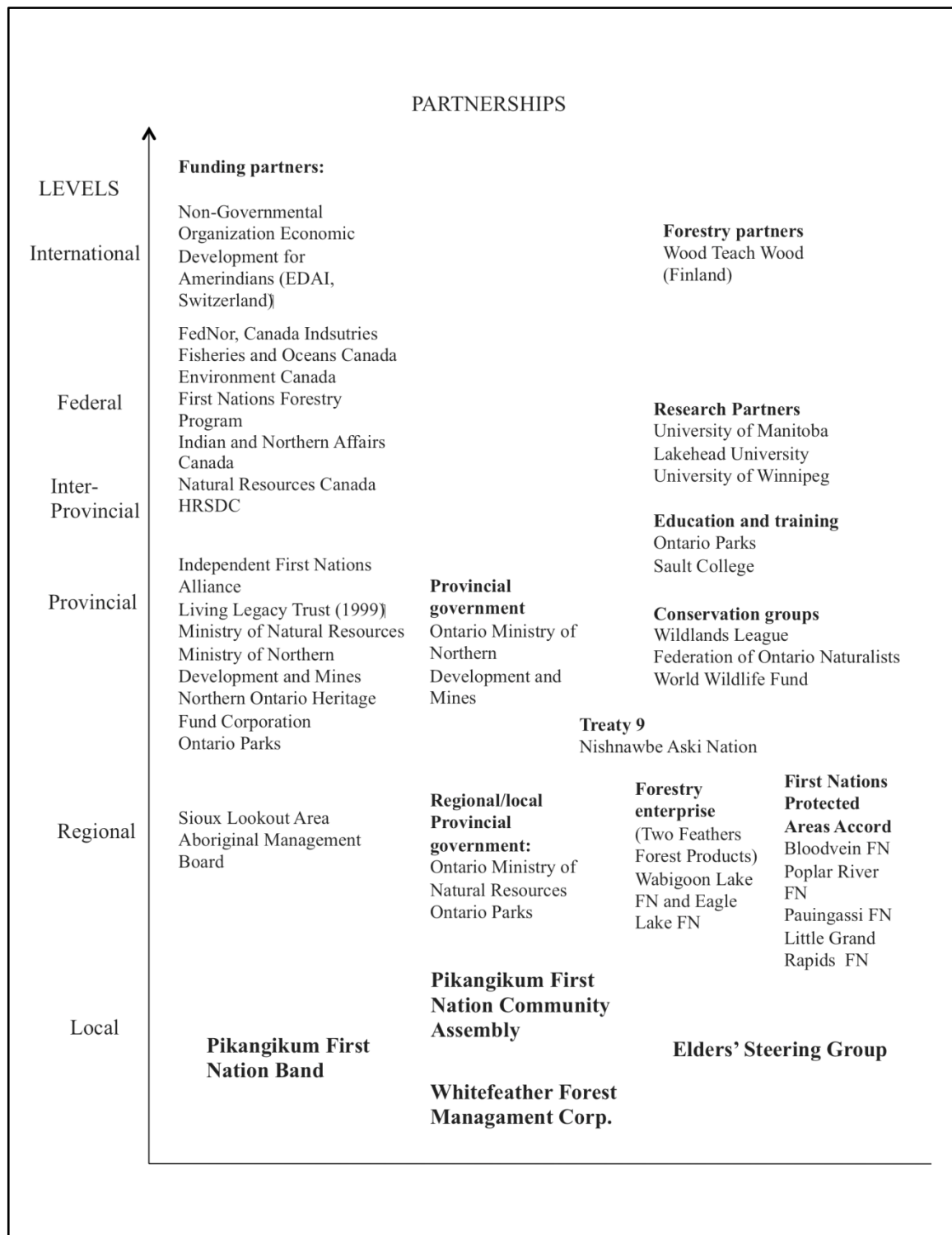
## **Levels of institutional arrangement**

The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation (WFMC) had to first establish the levels of governance within the community and build internal legitimacy before developing and approving the “*Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetwahkeemeenaan Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy*” for the Whitefeather Forest. Specific mechanisms were developed to address governance at the community level:

1. The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, a community enterprise, managed the WFI and provided a technical resource team including both Pikangikum community members as well as consulting support.
2. The Elders’ Steering Group provided core direction and planning input; licensed head trappers guided planning at the level of the trapline, and an Elder liaison reported back on events or meetings outside of the community.
3. The Band Office supported the WFI financially, participated at community meetings, and signed agreements without interfering in the land use planning decision-making processes.
4. Finally, Community Plenary Assemblies and radio communication ensured that the process was transparent at the community level.

The second institutional arrangement relied on a partnership relationship based on cross-cultural learning and consensus-building with district level staff from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (Davidson-Hunt and O’Flaherty, 2007; Nikischer, 2008; Smith, 2007). This partnership was based on the Strategic Action Planning Team, which included members from the Elders’ Steering Group, the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources’ planning team. The partnership strategy improved relationships between Pikangikum First Nation and the Provincial Government and more recently led to joint management arrangements in protected areas management (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011). The third institutional level included relationships to other Provincial Ministries and Provincial and Federal funding agencies; consulting firms and research centers; conservation organizations from the Partnership for Public Lands; international organizations; and private industrial companies (<http://whitefeatherforest.com>). These partnerships allowed access different sources of funding, developed the information base, and built outside support. Research projects also created projects that attracted new sources of funding during low funding periods. They allowed the WFMC to continue working on different fronts throughout—in business, education, and training (Figure 8).





**Figure 8.** Cross-level partnerships developed to support the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (For more details see Smith, 2007).

Finally, the WFMC also developed horizontal relations with neighbouring communities, to agree on the planning boundaries, to support other communities in planning, and to seek a UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination (Lemelin and Bennett, 2010; Poplar River First Nation et al., 2002).

### **Outcomes of the Northern Boreal Initiative on local spatial planning**

Licensed traplines for fur trapping provided agreed upon boundaries that were recognized and respected by both Pikangikum First Nation and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources—while boundaries with neighboring communities were further discussed and negotiated. Trapline areas represented a historical, economic, and social institution for fur trapping based on family territories and with recognized authority vested upon senior trappers (Deutsch and Davidson-Hunt, 2010). Trapline areas also provided a solid foundation for collective decision-making. Through the Elders Steering Group, senior trappers and Elders brought together their knowledge for the allocation of land uses across individual trapline areas.

However, the planning process for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative required high transaction costs in terms of time, financial support, development of partnerships and agreements which would support the Initiative, and planning process and requirements. The latter included the development of terms of reference; preparation of a land use strategy; acquisition of Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage; and development of management plans for the different designated areas. It also required strong leadership and clear vision to ensure that their goal for a local and youth-oriented economic renewal process would not be super-imposed by a state-led process, and would not be derailed by outside-led interests. Examples of the community's efforts at ensuring that the Land Use Strategy would reflect their vision was Elders' demands to include the Creator in the document itself, and to secure their own Anishinaabe terms would describe their territory, customary practices, and the new land use designations.

Since Pikangikum completed their plan in 2006, other communities, such as Pauingassi First Nation and Little Grand Rapids, Cat Lake, and Slate Falls First Nations have developed their own terms of references and are at different stages in land use planning.

Since 2008, community-based land use plans have been under development under the terms of the Far North Planning Initiative rather than the Northern Boreal Initiative (Section 4.5.4).

#### **4.4. Responses to the Northern Boreal Initiative**

The nature of the Northern Boreal Initiative as a policy framework for fostering sustainable economic opportunities and conservation, and the lack of engagement with Treaty rights, led to initial opposition from Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) when it was first tabled in 2001. As NAN would later try to resolve some of the issues at bilateral discussion tables with the Provincial Government—the Northern Tables or Oski-Machiitawin dialogue—conservation organizations would critique the lack of a comprehensive or bio-regional strategy for guiding land use plans as an important drawback of the Northern Boreal Initiative, and of the Whitefeather land use planning process.

For Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the immediate concern was that the Northern Boreal Initiative policy would justify Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR)'s access to resources without proper consultation. In a 2001 position paper to the OMNR on the Northern Boreal Initiative, NAN expressed concerns for a government-driven land use planning process and government-driven resource development. Given the fall-out of the '1999 Ontario Forest Accord' in which resource industries were given access to areas in the Far North in exchange for new protected areas, these concerns were not unfounded. As a Treaty organization, NAN supported the recognition of Aboriginal and Treaty rights through meaningful discussion with the Provincial Government, and the development of benefit-sharing mechanisms from resource development. Finally, NAN also supported building capacity for the First Nations communities of Treaty #9 and Ontario's portion of Treaty #5 to facilitate control of planning and mapping, and addressing issues that included the whole of NAN's territory, both North and South of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel (Smith, 2007).

NAN's position wavered between support for communities working on their own land use plans, and the desire for a unitary approach that would apply to NAN's territory

(Smith, 2007). The lack of a unified and clear position on land use planning under the Northern Boreal Initiative was in part a reflection of diverging views and interests among the many communities represented by NAN, some interested in development (such as Pikangikum), and others embarked on protests or legal challenges against resource extraction. These concerns would lead to the endorsement of the community-based land use planning approach enshrined in the Northern Boreal Initiative and reflected in the successful partnership of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative in 2005. They would also lead to the development of new government-to-government negotiations, known first as the Northern Tables and then as the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue, to address issues and establish clear parameters for development, protected areas, and land use planning in Nishnawbe Aski Nation territories (Section 4.4.1).

In 2003, the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario, Mr. Gord Miller, a provincially appointed but independent “watchdog” in charge of ensuring that the Environmental Bill of Rights is adhered to by the Provincial Government in the implementation of legislation, supported NAN’s concerns that the Northern Boreal Initiative would give access to resources without proper consultation; that the Provincial Government would use a few communities to justify broad-scale development in the North; and that “control, costs, revenue sharing and other issues” would not be properly addressed (Miller, 2003, 93). However, given the endorsement of some northern communities including Pikangikum First Nation, the Environmental Commissioner concluded in 2003 that the “process provided a reasonable framework” for planning (Miller, 2003, 95).

While conservation organizations, most notably the Partnership for Public Lands, also endorsed the Whitefeather Forest Initiative and signed a Partnership Agreement with Pikangikum in 2003, they also considered the Northern Boreal Initiative planning approach to foster a ‘piecemeal’ planning approach to conservation, to be a government-driven policy, and to lay the basis for the same type of development in the Far North Region of Ontario, as they had witnessed in the ‘Lands for Life’ process. A number of critiques to the Northern Boreal Initiative were brought forward during the consultation period for the Whitefeather Forest Land Use Strategy. The Northern Boreal Initiative did not take into consideration the risks associated with new industrial access

such as forestry in an area that was considered to be particularly sensitive to change (lower regeneration rate, higher probability of vegetation changes). It failed to provide representative and adequate protected areas coverage to maintain endangered species such as woodland caribou. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources was considered to be taking decisions without adequate baseline information and monitoring, to be focusing on forestry in the context of closing mills and declining capacity to process mill wood—rather than looking at options such as carbon credits, monitoring, and sustainable tourism—and to sway First Nations to follow a ‘business-as-usual’ approach. Ultimately, the community-based land use planning process was considered to “fall short in addressing landscape-scale issues” (Government of Ontario, 2005).

In 2005, the conservation groups CPAWS–Wildlands League and Sierra Legal Defense Fund (since 2007 known as EcoJustice) asked the Premier and three provincial Ministers involved in Far North development to replace the Northern Boreal Initiative with a comprehensive approach to planning (CPAWS–Wildlands League and SLDF, 2005). The Environmental Commissioner of Ontario also came to share the views put forward from conservation organizations and support the calls for changing policy in its annual reports to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. This further strengthened conservation organizations’ demands for a change in land use planning policy. Indeed, the letter cited the Environmental Commissioner’s recent recommendations “that significant changes should be made to the way in which the Ontario Government regulates and plans for the northern boreal” (Miller, 2005). Ironically, in a 2007 annual report, the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario cited the “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy” as a successful example of a landscape-level use strategy, and critiqued the “Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy” that PFN and the OMNR had produced as opening up the North to development (Miller, 2007). De facto, the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario was supporting a process that had been rejected by Aboriginal organizations in 1998, and from which they had withdrew. Further, the broad comprehensive strategy advocated here by conservation organizations and government review bodies such as the Environmental Commissioner actually led to changes in policy that would open up the whole Far North Region to a 50/50 split between development and protected areas under the Far North Act (2010).

Politically, however, conservation organizations did not have enough political leverage to foster a change in policy in 2005. At this time all the Ministries rejected the request for changing the Northern Boreal Initiative, defending First Nations' leading role in planning, the integration between community-based planning and landscape-level issues, and the dialogue that the OMNR had initiated with NAN to expand land use planning efforts in the Far North Region, i.e., through the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue described in Section 4.4.1. However, as I analyze in Chapter 5, pressure on the Provincial Government only increased after 2005. Conservation organizations interested in the Far North Region focused on exerting political pressure directly on the Premier as the target for fostering policy change.

#### **4.4.1. The Oski-Machiitawin dialogue: Laying the foundations for a Treaty-based policy approach to land use planning**

As described in the previous Section, the Northern Boreal Initiative did not challenge Ontario's jurisdictional authority over resource allocation and its constitutional mandate over Crown lands. This meant that Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) sought a more unitary approach through the development of discussion tables with the Government of Ontario that would change government-to-government relations, and ensure a more equitable distribution of northern resources. In 2004, NAN engaged the government in establishing a specific negotiation process to address lands and resources on NAN's territories (NAN, 2004, 15). This process is only one part of a large portfolio to promote self-government and nation-building, through education and skills training, improved health care, participation in industry, and the development of viable economic bases for NAN communities. NAN Chiefs are all members of the NAN Board of Directors. The elected four-member Executive Council, consisting of Grand Chief and three Deputy Grand Chiefs are mandated to follow different discussion tables with different Ministries.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The responsibilities of the Executive Council include governance (including NAN/Canada Bilateral Protocol, Resource Revenue Sharing); fiscal relations, lands and resources, land and Treaty research; provincial/national and international initiatives (Grand Chief's portfolio); social services, recreation, the legacy of the residential schools; health planning and policy; education; employment and training, policing and justice, women's issues, infrastructure, economic and resource issues and development (<http://www.nan.on.ca>).

In 2005, the Government of Ontario committed to a bilateral Ontario–First Nations discussion process through “Ontario’s New Approach to Aboriginal Affairs” (ONAS, 2005, 16). The bilateral discussion was announced in March 2006, first as Northern Tables and later changed to Oski-Machiitawin (New Beginning) (Resolution # 07/83; as cited in NAN n.d.). In April 2007, a Letter of Political Agreement was signed between Nishnawbe Aski Nation and the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources—the Minister Responsible for Aboriginal Affairs—to set up a 120-day process to achieve progress in four key areas: parks, land use planning, licenses and permits, and mining across NAN’s territory, both north and south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel (NAN and Government of Ontario, 2007, April, 18). A Common Issues Table was added in September 2007 to address issues common to all four tables, and propose changes in policy and legislation, in the fields of resource revenue sharing; impact and benefit agreements; respect for First Nation moratoria; consultation, accommodation, and consent; as well as capacity building and support (NAN, n.d.). NAN Chiefs requested that the Northern Tables “process be community driven, that there be optimum community engagement and participation, and that First Nation members be informed about the process” (Resolution # 07/83; as cited in NAN, n.d.).

All the different events in the fields of parks, planning, and licensing, made the issue of community-based planning particularly important and of interest to communities who wanted to access development benefits. Further, while I do not address conflicts around protected areas<sup>18</sup> and mining<sup>19</sup> in this Section, they played an important role in

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<sup>18</sup> The Oski-Machiitawin discussed the designation of protected areas in the “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy” without consultation; the Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act, 2006, which was passed without considering a significant number of recommendations from First Nation organizations and Nishnawbe Aski Nation; and considered requests such as the de-designation of parks proposed by a group of 11 First Nations in 2007 (NAN, 2007, October 3).

<sup>19</sup> Likewise, in 2006, a spike in mining activity in the Far North witnessed a lawsuit and counter law suit between Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation (KI) and Platinex Inc., a mining exploration company,” which would lead to the incarceration of KI Chief and Council in 2008 (NAN, 2008), the stalling of the Oski-Machiitawin discussions for two months in protest (NAN, 2008, April 3), and McGuinty’s pledge to review the Mining Act (2009), a commitment given at the same time as the announcement for the Far North Planning Initiative. Further, the find of one of the largest chromites deposits in the world led

strengthening NAN's advocate position for community-based land use planning vis-à-vis the Provincial Government. NAN lobbied the Ontario Provincial Government for resources that would enable First Nations to lead their own land use planning.

However, between 2007 and 2008, NAN started to witness several changes that threatened the viability of the Northern Tables "Osiki-Machiitawin" as a vehicle for government-to-government negotiations. In particular, NAN was concerned that environmental organizations were side-stepping the "Osiki-Machiitawin" dialogue by lobbying the Provincial Government to undertake broad-scale land use planning policy in the Far North Region, the territory of NAN communities. NAN Chiefs supported and re-affirmed the principles of community-based land use planning.

1. We reject any Land Use Planning process for our Traditional Territories in Far Northern Ontario that will not be led by our First Nations;
2. We reject any Land Use Planning process for our Traditional Territories that will not be guided by the true indigenous experts of our lands—our Elders and recognized land experts;
3. We reject any Land Use Planning process that will result in the imposition of new land uses on our people without our consent, whether these uses include forestry, parks, or anything else;
4. We affirm and offer full support to those of our First Nations who are engaged in developing community-based land use planning processes to support the establishment of First Nation forestry and other opportunities on their traditional territories, and we direct that the Government of Ontario honour the goals of the First Nations and the commitment Ontario has made to them;
5. The very integrity of Premier Dalton McGuinty and his government among our people depends on his respect for the Nishnawbe Aski Nation positions stated in this Resolution; and
6. We will oppose with all our strength and with every means possible Land Use Planning processes not led by First Nations (Resolution #07/39; as cited in NAN, 2007, March 29).

As the provincial elections loomed in the fall of 2007, Grand Chief Stan Beardy asked all party leaders to take an action-oriented approach towards planning.

Such planning must be based on a government-to-government relationship and must respect and implement the Treaty rights of our First Nations. Land Use

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to 31,000 staking claims in Northern Ontario between 2006 and 2010 (Talaga, 2010, March 27).



Planning should focus on maintaining, conserving, and protecting the special characteristics of the region important to the Nishnawbe Aski way of life, while promoting environmentally compatible and sustainable economic development. The government must recognize the need for First Nations to undertake their own land use planning processes and provide the fiscal and technical resources to ensure that the regional plan incorporates community plans in a manner that is culturally appropriate and technically sound (Beardy, 2007, September 17).

The re-elected Premier of Ontario, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, listened to Gran Chief Stan Beardy's call for First Nations to undertake their planning. However, the Premier also listened to conservation groups who had been lobbying for a twist, namely the development of a comprehensive policy that would guide community-based land use planning, as well as the protection of 50 percent of the Far North Region—the basic building blocks of the Far North Act (2010). As I detail below, despite opposition to the terms of the Act, NAN was ultimately not able to stop the Far North Act (2010) from passing into legislation.

## **4.5. The Far North Act**

### **4.5.1. The Far North Planning Initiative**

The Premier of Ontario announced a change in land use planning legislation while Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources were conducting the Oski-Machiitawin discussions to support community-based land use planning, Pikangikum First Nation was requesting Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage for forestry in the Whitefeather Forest, mining conflicts were escalating in Far North areas, and provincial and international conservation groups were putting pressure to secure a comprehensive framework for land use planning in the Far North Region. On July 14, 2008, the Premier announced the Far North Planning Initiative to protect more than 225,000 square km of northern boreal lands (also referred to as the “225K”); create a broad framework for planning based on broad public engagement; develop community-based land use plans across the Far North; and review the Mining Act (McGuinty, 2008, July 14). The Far North Planning Initiative set the stage for community-based land use plans to be completed over 10–15 years, within a comprehensive planning framework, which was to be completed by 2011.

The Premier referred to the undeveloped state of Ontario's Far North Boreal Forest, its role as a site for carbon storage and wildlife protection, and he suffused his statement with an underlying sense of urgency that would support the announcement. For example, Premier McGuinty referred to a small Aboriginal population across a region that "has remained virtually undisturbed since the glaciers retreated," argued that those conditions would change "as pressure for new resources and new places to live increase[d]," and highlighted the urgency of finding appropriate policy mechanisms by stating that "we will only get one chance to get this right" (McGuinty, 2008, July 14). He endorsed a 50 percent target for protection, by arguing that "scientists have said that in order to preserve a healthy ecosystem in the Far North, a minimum of half of the land be protected while allowing carefully managed sustainable development in remaining lands" (McGuinty, 2008, July 14).<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, many international and national conservation communities enthusiastically endorsed Premier Dalton McGuinty's announcement (IBCC, 2011). Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) Grand Chief Stan Beardy's initial press release also cautiously supported some aspects of the policy statement, stressing the importance of early consultation, accommodation, and input in decision-making, respect for Aboriginal Treaty rights, and the role this policy could play in providing clarity to different parties such as First Nations, the Government of Ontario, and industry as they pursued new resource development opportunities in NAN's territory. Finally, the Grand Chief stressed the importance of the bilateral discussions with the Province of Ontario, by setting the announcement within the context of the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue.

As First Nations people we are not against resource development, but we want to be consulted and we want to have meaningful input into the decision-making process. [...] It is critical that any development of natural resources in the Far North must respect Aboriginal and Treaty rights while supporting an environmentally sustainable economic future for our people (Grand Chief Stan Beardy; as cited in NAN 2008, July 14).

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<sup>20</sup> While the Premier did not refer to any scientists specifically, it is likely that he was referring to a letter that 1500 scientists had signed in 2007 supporting such a protection target for the Canadian boreal forest (see Chapter 5.1.1 and IBCC, 2007).

In 2004, Grand Chief Stan Beardy had strongly reacted against the 50 percent target advocated in the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF) (see Chapter 5). At this time, he stated that, "we want to be a part of these undertakings, but not after the fact. First Nations are the central issue here. All First Nations, and not just a few, should be involved in the planning/ decision process right from the beginning and not after these arbitrary goals of 50 percent are set" (Fox-Keesic, 2004, January 29). After McGuinty's announcement, Grand Chief Stan Beardy did not initially address the imposition on NAN's territory of this 50 percent target for protected areas, focusing instead on the opportunity to have a meaningful input into the process that the ongoing Oski-Machiitawin dialogue was to provide. Indeed, under the new umbrella policy of the Far North Planning Initiative, OMNR continued government-to-government discussions with NAN to develop a broad framework for planning, and continued regional discussions with Far North First Nation communities regarding community-based land use plans, and their relation to a broad planning framework.

Thus, a greater consideration for Aboriginal people was present in this policy statement than in previous statements for land use planning (i.e., the 'Land for Life' process), namely the recognition of Aboriginal people's role in community-based land use planning, the need to review the Mining Act, and to include the requirement for early consultation and accommodation. This recognition convinced NAN that they could actively contribute to these developments within the bilateral framework set by the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue, which in November 2008 was approved by NAN Chiefs to continue until March 2010 (NAN, 2008, November 18). At the same time, the policy announcement underlined pressure to accommodate a variety of interests outside of NAN's control. The sharp increase in mining exploration and recognized mining potential in the Far North made it more pressing for the Provincial Government to secure certainty of access to industry, while preventing conflicts such as the one between Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation (KI) and Platinex to develop and escalate (Berger et al., 2010). It was only when Nishnawbe Aski Nation realized that the 50 percent target would be embedded in new legislation in 2009, that NAN Chiefs would condemn the 225,000 sq km 'super park' (NAN, 2009, March 12).

#### **4.5.2. Setting the basis for the development of land use planning legislation, Bill 191**

While Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources continued discussions at a government-to-government level, the Provincial Government also set a process for addressing how such planning would be led at the larger landscape level by establishing two advisory groups. In 2009, the Provincial Government sought advice from other stakeholders and science experts to provide advice and input for the Far North Planning Initiative—the Far North Plan Advisory Council (FNPAC) and the Far North Science Advisory Panel (FNSAP) (OMNR, 2009).

The two boards included environmental groups and industry partners, as well as University and government agencies' scientists, and were meant to help in the identification of strategies that would support the larger planning framework. As I show in Chapter 5.1.1, the Far North Plan Advisory Council included conservation partners that had signed in 2003 the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (including a target for 50 percent protection), and that had supported its establishment, such as the Canadian Boreal Initiative. Ontario Nature and the David Suzuki Foundation were not signatories. On the other hand, the Far North Science Advisory Panel also included, together with universities and government research centers, the Wildlife Conservation Society and The Nature Conservancy, both of which are advocacy groups, and the latter of which was a signatory of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework.

The Far North Plan Advisory Council report released in March of 2009 provided eight suggestions for implementing the Far North Planning Initiative, several of which were later incorporated in the new legislation, the Far North Act (2010). It suggested that the Government of Ontario:

1. Build capacity through a cost-effective investment of \$100 million dollars for the first five years;
2. Recognize the significance of Aboriginal culture in planning;
3. Recognize the shared decision-making authority between First Nations and government, and support community-based decision-making;
4. Adopt the principles of cooperation and adaptive management;
5. Contribute to broader regional and provincial goals;
6. Support implementation mechanisms;
7. Follow science and socio-economic information provided by the Far North Science Advisory Panel (FNSAP), and

8. Develop a transition strategy (FNPAC, 2009).

The Far North Science Advisory Panel was established to provide scientific and technical advice on the broad-scale strategy (FNSAP, 2010). In April 2010, the Far North Science Advisory Panel cautioned against conventional land use planning, and urged instead for a “comprehensive and coordinated planning and management of all landscape components and uses—planning, in other words, for conservation landscapes” (FNSAP, 2010, xiv).

These reports effectively set the basis for the development of the new legislation, Bill 191, and later the Far North Act (2010). First, the reports stressed Aboriginal communities’ “active decision-making role over planning their future” (FNPAC, 2009, 3). Secondly, the reports emphasized the integration of community-based land use plans within broad regional and sub-regional objectives (social, economic, environmental). Thirdly, the reports implicitly supported the Premier’s promise to set aside 225,000 sq km of protected areas without actually underlining this objective. As I show in Section 4.5.3, the lack of reference to the 50 percent protection target helped conservation organizations support NAN’s requests to change the first reading of the Bill 191 (introduced in June 2009) that would result from the Far North Planning Initiative. Ultimately, however, different groups held different objectives, and the target was not dropped despite NAN’s opposition. Thus, despite cautious wording of the reports and support for Aboriginal communities’ land use planning efforts, these reports ultimately supported a conservation-based agenda rather than an Aboriginal agenda for self-determination.

A positive shift from previous planning policy development processes is that Aboriginal communities were considered to be Governments, and as such part of government-to-government negotiations. However, the lack of participation of Aboriginal groups in the advisory groups meant that they could have less leeway in influencing the framing of the reports—and thus, in setting the basis for Bill 191. For example, the terms of reference for the Far North Plan Advisory Council set government-to-government relations as distinct from those of the advisory groups by stating that the Provincial Government would work with First Nation representatives to develop the broad framework—“with the input and advice from the Advisory Council.” At the same time, the mandate of the Far North Planning Advisory Council stated that “potential Aboriginal membership and

collaboration [would] be determined through discussions with Nishnawbe Aski Nation” and a meeting with the Oski-Machiitawin Land Use Planning Technical Table was held (FNPAC, 2009, 19).

However, while the Government was present as “Chair” of the Far North Plan Advisory Council, there was no clear role for Aboriginal governments within the advisory groups. Thus, it is possible that, much like in the ‘Lands for Life’ land use process, the lack of a clear mandate for Aboriginal members would have left them in a position of being considered ‘stakeholders’, or simply unable to influence the discussion agenda of the advisory groups. If the Provincial Government had an actual interest in supporting Aboriginal interests, then these advisory groups, which ultimately made recommendations that would impact First Nation communities’ territories, should have included a clear mandate for Aboriginal members. It is possible that given the influence of the reports in setting the development of legislation, such a position might have strengthened the development of a legislation that was accepted by First Nations, albeit a different legislation than the one envisioned by conservation organizations. It is also possible that stronger consultation with all communities affected would have led to a less conflicted outcome. Further research with Nishnawbe Aski Nation as well as with the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources would be needed to ascertain the reasons for the lack of participation in the advisory groups’ meetings.

#### **4.5.3. Responses to Bill 191**

In light of the Provincial Government’s decision to move ahead with the legislation of the Far North Planning Initiative, a few months before Bill 191 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) rejected the conditions for a 225,000 sq km of protected areas that would pose limitations for future economic development opportunities (NAN, 2009, March 12). When Bill 191 was introduced in June 2009, Grand Chief Stan Beardy objected to the lack of a strong consultation process at the community level, the exclusion of non-band status First Nations from the planning process, and the exclusion of NAN communities located south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel (NAN, 2009, June 3). NAN Chiefs officially condemned Bill 191 in July 2009, by stating that,

NAN is prepared to enter into a fresh dialogue with Ontario on land use planning, without an artificial deadline, on the condition that Bill 191 is withdrawn [...] that if Bill 191 is passed in spite of NAN opposition, NAN First Nations will not recognize the legislation and will move to exercise full and exclusive jurisdiction over their traditional territory (NAN, 2009, July 6).

The Provincial Government instituted in July and August 2009 Standing Committee meetings to consult with the public and Aboriginal communities on the newly introduced Bill 191 as well as on the revised Mining Act, 2009. However, the meetings were not held in any of the First Nation communities located in the Far North Region, and the dates also overlapped with NAN Executive Council elections. Also these events contributed to NAN Chiefs' increasing uneasiness with a Bill that was impacting a significant portion of NAN's territory.

Heeding the call of NAN, conservation organizations agreed that Bill 191 should be changed to ensure First Nations' agreement to the legislation, and give them a leading role in the development of land use plans (Garrick, 2009, June 11). At the Standing Committee meetings, conservation organizations such as CPAWS–Wildlands League and Ontario Nature supported NAN's position that First Nations needed to hold equal representation with provincial appointees to oversee the development of the broad land use strategy, to ensure that community-based land use plans would be consistent with the broad land use strategy, and to manage the new conservation lands (CPAWS–WL, 2009, July 31).

With these proposed changes to Bill 191 on the table, conservation organizations tried to gain the support of NAN for the Bill—provided changes were made. For example, on October 30, 2009, the directors of the Canadian Boreal Initiative, Ontario Nature, WWF–Canada, CPAWS–Wildlands League, Environmental Defense, and Forest Ethics sent a letter to NAN's Grand Chief, stating their support for the Premier's goal as well as for community-led land use planning, and recognizing the right of First Nations to govern themselves. The signatories to the letter argued that it was possible to achieve legislation requiring First Nation consent to land use designation, empowerment of First Nations to design, implement, and decide land use plans “within a regional strategy developed and approved by a body or board that is a true partnership between First Nations and the

Ontario government,” and that the regional strategy would address ecological, cultural, and economic values as well as represent both traditional knowledge and science (Innes et al., 2009, October 30). They also set their support for a 50 percent target stated in other venues as conditional on a proper process, noting that “the unilateral imposition of 225,000 square km of protected areas [...], or of industrial development projects, would be contrary to these principles” and supported instead a real partnership in achieving conservation and sustainable development goals (Innes et al., 2009, October 30).

However, NAN continued to state its opposition to Bill 191. On the eve of Parliament approval of the bill, between August and September 2010, NAN stepped up its campaign against Bill 191 through rallies, protests, radio, and regional newspaper articles.

Bill 191 violates the Treaties and disrespects First Nations jurisdiction. It is not a true partnership with Ontario. It imposes a massive interconnected, protected area over Nishnawbe Aski Nation homelands without any compensation. Ontario has an obligation to honour and respect Treaty No. 9 and Treaty No. 5 and First Nations’ inherent jurisdiction. All development and protection decisions within NAN territory require Free, Prior and Informed Consent of NAN First Nations. We will continue to work on local land use planning initiatives based on our jurisdiction. If Bill 191 passes, NAN will NOT recognize it. NAN will oppose Bill 191 by any means necessary (Beardy, 2010, September 2).

As an increasingly debated piece of legislation in the media, and a growing platform for political demonstrations from different parties, opposition to the Bill mounted from Members of Parliament resident in Northern Ontario, the Conservative Party of Ontario, prospectors, forestry and business associations, as well as other Aboriginal organizations such as the Métis Nation of Ontario, and the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples.

#### **4.5.4. The Far North Act (2010)**

The Far North Act (2010) passed Third Reading on September 16, 2010 as “An Act with respect to land use planning and protection in the Far North” (Far North Act, 2010). In many ways the Far North Act (2010) built on the Northern Boreal Initiative because it set a space for communities to take a lead in land use planning. In other ways it also significantly changed the playing field for Aboriginal communities, by placing severe restrictions on land use options through the conservation target, planning requirements, and openness to development provided provincial interests were at stake (Table 10).



**Table 10.** Comparison between the Northern Boreal Initiative and the Far North Act (2010) based on a multi-level planning framework.

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Northern Boreal Initiative (2001)</b>	<b>Far North Act (2010)</b>
Goals	1. Provide First Nations with opportunities to <i>take a leading role in land use planning and forest management</i> ; 2. Foster sustainable economic opportunities in forestry and conservation.	1. A <i>significant role</i> for First Nations in the planning; 2. Protection of at least 225,000 sq km of the Far North; 3. Maintain biological diversity, ecological processes and ecological functions; 4. Enable sustainable economic development that benefits FN.
Community-based Land Use Planning approach	Cooperative planning and C-LUP led by First Nations. Define planning areas, identify ecological and cultural values, as well as approve the final plan together with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.	Set direction for future development; define planning areas; contribute TEK and perspectives on protection and conservation; participate in joint body to advise on development, implementation and co-ordination of LUP; approve the final plan together with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.
Landscape-scale planning approach	Facilitate C-LUP and promote dialogue with stakeholders. Government agencies address broader ecological considerations and provincial interests.	Far North Land Use Strategy assists in preparation of LUP and guides integration of broader issues, including cumulative effects, climate change adaptation and mitigation. Ensure 50 percent of total planning area is protected and at least one PA is included in each planning area.
Time frame	No time frame. Planning initiated by First Nations interested in development opportunities.	Far North Planning Initiative established a 10–15 years time frame. Joint body to be established in 6 months to help develop, implement and coordinate LUP, and advise the Minister and First Nations.
Funding for communities	Based on Ontario’s Living Legacy Trust but to be sought from a variety of sources.	Joint body could contribute to the allocation of Government funding to First Nations. Amount not specified but FNPAC advised for \$100 million over 5 yrs.
Ability to prevent/ approve dev. if plan is not in place	N/A	Approve development is possible provided it was authorized before Act came into force; is supported by FN and draft LUP; is predominantly for community use; and is in the social and economic interests of Ontario.

Table 10 compares the Northern Boreal Initiative and the Far North Act (2010) based on the goals and responsibilities of different actors at different scales, and in terms of some of the criteria that both strengthened and limited the community-based land use planning approach in the Northern Boreal Initiative: time frame, ability to prevent or approve development and availability of funding. The Far North Act (2010) enshrined some of the principles from the Northern Boreal Initiative by stating that the purpose of the Act included a “joint planning process between the First Nations and Ontario” (FNA, 2010, 1.a). Like the Northern Boreal Initiative, the Far North Act (2010) relied on community-based land use plans to set direction for future development, define their planning areas and the ecological and cultural values, as well as approve the final plan together with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. Thus, the Minister committed to working with First Nations who indicated “their interest in initiating the planning process” (FNA, 2010, 9), “set[ting] a planning area once it approve[d] the terms of the reference” (9.4.a), and working jointly to prepare land use plans.

However, the Far North Act (2010) also contained some striking differences that limited its role and set it back from advances made under the Northern Boreal Initiative. First, in terms of goals, rather than a *leading role* for First Nations in planning and forest management (OMNR, 2001), the Far North Act referred to a “*significant role* for First Nations in planning” (FNA, 2010, art. 5.1). Further, “foster sustainable economic opportunities in forestry and conservation was changed to “enable economic development that benefits First Nations” (FNA 2010, art. 5.4), while the target for the protection of 225,000 sq km was added. In terms of the community-based land use planning approach (C-LUP), wording such as “[First Nations] *may* contribute their traditional knowledge and perspectives on protection and conservation” somewhat limited the direction of a *significant role* for First Nations (FNA, 2010, 6).

Secondly, in order to address broader landscape issues and enable regional integration, the Far North Act (2010) set the framework for the constitution of a joint body of both First Nation and Government representatives, which would contribute to the Far North Land Use Strategy and *guide* community-based land use planning. On a positive side, the creation of a joint body could represent a way for First Nations to ensure that their

concerns are addressed in the broader Strategy, and as a way to recognize First Nations as governments jointly planning with the Provincial Government. Conversely, it could also be seen as imposing a structure that infringes upon First Nations' authority to lead community-based land use planning, and as forwarding criteria that are not representative of different communities' interests.

Thirdly, the Act restricted community-based land use planning in a variety of novel ways. The most glaring restriction was the requirement of devoting 225,000 sq km of the Far North to protected areas (FNA, 2010, 5.2). The new legislation was not clear on how communities would be involved in such allocation, and on how the integration between community-based land use planning and comprehensive planning would occur, other than requiring that each plan include at least one protected area. While the Act required approvals from both the Minister of Natural Resources and the First Nations involved in community-based land use planning (FNA, 2010, 9.14.ab.), it also reserved for the Provincial Government the right to veto community-based plans (FNA, 2010, 9.16).

There were other, subtler restrictions related to development activities. The Act prevented development on areas for which no C-LUP was under way, although development could occur in some cases with First Nation support or if it was for community use (FNA, 2010, 12.2.b.c.). Troublingly, the Minister reserved the right to override community-imposed moratoria on development if the "social and economic interests of Ontario" were at stake (FNA, 2010, 12.4 and 14.4). This is something that presumably the Minister himself would determine without necessarily seeking the consent of First Nations—and an option that was not available to the First Nations. The Minister also reserved the option of granting mining licenses in the absence of C-LUP being underway (FNA, 2010, 12.5.e.f.). Finally, while the Act did not provide for a time frame, the Far North Planning Initiative expressed the Government's view that the plans could be completed in 10 to 15 years, a time frame that was not contained in the Northern Boreal Initiative. This commitment, likely attached to government funding, could pose a strain on communities, which do not have a vision for how they would like to engage in land use planning strategically. For example, it could also place them at the mercy of external advisers,

industry, and interest groups, as well as at the mercy of a more standardized, government-led, planning approach.

Finally, the Northern Boreal Initiative stated that funding for community-level planning—to gain capacity building, participate in the different planning requirements, and develop business and economic strategies—would have been sought from a variety of provincial and federal sources in order. The largest source had been the Ontario’s “Living Legacy Trust,” with a fund of 30 million dollars allocated across the Northern Boreal Initiative and the areas part of the “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy.” Also the Far North Act (2010) did not make financial commitments although it stated that the functions of the joint body could include the allocation of funding to First Nations engaged in land use planning with the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources. The Far North Plan Advisory Council had, however, advised the government on the provision of 100 million dollars in the first five years of the plan and pressure was on the government to provide funding.

Nishnawbe Aski Nation critiqued the inadequate consultation process that the Provincial Government had established, and its ultimate unwillingness to withdraw the Act until these concerns had been meaningfully addressed. For Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the new legislation infringed upon Aboriginal Treaty rights. It forced a target that would largely constrain First Nations’ ability to develop their economies while continuing to enable northern development. It failed to address the sharing of resources long advocated, and it strengthened government jurisdiction in the Far North Region. With regard to the latter, Nishnawbe Aski Nation challenged provincial powers to veto core elements of the land use plans, to freeze modern development unless land use plans were agreed to, and to move ahead mining exploration or establish “provisional” protected areas—in the name of provincial interests (Audet, 2011). By establishing community-based plans as the appropriate path to development, requiring ultimate Provincial Government approval, and leaving the door open to ‘provincial interests’, Nishnawbe Aski Nation saw that First Nations’ plans and aspirations could end up caught in the middle of a system defined by legislation rather than by the needs of the communities.

After the Act was passed, Nishnawbe Aski Nation also challenged the Federal government, and Canada's weak signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in November 2010. This signature was premised as non-legally binding and as not affecting Canadian law, and NAN concluded that "With Policy directions such as these, it is no wonder that both the Far North Act (2010) and the Canadian Boreal Conservation Agreement<sup>21</sup> are seen as acceptable by Canadian governments and the right to Indigenous Peoples' FPIC [*sic*, Free, Prior, and Informed Consent] is ignored" (Audet, 2011).

Finally, Nishnawbe Aski Nation sought to gather international support for the role that some conservation organizations had played in supporting the passing of the legislation. NAN directly challenged the pretensions these organizations were showing of supporting Aboriginal rights to Free, Prior, and Informed Consent ahead of developments. In particular, Grand Chief Stan Beardy took offense to the veiled threat that rescinding the law would push them aside—a threat expressed by WWF–Canada President Emeritus, Mr. Monte Hummel—in an interview following the passing of the Far North Act (2010):

In the old view, you'd always get out-gunned by big government [...]. Over the years, we've gotten a lot stronger. Now, the game isn't sitting on the margins and complaining. Now you engage. You move to the centre. Rather than letting all these mega-organizations make decisions, you go to the centre and be part of that process." [...] With NAN having rejected the development framework, Hummel warned they would be pushed back to the sidelines. "You'd better think about the state you're going to be in if this bill gets rescinded. You're going to be in a de facto development run by development interests, possibly under a Conservative government which doesn't have a history of championing First Nations issues and being twisted around by government departments with no planning framework or final say in land use plans," Hummel said. "I can't imagine this act being rescinded is going to leave [NAN Grand Chief] Stan Beardy or his communities in a better position. I appreciate they don't agree with me and it's their opinion that really counts but the stakes are very high and my caution based on 40 years experience is before you kill this, you want to think long and hard about what's going to replace it" (Thompson, 2010, October 11).

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<sup>21</sup> In May 2010, the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement was signed by nine environmental non-government organizations and 21 forestry companies, members of the Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC) to bring "peace in the forest" in areas allocated by provincial governments to logging companies (<http://www.canadianborealforestagreement.com>). Nishnawbe Aski nation asked to terminate the Agreement, which was signed without following Free, Prior, and Informed Consent protocols (Audet, 2011; NAN, 2011, March 18).

In a letter to the World Wildlife Fund–International (WWF), Grand Chief Stan Beardy questioned WWF’s President Emeritus’ support for the legislation as contravening “WWF Statement of Principles on Indigenous Peoples and Conservation” (Beardy, 2010, October 14). Further, Grand Chief Stan Beardy challenged WWF’s participation in the Conservation Initiative on Human Rights, an IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature–led consortium of international NGOs seeking to improve conservation practice by incorporating human rights in conservation policy and practice (BirdLife International et al., 2010).<sup>22</sup>

While NAN has appealed the international norm of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent to challenge the Far North Act (2010) at international levels of governance, the Far North Act (2010) remains the planning policy legislation guiding northern conservation and development.<sup>23</sup> As in other cases, the enforcement and implementation of these norms at the national levels has not yet yielded satisfactory results (Bennett and Woodman, 2010; Lynch, 2010), and the move towards self-determination will require NAN to continue working at different levels, while developing strategies that support the communities in NAN’s territory.

#### **4.6. Summary**

The analysis of four land use planning processes in Northern Ontario showed how Aboriginal communities from Treaty #9 and Ontario’s portion of Treaty #5 attempted to engage post-colonial state jurisdiction over land allocation through (1) direct opposition and resistance to land use allocation (West Patricia Land Use Plan and timber allocation to forestry industry); (2) withdraw from participation in the ‘Lands for Life’ multi-

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<sup>22</sup> Members include Conservation International, World Wildlife Fund, The Nature Conservancy, Wetlands International, Fauna and Flora International, and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature. BirdLife International does not appear as a signatory to the Conservation and Human Rights Framework.

([http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/social\\_policy/scpl\\_cih/](http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/social_policy/scpl_cih/)).

<sup>23</sup> In May 2011, Nishnawbe Aski Nation Grand Chief, Stan Beardy, attended the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York focused on development, environment and Free, Prior, and Informed Consent to discuss the lack of consultation embedded in government legislation such as the Far North Act, 2010 (NAN, 2011, May 16).

stakeholder process; (3) participation and leadership in planning under the Northern Boreal; and (4) resistance to provincial jurisdiction through the Far North Act (2010).

Through resistance to resource allocation, Nishnawbe Aski Nation communities helped shape the results of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, closing the Far North to forestry development in the mid-eighties. Ten years later communities such as Pikangikum First Nation were ready to access their forest resources and create their own enterprises. They developed partnerships with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources that would help move forward their development initiatives. Even though the Northern Boreal Initiative did not address Treaty rights (it was on a “without prejudice” basis to Treaty rights), this policy was seen as a way for communities to frame a community-based approach, and advance goals for self-governance. Nishnawbe Aski Nation attempted to provide a Treaty wide approach to community-based land use planning through bilateral discussions such as the “Oski-Machiitawin” dialogue, but these efforts were side-tracked by political pressure southern conservation organizations were exerting on the Ontario Premier to develop a landscape-level planning approach (see Chapter 5), and under pressure from mining industries to access resources while limiting conflicts with Aboriginal communities. According to Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the Government of Ontario did not appropriately consult communities with regard to the Far North Act (2010); imposed a restrictive target for conservation while opening the Far North Region to development; called for a comprehensive approach to guide community-based land use plans rather than for a bottom-up approach, and ultimately shifted back Aboriginal communities relations with the Provincial Government to a position of resistance.

While Nishnawbe Aski Nation has taken an approach of resistance and started to appeal to different institutional levels to ensure the Provincial Government applies free, prior, and informed consent protocols in Ontario, the outcome for communities is likely to be uneven, while it represents a win-win scenario for the Provincial Government. The Far North Act (2010) may render land use planning an obligatory and technical passage for conservation and development initiatives, or conversely, enable communities to play a significant part in planning and use this as a pathway to self-governance. The Province may secure a comprehensive approach to planning that opens development opportunities

and fosters certainty of access to industries, ensures the support of environmental groups, and potentially decreases conflicts with First Nations who engage in planning.

How did Far North communities end up forced to respond to an already familiar pattern of resistance to the Provincial Government, rather than enabled to shape the planning policy framework their own territories? Though imperfect and ‘piecemeal’, jointly developed policies such as the Northern Boreal Initiative provided ground for building new government-to-government relationships at the level of territorial planning, while the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue opened the door for Nishnawbe Aski Nation to be involved in policy development that affected the territory of their communities. In the next chapter, I show one aspect of this story by detailing the strategies and tactics that a transnational conservation network composed of civil society organizations and foundations adopted to shift policy from the Northern Boreal Initiative to the Far North Act (2010). I do this by analyzing the organizational strength of the network, its effective mobilization of public discourse, and ultimately, the implications civil society organizations’ influence in developing policy have for the advancement of Aboriginal–state relations.



## **Chapter 5. Shifting land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario: Strategies and tactics of transnational environmental networks**

The role of civil society organizations is to influence government policy. Also Indigenous movements and corporations try to influence policy, although access to resources and political opportunity differs greatly among these different actors. However, as described in Chapter 2, a few US-based private foundations and conservation organizations—also known as Big International Non-governmental Organizations, or BINGOs—have progressively consolidated their positions to the point of leveraging and directing major sources of funding to achieve their own conservation goals. As the literature on the neoliberalization of conservation seeks to demonstrate, advocated means have also benefitted the goals of corporations. While the positions of many conservation organizations may also serve the interests of some Indigenous groups, others run the risk of constraining nascent Indigenous political organizations or movements to global frameworks of conservation. As a result, these strategies could fail to recognize and respect Indigenous rights, and contribute to their systemic disadvantage in accessing resources for framing and influencing policy that affects their territories. They may also serve to undermine the bottom-up collaborative partnerships developed between grassroots conservation organizations and Indigenous communities.

In this chapter, I argue that a transnational environmental network (inclusive of national and international civil society organizations and foundations) sought to influence and shape Ontario's provincial conservation and land use planning policy in the Far North Region through strategic effort and political opportunity. As analyzed in Chapter 4, the resulting change in planning policy specifically impacted First Nation territories, and shifted First Nations–Provincial Government relationships in relation to land use planning—and ultimately in relation to their efforts at self-governance.

In order to analyze how civil society organizations strategically came together to influence conservation and planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario, I use a revised version of McAdam et al. (2001)'s political process model developed in Figure 3. In Section 5.1, I document organizational strength, including the mobilization of

transnational networks, the development of a key framework, actions of key leaders, and access to convergent funding. In Section 5.2, I analyze the mobilization of public relations, by establishing ties to decision-making bodies in Ontario, the media, scientists, and First Nation communities, and by moving forward campaigns and creating reports. In Section 5.3, I summarize the tactics and strategies, and discuss the implications of the mobilization of civil society organizations on Aboriginal–state relations. I reserve the discussion on the development of a bio-regional conservation-based framework for planning and its comparison with the framing proposed at the community level for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative to Chapter 6.

### **5.1. Building organizational strength: The emergence of a transnational boreal conservation network**

According to McAdam (1982), indigenous organizational strength relies on the recruitment of participants along established lines of group interaction, to ensure the ability to promptly mobilize members. The second resource needed is interpersonal rewards that participants reap from participation in the network. An established communication network or infrastructure determines the “pattern, speed, and extent of movement expansion” and finally, “leaders provide for centralized direction and coordination” (ibid., 46–47). In this Section, I analyze (1) the development and mobilization of a transnational network—from the Pew Charitable Trusts and its international initiatives, to Canadian national conservation organizations, science partners, Aboriginal communities and foundations—around a framework for action; (2) the role of leaders in developing the framework, focusing the message, and mobilizing people and information; and (3) the provision of funding for creating financial incentives that supported the organizational development of the International Boreal Conservation Campaign. Each of these groups could be further analyzed in relation to their perceptions and motifs for engaging in this network, as well as in relation to the strength of engagement with the network (i.e., through network analysis). In this Section, however, I identify who the major players were, how they each contributed to the strengthening of

the network, and to its legitimacy in pursuing a framework that could be presented to Provincial, and Territorial governments as a win-win target.<sup>24</sup>

### **5.1.1. Mobilizing a transnational network**

#### **The Pew Charitable Trusts**

The Pew Charitable Trusts (PCT) is a major private American foundation based in Washington DC: “an independent nonprofit, [it] is the sole beneficiary of seven individual charitable funds established between 1948 and 1979 by two sons and two daughters of Sun Oil Company founder Joseph N. Pew and his wife, Mary Anderson (PCT, 2011a). The company later became Sunoco, a gasoline distribution company based in the US, and Suncor in Canada, an energy company specialized in production of synthetic crude from the oil sands in Alberta. The Pew Charitable Trusts is a large foundation, combining different interests and, with core assets valued at US\$4.5 billion, having major funding capabilities (PCT, 2011a). The Environment Group is one of 19 areas of interest for the PCT, and focuses on three key campaigns, including climate change, marine conservation, and Wilderness and Public Lands campaigns—the latter active both in the US and internationally. The international campaigns focus on the “Wild Australia Program” and the “International Boreal Conservation Campaign.”<sup>25</sup>

The publication of “The last Frontier Forests” by the World Resources Institute (Bryant et al., 1997) sparked Pew’s interest in the boreal forest (Wilson, 2003). Pew’s Environment Group established the International Boreal Conservation Campaign in 2000, and started to fund research and conservation work that the World Wildlife Fund–Canada and Ducks

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<sup>24</sup> While corporations also signed the framework introduced in this section, the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, their role in influencing Ontario land use planning policy did not emerge as determinant from preliminary interviews and document analysis. Further research would be needed to ascertain their role within the network, also in lieu of more recent announcements in boreal governance, such as the Boreal Forest Conservation Agreement signed in 2010 (see: <http://canadianborealforestagreement.com/>).

<sup>25</sup> Building on its international successes, since 2010, the Pew Environment Group has also developed the “Global Conservation Initiative” in concert with Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, Wildlife Conservation Society and The World Wildlife Fund, calling on industrialized countries to fund a comprehensive global conservation strategy. A list of all campaigns from Pew Environment Group is available at: <http://www.pewenvironment.org/campaigns>.

Unlimited were already carrying out in Western Canada and the Northwest Territories. Mr. Steve Kallick, program officer at the Pew Environment Group since 1997, became the director of the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) in Seattle, WA, and has been the main spokesperson for Pew in Canada. The IBCC is an umbrella organization coordinating media campaigns, outreach, research, and conservation work in the US and Canada. Its overarching goal has been “the adoption of a comprehensive conservation plan for Canada’s boreal forest, believed to be the most ambitious wilderness conservation plan in the world” (PCT, 2008). To this end, the PCT provided funds, oversight, and the pillars of “science, law, public education and advocacy” (PCT, 2008).

The goals of the IBCC were to adopt science-based approaches to conservation, and coordinate strategies at different levels of governance, which would lead to policy and legislation change. The IBCC envisioned a strategy to tackle conservation that functioned at three scales, including across geographical and jurisdictional levels, and in terms of framing the approach. These included a *regional* aspect made up of ground-level efforts designed to protect specific areas, e.g., supporting the work of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF–Canada), and Ducks Unlimited–Canada; a *national* collaborative approach designed to engage the forest industry, First Nations governments, provincial governments, and other sectors, i.e., coordinated by the Canadian Boreal Initiative; and an *international* advocacy strategy designed to promote awareness among consumers and other key constituencies who would encourage cooperative action to protect Canadian wilderness areas, e.g., IBCC’s role (Scrivner and Baxter, 2008).

The international strategy of the IBCC has been supported from Pew headquarters financially and through the media. As the managing director of the Environment Group, Josh Reichert has directed Pew conservation projects since the 1990s by adopting three methods to achieve their goals: “operating projects, which are managed by Pew staff; donor partnerships, which allow us to work closely with individuals or foundations and achieve shared purposes; and targeted grant making” (PCT, 2011). The Environment

Group described what was expected of organizations working in collaboration with the PCT:

Most of the large campaigns in which we are engaged are coordinated by Pew staff, but involve multiple organizations that share common goals and are committed to working collaboratively to accomplish objectives that no single organization can achieve on its own. Our working relationships with our partners are built on carefully crafted agreements in which each organization commits to undertake certain activities and deliver specific results within a designated period of time. We select these organizations on the basis of shared goals, a demonstrated commitment to achieving results, a high level of professional experience and excellence and a willingness to tackle difficult tasks in a shifting and often unpredictable policy environment (PCT, 2008).

However, despite a commitment to working collaboratively, Pew's approach, combined with abundant funding capabilities, has been critiqued for taking over conservation agendas, "pushing militant environmentalists towards the center and withholding funds from uncompromising activists" (Dowie, 2001, 97). These results were also described in the case of bottom-up efforts at boreal conservation in the tar sands region (Cizek, 2006, July 9; Stainsby and Oja Jay, 2009).

### **Pew's Environment Group Initiatives in the Canadian Boreal Region**

The IBCC relied on two other Pew-funded initiatives to support the international- and national-level strategies. These were the Boreal Songbird Initiative<sup>26</sup> (BSI), also located in Seattle, WA, and the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI), based in Ottawa, and which was known until 2003 as the Canadian Boreal Trust. While the IBCC and the Boreal Songbird Initiative coordinated the international advocacy work, the Canadian Boreal Initiative developed a two-pronged strategy: "developing and selling a national vision and building a strong base of scientific information [and taking] full advantage of conservation opportunities as they occur, influencing outcomes in land use planning and protected areas processes, First Nations' land claims negotiations, and forest certification deliberations" (Wilson, 2003, 32). To this end, the Canadian Boreal Initiative worked

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<sup>26</sup> The Boreal Songbird Initiative has a staff of nine people, and mainly focuses on migratory birds, a focus theme in several reports by the Canadian Boreal Initiative and the Boreal Songbird Initiative (<http://www.borealbirds.org>). Wilson (2003) describes how a focus on migratory birds was the result of brainstorming a way to connect American supporters to the boreal forests.

with a host of different organizations including the World Wildlife Fund and Ducks Unlimited, to bring together the Boreal Leadership Council, and to help develop a unifying framework such as the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. The Canadian Boreal Initiative works toward the implementation of its targets by hosting the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework Secretariat in Ottawa.

### **The Boreal Forest Conservation Framework**

The Boreal Leadership Council (BLC) was formed in 2003 when its members signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF), and included members from conservation organizations, industry, financial institutions, Aboriginal communities, and research institutions. Spurred by the work of Ducks Unlimited in the Northwest Territories, WWF's collaboration with the forestry industry in Alberta, and First Nations' involvement in comprehensive land use plans (Wilson, 2003), the BFCF was a joint effort to:

... conserve the cultural, sustainable economic and natural values of the entire Canadian Boreal Forest by employing the principles of conservation biology to: (1) protect at least 50 percent of the Boreal in a network of large interconnected protected areas, and (2) support sustainable communities, world-leading ecosystem-based resource management and state-of-the-art stewardship practices across the remaining landscape (CBI, 2011).

In 2003, 11 groups including a coalition of conservation groups, resource industry, and five First Nation councils representing 59 individual communities signed the Framework. By 2010, there were 20 signatories, including an additional five First Nation councils representing 36 communities (Table 11 indicates the number of communities represented in each First Nation organization, some of which overlap).<sup>27</sup> Neither the Canadian Boreal Initiative nor the International Boreal Conservation Campaign was a signatory but have drafted different institutions into the initiative through Memoranda of Understanding with foundations, and Government such as the Governments of the Northwest Territories and of Newfoundland and Labrador.

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<sup>27</sup> There are 616 bands in Canada, with about 2/3 located in the boreal forest region (<http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/index.aspx?lang=eng>). While a smaller number has partnered with the CBI, communities outside of these partnerships have also been affected through changes in policy, i.e., Far North Ontario communities.

**Table 11.** Signatories of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI, 2011).

<b>Actors</b>	<b>Signatories</b>	<b>Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Boreal Initiative</b>
Civil society	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS); Ducks Unlimited Canada (DUC); Forest Ethics; The Nature Conservancy; World Wildlife Fund (Canada)	
First Nation Governments	Dehcho First Nations (12); Innu Nation (2); Kaska Nation (5); Poplar River First Nation (1); Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta (39)	Athabasca Denesuline First Nations (5); Cree Nation of Mistissini (1); Little Red River Cree Nation (3); Moose Cree First Nation (1); Northern Nations Alliance (15—including Kaska Nation); Prince Albert Grand Council (12)
Industries	Alberta-Pacific Forest Industries Inc. (Al-Pac); Domtar Inc.; Domini Social Investments LLC; Nexen Inc.; Suncor Energy Inc; Tembec Inc.; The Ethical Funds Company; Bâtirente; Calvert	Bâtirente; Forest Products Association of Canada; GeoConnections; Mining Association of Canada
Provincial Governments		Government of Newfoundland and Labrador; Government of the Northwest Territories
Foundations		Richard Ivey Foundation
Research Centers	The Pembina Institute	Mushkegowuk Environmental Research Centre (7)

While not reflecting on the large presence of conservation organizations at all levels of governance in Canada, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) credited the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) as being the only organization in Canada wholly devoted to conservation. Further, unlike most recognized conservation organizations in Canada, the CBI did not hold charitable status and is solely accountable to the PCT. The CBI described itself as “a convener, bringing together governments, industry, First

Nations, conservation groups, major retailers, financial institutions, and scientists to create new solutions for the conservation and sustainable development of the Boreal Forest” (CBI, 2011). This vague description has enabled the CBI to wear many hats. Some have referred to the CBI as a foundation, mainly because of its role in funding many Canadian initiatives. Others see it as an environmental organization or describe it in the list of funders as a corporation. Still others see it as either a project of the PCT, or a project of Ducks Unlimited–Canada, through whom the PCT channels funding to the CBI. The role of convener enabled the CBI to become the hub for boreal forest conservation efforts in Canada. The CBI marketed a national vision centered on the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and based on supporting scientific evidence, while networking with international and national conservation organizations, scientists, Aboriginal communities, and other foundations. As such, perhaps it best reflects the work of an umbrella or bridging organization, or that of a conservation broker.

### **Conservation organization partners**

In this Section, I briefly introduce the environmental organizations that signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (Table 11). A brief description for each of them is available in Annex 3. The conservation-based interest groups signatories to the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BCFC) and members of the Boreal Leadership Council include the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS), the World Wildlife Fund–Canada (WWF–Canada), Ducks Unlimited–Canada, The Nature Conservancy, Forest Ethics, as well as the Pembina Institute (the latter was listed in the Canadian Boreal Initiative website as both part of environmental organization and citizen groups, as well as a research center). Save for the Pembina Institute (main office in Calgary) and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (main office in Ottawa), these are large international environmental organizations involved in conservation advocacy at the international and national level. Both WWF–US and The Nature Conservancy have their headquarters in the Washington, DC area as well as offices in Canada. Forest Ethics is located in the US West Coast, with offices in San Francisco, Washington State, and Vancouver. Ducks Unlimited headquarters are located in Memphis, Tennessee, while the main Canadian offices are located north of Winnipeg, Manitoba.



Some of the largest international and national conservation organizations (i.e., WWF, The Nature Conservancy, and Ducks Unlimited) have been involved in large international conservation initiatives, and set standards and trends for science-based assessment (e.g., ‘gap analysis’). These experiences have also shaped conservation efforts in Canada. Most of these organizations have also been involved in conservation efforts in Canada for several decades. In the 1990s, WWF–Canada led the Canada-wide “Endangered Spaces” campaign to set a 12 percent target for protected areas in each province and territory (McNamee, 2002). In Ontario, both CPAWS–Wildlands League and WWF–Canada were involved in the ‘Lands for Life’ process as the Partnership for Public Lands, participating in the ‘Lands for Life’ process, attending the ‘1999 Ontario Forest Accord’ negotiations, and following up on the outcomes of the “Ontario’s Living Legacy Land Use Strategy” both south and north of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel.

These organizations diverged in both the focus of their activities and the advocacy means adopted—factors which influenced their respective “visibility” and more or less active participation in policy development for the Far North Region. Of all of these organizations, CPAWS and its Ontario chapter, CPAWS–Wildlands League alone explicitly focused on the Far North Region, and explicitly advocated for the protection of 50 percent of the Ontario boreal forest since early on. Conversely, WWF did not report on its activity in the Far North Region in its annual reports, even though WWF–Canada President Emeritus Monte Hummel was referred to as the ‘deal’ midwife for the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework together with Ducks Unlimited and the Canadian Boreal Initiative; and later on as contributing to the development of the legislation for the Far North Region (Mitchell, 2003, December 1; Thompson, 2010, October 11). The Nature Conservancy dealt with acquisition and agreements for stewardship in private lands (south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel) but still participated in the Far North Science Advisory Panel. Finally, Forest Ethics advocated for intact boreal forests, developed reports condemning logging in intact boreal forests, and actively led boycotting campaigns to both shame industry practices on woodland caribou habitat and, together with WWF–Canada, to promote the certification of timber operations under the internationally recognized Forest Stewardship Council logo.

As Mr. Hummel reported in 2010, the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework set a clear target that enabled conservation organizations to become legitimate actors in conservation and land use planning policy development, and to gain a place at the decision-making table (Thompson, 2010, October 11).

According to Hummel, the 50 percent figure in the Far North Act was born from the seed of the 2003 Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. The environmental movement wanted a place at the table but to get it, they needed to have a quantifiable demand. To meet that end, the University of Central Florida's Reed Noss was brought in and produced the 50 percent protection estimate to maintain biodiversity in the Boreal Forest. It was then adopted by the US-based Pew Foundation, which spends \$2 million annually funding most of the widely recognized environmental organizations in North America, including the WWF. Pew has not called the tune but they've said: 'If you want to be funded by the Pew Foundation, you have to come forward with a plan and proposals that make sense, that provide for industrial interests, First Nations, environmentalists and governments, and are going to produce something'. [...] The four-cornered model of bringing industry, First Nations, environmentalists and government to the table emerged from the conservation framework and became the basis for the Far North Act. The willingness to accept industrial development puts environmentalists at the table and in exchange they have a guarantee that 50 percent of the Far North will go untouched" (Thompson, 2010, October 11).

### **Science partners**

Only the Pembina Institute formally signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF) in 2003, while the Mushkegowuk Environmental Research Center signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2007. However, Mr. Hummel's quote shows that scientists were enrolled to provide a scientifically defensible target that would harness consensus, while funding was provided to incentivize research that the Canadian Boreal Initiative network could use to legitimize a conservation-based target and planning framework. For example, Dr. Reed Noss, the architect of the 50 percent target, was a member of both the Canadian Boreal Initiative and part of the Boreal Ecosystems Analysis for Conservation Networks (BEACONs)' Science Advisory Committee. BEACONs was a research project founded by the University of Alberta and affiliated to the Université Laval, also with funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts (Wilson, 2003).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Canadian BEACONs project's aim is to "build[ing] a credible scientific framework for comprehensive conservation planning through the development and application of leading

In 2006, the Canadian BEACONS project proposed a 50 percent as a way to address a ‘conservation first’ approach to land use planning (Schmiegelow et al., 2006). More recently, Noss et al. (2012) reiterated the 50 percent “scientifically defensible as a global target” in the journal *Conservation Biology*.

The BFCF and supporting reports were used as a catalyst to develop consensus around the target and to support a call for large and interconnected protected areas as well as for comprehensive planning. A significant event occurred in May 2007, when the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, the Canadian Boreal Initiative, and the Boreal Songbird Initiative circulated a letter internationally asking the Canadian federal and provincial governments to adopt the 50 percent target. The letter, signed by 1500 scientists, urged both federal and provincial governments to adopt the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework by arguing that:

Reviews of previous conservation planning initiatives provide further direction by indicating that protected areas should cover in the range of half of the landscape to achieve the objectives listed above (IBCC, 2007).

Scientists have also participated in science-based panels coordinated by the International Boreal Conservation Campaign. For example, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign summoned a panel of US and Canadian scientists in November 2008 to “describe and map for the first time the full array of conservation values of Canada’s boreal,” calling the exercise “one of the first such comprehensive assessments for a global-scale ecosystem” including science values and “Aboriginal traditional values” (IBCC, 2011). The IBCC website shows compiled maps of carbon storage potential, peat lands, and soil organic carbon.<sup>29</sup> In Ontario, the Far North Science Advisory Panel helped to develop science-based guidelines for the implementation of the Far North Act (2010). Conservation organizations also participated in conferences and used the scientists’ letter to support their call for 50 percent conservation.

Since funding researchers is common practice, further research would be needed to ascertain whether financial support from BINGOs and foundations enabled them to

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edge conservation science that includes consideration of both protected areas and lands managed for other values” (<http://www.beaconsproject.ca/>).

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.interboreal.org/globalwarming/>.

support more research than First Nations, likely leading to a disadvantage in terms of communities' ability to carry out their own research and propose their own planning frameworks. As I describe in Chapter 6.4.3, also Pikangikum leaders noted that communities' greater access to research funding would have enabled them to develop and advance their own Indigenous knowledge.

### **Aboriginal partners**

As Table 11 showed, several Aboriginal communities directly supported the advocacy of conservation organizations, by participating in the Boreal Leadership Council as signatories to the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF), or signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Boreal Initiative. Further, communities also indirectly partnered with the Canadian Boreal Initiative by receiving funding from them and other partners that was important in moving forward community goals for conservation and development (Section 5.1.4.1). In Ontario, no Aboriginal communities signed the Framework, although a Memorandum of Understanding between the Mushkegowuk First Nation Environmental Research Centre, in the eastern part of the Far North Region, and the Canadian Boreal Initiative, was signed in May 2007.

While some Aboriginal communities supported the BFCF and others opposed it, only detailed research with each community could determine why different positions were taken. However, it can be pointed out that this support was strategically important for the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, whose partners relied on the support of Aboriginal communities and Treaty organizations to advance the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. Indeed, just as Grand Chief Stan Beardy of Nishnawbe Aski Nation had rejected the framework in early 2004 (Fox-Keesic, 2004; January 29), and Aboriginal communities would later reject the Canadian Boreal Conservation Agreement, it is possible that Aboriginal communities would have rejected the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework—had no Aboriginal participants signed the Framework.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> For example, in May 2010, the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement was signed by nine environmental non-government organizations and 21 forestry companies, members of the Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC) to bring “peace in the forest” in areas allocated by provincial governments to logging companies

## **Foundations**

Early assessments described how Pew never worked alone, but in coalitions with other foundations. Some authors have described its objective as ensuring that groups opposed to their environmental policies would have less ability to get funded (Dowie, 2001). In order to move the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) forward, Pews' Environment Group secured major funding from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Lenfest Foundation. In 2011, the PCT also cited funding from the Betty Moore Foundations, as well as the Prince Albert II of Monaco Foundation for the campaign's work in Quebec (PCT, n.d.). Leveraging likely generated more funding from both private and public sources, as well as from both Canadian and international.

In Canada for example, the Richard Ivey Foundation is one of several Canadian foundations involved in the boreal forest, and one that has become an important referent for the International Boreal Conservation Campaign. The support of the Richard Ivey Foundation, a Toronto-based private foundation of the Ivey family, is important for several reasons. First, unlike American private foundation funding in Canada, Canadian foundations are required to report how much funding was disbursed and for what projects. It is then possible to trace foundation funding for boreal conservation. Secondly, the Richard Ivey Foundation had a keen interest on the boreal region of Ontario as part of the "Conserving Canada's Forests" program, an area it considered to lack policies for keeping endangered species and addressing comprehensive planning.

Thirdly, the Ivey Foundation has worked alongside the Canadian Boreal Initiative to support comprehensive planning in the boreal forest. They signed a Memorandum of Understanding, co-hosted meetings together (i.e., Forests and Climate Forum in 2007), co-financed projects (i.e., the BEACONS project at the University of Alberta), and supported conservation organizations to "increas[e] the amount of protected forest ecosystems in Canada, and expand the adoption of sustainable forest practices in Canada (Ivey Foundation, 2004). In 2010 it was recognized as "an organization that, along with

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(<http://www.canadianborealforestagreement.com>). Following the announcement, First Nations expressed grave concerns regarding the passing of this agreement without the knowledge of First Nations, leading at the end of 2010 to a split between Western and Eastern First Nation communities.

the U.S.-based Pew Charitable Trusts, has [most] helped finance forest preservation activities” (Mittelstaedt, 2010). Fourthly, the Ivey Foundation focused principally on initiatives that supported policy change, considered to be the most effective venue for achieving conservation outcomes. Finally, as a policy, the Foundation reserved its funding for non-governmental organizations, explicitly excluding funding for community projects.

### **5.1.2. The role of leadership**

The development of this coalition cannot be understood without considering the number of leaders who worked across organizational and jurisdictional areas to enroll a variety of actors around a core commitment to being inclusive and “speaking as one” (i.e., by including industry, environmental groups, and Aboriginal communities); and a commitment to the message of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. While I did not follow specifically the network these actors created, I provide a few examples of how influential leaders set the course of the international and national campaigns, established key strategic directions, traveled relentlessly to be present at advisory committees, conferences, decision-making tables, and communicated effectively through media and in less public forums.

Internationally, Pew Environment Group managing director, Mr. Josh Reichart, worked closely with IBCC director, Mr. Steve Kallick to allocate funding for conservation in Canada. The Canadian Boreal Initiative had three Executive directors that directed the Initiative in Canada. The founder of both the Canadian Boreal Trust (predecessor of the Canadian Boreal Initiative), and the Sierra Legal Defence Fund (now EcoJustice), Mr. Steward Elgie, was a University of Ottawa Common Law professor interested in economic approaches to environmental protection. His focus likely supported the efforts of the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) in ecosystem services valuation. Ms. Cathy Wilkinson, a policy advisor to two federal Environment Ministers, and a consultant, later became Vice President of the IBCC. Finally, Mr. Larry Innes practices with Olthuis, Kleer, Townshend, a Toronto law firm specializing in Aboriginal and environmental law. Under his leadership, he has engaged Aboriginal consultants as staff of the CBI and tried to strengthen ties with Aboriginal communities by attending First Nations’ meetings,

national and provincial round table discussions, and supporting Aboriginal-led conservation and planning processes (see Section 5.2.3).<sup>31</sup>

In Ontario, Mr. Larry Innes was involved in the Far North Plan Advisory Council (Section 4.5.2). President Emeritus of WWF–Canada, Mr. Monte Hummel, also played an important role in both developing the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, lobbying for the Far North Act (2010) and as part of the Far North Plan Advisory Council. Finally, director of CPAWS–Wildlands League, Mr. Tim Gray, became managing director of the Richard Ivey Foundation in 2005. The Richard Ivey Foundation would then sign a Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Boreal Initiative and support Ontario conservation organizations in conservation policy development. In 2007, Mr. Gray published a campaign summary report detailing many of the strategies adopted as part of the review of the Endangered Species Act in Ontario (Gray, 2007), strategies that were also part of the boreal campaigns in Ontario (Section 5.2). At the provincial level, several Toronto-based conservation organizations such as CPAWS–Wildlands League and Ontario Nature also participated in the Far North Planning Advisory Council, and supported efforts to change land use planning policy in the media, through press releases and through direct lobbying.

### **5.1.3. Funding**

#### ***5.1.3.1. International funding***

As part of building organizational strength, access to funding is a crucial element since it provides coordinating bodies such as Pew to benefit participants to the movement (McAdam, 1982). In the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, access to core funding provided the basis for the emergence and the support of a united front in terms of setting principles and targets for boreal conservation. The PCT adopted many of the accomplishments achieved in Canada through on-the-ground conservation gains in Canada, claiming that such investments had “paid off.”

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<sup>31</sup> The reasons for excluding Aboriginal signatories from the Canadian Boreal Conservation Agreement signed in 2010 are not addressed here (See footnote 28).

Conservation efforts in Canada offer large-scale rewards, backed up by a level of democratic political stability that often can't be found in other parts of the world. [...] Considering what's at stake and what has been achieved, Mr. Reichert said Pew's \$40-million investment has paid off handsomely, with a cost per protected hectare of about 16 cents (Friesen, 2008, January 4, quoting Joshua Reichert, managing director of the Pew Environment Group).<sup>32</sup>

While a precise estimate of the funds provided to the IBCC may not be possible due to difficulties with estimating funding that was leveraged from other sources, not only from foundations but also from industries (e.g., the Forest Products Association of Canada) and provincial and federal Governments, Pew's funding for 'boreal' issues is reported in their website at <http://pewtrusts.org> (Table 12).

**Table 12.** Funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts for boreal conservation (PCT, 2011).

<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount of funding</b>	<b>Awarded</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
2001	\$1,000,000	N/A	For continued support of wilderness protection in the Yukon and Northwest Territories of Canada.
2002	\$4,500,000	Ducks Unlimited	For a scientifically based, public education campaign supporting permanent protection of wilderness in the Canadian boreal forest.
2003	\$4,500,000	Ducks Unlimited	For a scientifically based, public education campaign supporting permanent protection of wilderness in the Canadian boreal forest.
2004	\$12,000,000	Canadian Boreal Initiative	To continue work that has been instrumental in protecting significant amounts of boreal wilderness at the provincial and territorial government level.
2005	\$1,884,000	Ducks Unlimited	In support of the Canadian Boreal Initiative.
2005	\$150,000	Ducks Unlimited	To support efforts to advance wild salmon conservation goals and address threats to ecological integrity of the Stikine River watershed in British Columbia, Canada.
2006	\$5,336,000	Ducks	To protect North America's boreal forest by providing

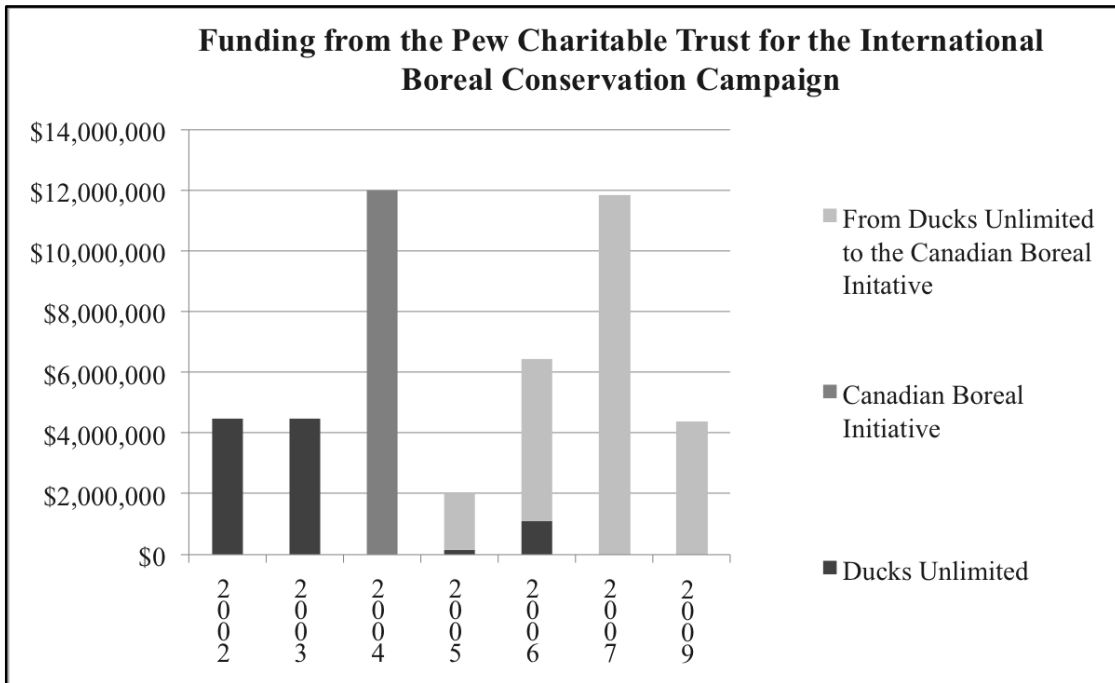
<sup>32</sup> It is unclear whether such a statement includes only Pew-funded projects, or includes all conservation gains achieved in Canada between 2000-2008, since many bottom-up conservation efforts were initiated before 2000, or were independent of Pew (Cizek, 2006, July 9).



<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount of funding</b>	<b>Awarded</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
		Unlimited	support for the Canadian Boreal Initiative and other conservation organizations.
2006	\$1,100,000	Ducks Unlimited	To protect North America's boreal forest by undertaking fieldwork in Canada's Northwest Territories and other provinces and providing Canadian and American senior managers and other staff with support to participate in the International Boreal Conservation Campaign.
2006	\$672,000	Boreal Songbird Initiative	To raise awareness of North America's boreal forest and the birds that breed there and provide international momentum for protection of the boreal forest and for implementation of the boreal forest conservation framework.
2006	\$700,000	Natural Resources Defense Council	To protect North America's boreal forest by educating and informing the public about the boreal forest and its communities; cooperating with specific place-based campaigns in Canada to focus U.S. attention on special places; and creating attention about market-driven consumption of boreal products.
2007	\$7,000,000	Ducks Unlimited	To protect North America's boreal forest by providing support for the Canadian Boreal Initiative and other conservation organizations.
2007	\$4,860,000	Ducks Unlimited	To protect North America's Boreal forest by continuing to host the Canadian Boreal Initiative.
2007	\$1,200,000	Boreal Songbird Initiative	To raise awareness of North America's boreal forest and the birds that breed there and provide international momentum for protection of the boreal forest and for implementation of the boreal forest conservation framework.
2009	\$4,400,000	Ducks Unlimited	To protect Canada's Boreal Forest by providing support to the main partner in the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, providing annual support for Ducks Unlimited boreal campaign staff, the Canadian Boreal Initiative project within Ducks Unlimited, and consulting contracts with the Boreal Songbird Initiative and other key IBCC campaign partners.

According to Table 12, PCT granted close to US\$50 million toward the boreal conservation campaign (see Stainsby and Oja Jay, 2009; Thompson, 2010, October 11).

Of these, US\$44 million were channeled to the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) and other conservation organizations through Ducks Unlimited. The CBI received US\$12 million directly in 2004, and between 2003 and 2009, it received more than US\$23 million indirectly through Ducks Unlimited (Figure 9). The Boreal Songbird Initiative received close to US\$1.87 million between 2006 and 2007. While no funding was given in 2008 for boreal campaigns, US\$4.4 million were given to Ducks Unlimited in 2009.



**Figure 9.** Funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts to the Canadian Boreal Initiative and International Boreal Conservation Campaign directly and indirectly through Ducks Unlimited. Compiled from PCT (2011).

A similar search in the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation website showed that between 2004 and 2009, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation provided Pew with three major grants, for a total of US\$12,335,000. In 2004 and 2006, respectively, grants of \$1,835,000 and \$6,500,000 respectively contributed to the Western Boreal Forest Public Land Conservation and Responsible Energy Development project. In 2009, US\$4,000,000 was granted explicitly “for general support of the International Boreal Conservation Campaign” (WFHF, 2010) Because of the closeness between these figures and the figures reported in Table 12, these sums were likely part of the total funding reported in the Pew website.

While a large part of the funding was earmarked to the CBI, it is not possible to see how funding was distributed by that organization since the CBI did not have annual reports for the verification of this information. The CBI holds no charitable status and it is obliged to report on their funding transactions only to the PCT. However, in their website, the Canadian Boreal Initiative reported close to three million dollars granted to 10 individual communities and eight First Nation organizations by February 2008. In Ontario, they included Grassy Narrows First Nation, Moose Cree First Nation, the Mushkegowuk Environmental Resource Council, Nishnawbe Aski Nation, Pauingassi and Little Grand Rapids First Nations (whose reserves were located in Manitoba but whose traditional territories encompassed parts of Ontario). Projects and initiatives ranged from training and capacity development (i.e., GIS training), communications and government outreach, the compilation of community traditional ecological knowledge, land use planning (including culturally appropriate and ecosystem-based planning processes), and consultation on a host of other issues such as mining, forestry, and carbon management (CBI, 2008).<sup>33</sup> Thus, the Canadian Boreal Initiative was able to provide funding to their partners—arguably less than 10 percent to First Nations (or three million as of 2008)—and likely more to conservation organizations and research projects.

#### ***5.1.3.2. Focused provincial resources***

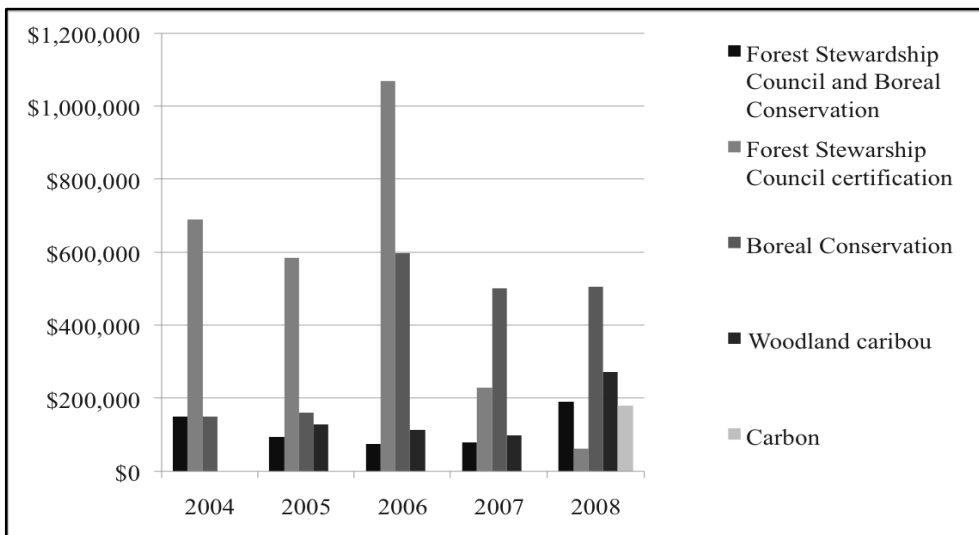
Generous international funding enrolled other US-based and Canadian foundations, as well as Canadian public and private organizations (Bartley, 2007). The Richard Ivey Foundation was one of the Canadian foundations interested in providing funding to environmental organizations working in boreal conservation. Between 2003 and 2008, the Ivey Foundation granted more than nine million dollars toward conservation organizations working in the Conserving Canada's Forests program, including at least CDN\$2.5 million dollars specifically granted for boreal conservation. Funding greater than CDN\$100,000 was given to organizations such as CPAWS–Wildlands League, Environmental Defense Canada, Sierra Club of Canada, WWF–Canada, The Nature

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<sup>33</sup> It is to be noted that both the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Ivey Foundation sent a letter to Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation supporting their efforts. In general, however, the WFMC decided to avoid receiving funds from the Canadian Boreal Initiative.

Conservancy, Ontario Nature, Sage Foundation (Forest Ethics), Sierra Legal Defense Fund, Tides Canada Foundation, Wildlife Conservation Society, and EcoJustice.

Over a period of 5 years (2003–2008), the Ivey Foundation provided funding for new protected areas across Canada; promotion of Forestry Stewardship Council certification; legislation reviews including the Ontario Endangered Species Act campaign (Gray, 2007); and promotion of campaigns for comprehensive land use planning in the Far North Region (Figure 10). In 2009, the Ivey Foundation supported the establishment of the Far North Act (2010) in Ontario by funding the Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition (See Section 5.2.2). These efforts exemplify an important reason for the effectiveness of foundations: their leadership can complement their funding prowess with issue framing and focused funding efforts.



**Figure 10.** Ivey Foundations grants for boreal issues. Compiled from Ivey Foundation annual reports between 2004 and 2008.

The Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF) was the first entity in Ontario and in Canada to advocate for a 50 percent protection and 50 percent sustainable development target for the Canadian boreal forest. This demand was then incorporated in the Far North Act (2010). The organizational strength around the BFCF was, therefore, effective at laying out the contours of a comprehensive, target-based land use planning policy. In this Section, I analyzed who the major international and national players were in setting the BFCF as a framework for policy development, and how this framework gained

legitimacy through its adoption by different groups—groups also at odds in terms of goals—leadership and focused funding. In Section 5.2, I analyze how civil society organizations influenced land use planning policy development in the provincial context of Ontario’s Far North Region by focusing on the strategic mobilization of public relations around the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework.

## **5.2. Mobilizing public discourse in Ontario**

While organizational strength is vital to the establishment and growth of a movement, two crucial aspects of social mobilization include the strategies adopted and the level of political opportunity that allows contending groups to forward their demands (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; McAdam, 1982, McAdam et al., 2001). In this Section, I focus on the strategies that the international network of conservation organizations adopted between 2000 and 2010 to influence the Premier of Ontario to adopt the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and implement a comprehensive land use policy in the Far North Region. I argue that the international network of conservation organizations was able to gain the buy-in of the Government of Ontario thanks to the regional and national mobilization of public discourse around the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, and a frame for bio-regional, ‘comprehensive planning’. The network established ties—both through personal and electoral promises—to decision-making bodies in Ontario, exerted political pressure through issue-focused campaigns and reports that aptly used the media and science-based assessments, and the development of an easy-to-grasp message. Most importantly, efforts in the right directions were supported—for example, through awards and public recognitions—while opposition was stifled (if indirectly).

### **5.2.1. The political environment: Electoral promises**

While the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF) was signed in December 2003 as a national framework for conservation, earlier efforts had been under way that year in the Province of Ontario to promote a provincial conservation-based approach to land use planning in the Far North Region. Among them was an electoral campaign promise that would prove key to exerting continuing political pressure on the future Premier of Ontario. Specifically, the Partnership for Public Lands (composed of the World Wildlife

Fund (WWF–Canada), the Ontario-based Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society–Wildlands League, and Ontario Nature) had asked the Opposition Leader of the Ontario Liberal party, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, to develop, among other requests, a comprehensive land use planning approach in the Northern Boreal Forests. Mr. Dalton McGuinty was running as a candidate for the Liberal Party in the provincial elections that would be held in October of the same year. The letter emphasized “the need to end the Harris–Eves [Premiers of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario between 1995 and 2003] government’s neglect of Ontario’s natural heritage” (McGuinty, 2003, March 19). In response to the letter, on March 19, 2003, Mr. McGuinty agreed to: (1) initiate a review of Ontario’s Provincial Parks Act, making natural protection a first priority; (2) review and strengthen Ontario’s Endangered Species Act; and,

(3) ... institute meaningful, broad-scale land-use planning for Ontario’s Northern Boreal Forest before any new major development, including ensuring full participation by native communities. Land use planning must protect the ecological integrity of this natural treasure and help to provide a sustainable future for native people and northern communities (McGuinty, 2003, March 19).

In the course of two mandates (2003-2007; 2007-2011), and under significant pressure from conservation organizations, the Ontario Provincial Government largely kept its promise. It reviewed the Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act (2006), the Endangered Species Act (2007), and passed the Far North Act (2010). The Parks and Conservation Reserves Act (2006) was changed to include ecological integrity as its first priority, while the review of the Endangered Species Act (2007) adopted protection of habitat as a necessary condition for species protection. This was a significant change when dealing with sparse and far-ranging species such as woodland caribou, and one that would lead facilitate arguments in favour of comprehensive planning in the lead up to the Far North Act (2010). The Provincial Government also passed significant new policy and legislation impacting northern Aboriginal communities (Table 13).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The review of the Mining Act (2009) was an outstanding issue that Aboriginal communities had pressured the Government to act upon—but the review in legislation in 2009 was unsatisfactory. It also became an important layering issue for conservation organizations working with Far North Region communities affected by mining. For example, in 2008, CPAWS–Wildlands League hired a bilingual Oji-Cree mining coordinator from Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation to work in the Far North Region.

**Table 13.** Policy and legislation passed between 2003 and 2010, and affecting the Far North Region of Ontario.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Policy and legislation changes in the Far North Region between 2003–2010</b>
2006	Review of Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act
2007	Review of the Endangered Species Act
2008	Far North Planning Initiative announced
2009	Mining Act Green Energy and Green Economy Act Caribou Conservation Plan (under Endangered Species Act) Northern Growth Plan
2010	Far North Act

Political pressure for comprehensive planning mounted through each successive campaign for legislation change.<sup>35</sup> The media played an important part in relaying the promise the Premier made to the Partnership for Public Lands by publishing letters from conservation groups’ representatives, or from journalists that followed the developments in the Far North Region and conducted regular interviews with environmentalists’ spokespeople. The Toronto Star, for example, referred to McGuinty’s promise over the course of 12 articles between 2006 and 2008, eight of which were authored by two journalists. Premier McGuinty’s promise was presented as the answer to the problem of ‘piecemeal’ conservation and land use planning of the Northern Boreal Initiative, to the point of comparing the opening of the Whitefeather Forest to forestry to the opening of the Victor diamond mine in the eastern part of the Far North Region in 2005.

Premier Dalton McGuinty backed the latter demand when he campaigned for the 2003 election. But his Liberal government soon abandoned the pledge and approved the Victor diamond mine, as well as a forestry project near the Manitoba border that’s endorsed by the Pikangikum native community (Gorrie, 2006, November 11).

Although natives support the [Victor Diamond] mine, columnist [Cameron Smith] says the Ontario government does not have an overall planning framework to control development in the region. [...] Even so, the Victor Diamond Mine,

<sup>35</sup> As described in Chapter 4, CPAWS–Wildlands League and the Sierra Legal Defence Fund (since 2007 known as EcoJustice) had requested that the Northern Boreal Initiative be changed in 2005, but such a change was turned down until the Premier’s announcement in 2008 (Sections 4.4 and 4.5).

located 90 kilometers west of Attawapiskat, represents the kind of nightmare of ad hoc, piecemeal carving up of Ontario's Far North that many have been dreading. Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, when he was campaigning for election in 2003, promised this would never happen [...] in a letter to the Wildlands League, Ontario Nature and the World Wildlife Fund (Smith, 2005, September 15).

While political pressure was applied publicly, lobbying in Toronto occurred through multiple personal meetings, panel discussions, invitations to meetings, and by rewarding positive steps. For example, since 2007, the Canadian Boreal Initiative has presented Boreal Awards to people and communities, in recognition of their vision and work toward protecting the boreal forest (CBI, 2011). In November 2008, the Canadian Boreal Initiative presented the Boreal Awards to Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, the First Nations communities of Good Hope and Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug (KI), and other winners.

### **5.2.2. Campaigns**

Conservation organizations active in the Far North developed a number of campaigns to set the framing for how problems should be identified and solutions addressed, and to raise attention to their agenda for boreal protection (Table 14). These campaigns were characterized by: (1) coalitions; (2) a diversity of means and approaches adopted; and (3) focus on specific but interrelated issues.

First, as Table 14 shows, provincial organizations seldom worked alone, and were involved in a number of coalitions based in Ontario, Canada and the US. CPAWS-WL was very active in the Far North Region, involved in high-profile conservation campaigns, such as "Ontario's Big Wild" and the "Boreal Rendezvous" in 2003, the "Boreal Wild" campaign and "Save Ontario's Species" in 2005, "The Big Wild" and "Caribou and You" in 2008, and "Ontario Boreal Future's Coalition" in 2009.



**Table 14.** Examples of conservation-based campaigns directly and indirectly related to comprehensive planning in the Far North Region of Ontario

<b>Campaign</b>	<b>Coalition members</b>	<b>Objective</b>
International Boreal Conservation Campaign (2000)	Pew Charitable Trusts Environment Group, Canadian Boreal Initiative, Songbird Boreal Initiative	To adopt a comprehensive conservation plan for Canada's boreal forest ( <a href="http://www.interboreal.org">http://www.interboreal.org</a> )
Ontario's Big Wild and Boreal Rendezvous (2003)	CPAWS–WL with partners Mountain Equipment Co-op, David Suzuki Foundation, and Canadian Boreal Initiative	To focus public attention on Canada's boreal forests ( <a href="http://www.cpaws.org/news/events/rendezvous/">http://www.cpaws.org/news/events/rendezvous/</a> )
Save Ontario's Species (2005)	CPAWS–WL, David Suzuki Foundation, EcoJustice, Environmental Defense, Forest Ethics, Ontario Nature	Review of Ontario's Endangered Species Act (Gray 2007)
Boreal Wild (2005)	CPAWS–WL, WWF–Canada, Mining Watch Canada, Ontario Nature, Sierra Club of Canada, Earthroots, Birds Studies Canada, Environmental Defence, Sierra Legal Defence Fund, Canadian Environmental Law Ass. CPAWS–Ottawa Valley Ch.	For Premier of Ontario to uphold 2003 promise for comprehensive planning ( <a href="http://www.borealmajesty.org">www.borealmajesty.org</a> )
Priorities for Ontario's Future (2007)	14 Environmental groups	Sets priority areas for the elected Premier of Ontario ( <a href="http://www.prioritiesforontario.ca">www.prioritiesforontario.ca</a> )
The Big Wild (2008)	CPAWS and Mountain Equipment Coop	Celebrate wild spaces ( <a href="http://www.thewild.org">www.thewild.org</a> )
Caribou and You (2008)	CPAWS	Educate about protecting the habitat of woodland caribou ( <a href="http://www.caribouandyou.ca">www.caribouandyou.ca</a> )
Save the 'bou' (2008)	Forest Ethics	Raise awareness about woodland caribou ( <a href="http://www.forestethics.org/the-boreal-forest-media">http://www.forestethics.org/the-boreal-forest-media</a> )
Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition (also Great Boreal Forest) 2009	CPAWS–WL, EcoJustice, Environmental Defense, Forest Ethics, Ontario Nature, Environment North	Support land use planning legislation (50 percent) for the Far North boreal forest ( <a href="http://www.borealoportunity.ca">www.borealoportunity.ca</a> )

Ontario Nature and Forest Ethics were also key provincial participants in several of the campaigns that were carried out in Ontario. Other players that contributed to the increasing interest in the boreal forest and to the development of extensive networks to support the campaigns included Greenpeace, Forest Ethics, Sierra Legal Defense Fund (since 2007 EcoJustice), the Suzuki Foundation, Environmental Defense, and Earthroots. In 2009, the Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition included CPAWS–Wildlands League, EcoJustice, Environmental Defence, Forest Ethics, Ontario Nature, and Environment North.

Secondly, the campaigns included a variety of means such as photo exhibits, posters in the transit system in Toronto and in newspapers, video presentations, country-wide tours on Canadian rivers (“Boreal Rendezvous” in 2003) and tours of ‘the bou’ (a mask of a caribou), gala evenings, awards to supporters of conservation, collaboration with different businesses, support of scientists, and the use of all available types of Internet tools in addition to organizational websites. For example, in 2007, Canadian celebrities Robert Bateman, Farley Mowat, and David Suzuki called on Premier Dalton McGuinty to keep his promise and protect the boreal forest, an action they defined as a ‘win-win-win’ solution (Bateman et al., 2007, February 22).

Thirdly, several of the campaigns affecting the Far North Region focused on setting a comprehensive approach to land use planning. To this end, the “Boreal Wild” campaign focused its message on reminding the Premier about his 2003 electoral promise (<http://borealmajesty.org>). In 2007 this request became one of the priorities environmental groups set for Provincial electoral candidates (<http://prioritiesforontario.ca>), while in 2009, the “Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition” focused on supporting the Premier’s 2008 announcement of the Far North Planning Initiative and its conversion into legislation (<http://borealopportunity.ca>). As I detail below, four different issues have dominated the discursive arena of these campaigns: (1) woodland caribou as a symbol of species at risk; (2) climate change and carbon storage protection for mitigation; (3) linking northern communities to sustainable livelihood pursuits; and (4) certification of sustainable forest management practices (more specifically south of the Far North Region where forestry tenure is held).

## **Woodland caribou: A symbol for endangered species**

Of great importance in the discursive arena for conservation-based planning was the protection of endangered species.<sup>36</sup> In Ontario, woodland caribou became the symbol for the Endangered Species Act Campaign (2005–2007), the “Big Wild” (2008), “Caribou and You” (2008), and “Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition” (2009). Woodland caribou have been recognized as an indicator of forest sustainability and scientific studies have shown a northward range recession of 34 km per decade, as well as the need for extensive roadless landscapes (Miller, 2007; Vors et al., 2007). CPAWS–Wildlands League, for example, adopted woodland caribou “as an indicator species for our work on the protection of large, interconnected landscapes in the boreal forest” (CPAWS–WL, 2005, 5).

The symbolic and material importance of woodland caribou, and its early use in campaigns to protect the species and review the Endangered Species Act (campaigns that lasted between 2005 and 2007) had implications for the campaigns that would lead to the Far North Act (2010):

First, the campaigns for woodland caribou protection allowed conservation groups working in the Far North Region to set the framing for the need to address large-scale processes through comprehensive planning. The need to protect endangered species through the protection of their habitat (as set in the review of the Endangered Species Act, 2007), and particularly the use of woodland caribou as a species dependent on large undeveloped areas, allowed conservation groups to set the stage for effectively campaigning in favour of a comprehensive approach to planning, protection of 50 percent of the boreal region, and to link it further to the protection of potentially valuable carbon storage areas in the Far North.

Secondly, the successful strategy of the Endangered Species Act campaign (2005–2007) provided the basis for the successive development of campaigns targeting comprehensive planning in the Ontario boreal forest. The Richard Ivey Foundation published a summary

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<sup>36</sup> For example, in other regions such as the Mackenzie River Valley, the IBCC and Boreal Songbird Initiative emphasized migratory birds.

campaign report outlining a toolkit for a successful campaign, including start early with a core network; work on election promises; develop simple recommendations; adopt a window of opportunity; support the use of, and provide, science-based recommendations; apply consistent political pressure; have a reliable funding support; and take advantage of delayed opposition (Gray, 2007). These strategies were also adopted for shifting policy to the Far North Act (2010).

Thirdly, the Endangered Species Act campaign also helped to create linkages to the Premier (Section 5.2.1.), various Government Ministries and department levels, media, and watchdog organizations supported by the Provincial Government such as the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario (Chapter 4.4). For example, the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario based its support for large-scale planning on the need to protect woodland caribou. The Toronto Star published 24 articles and letters between 2006 and 2009 (12 between 2006 and 2007 when the Save Ontario's Species campaign was under way). The articles directly addressed the need to protect caribou species in the boreal forest, describing how the number of threats and the lack of recovery following logging called for the protection of large areas of undisturbed land: *Caribou habitat faces threat* (Anon., 2006, July 15); *Hard life may get harder for caribou* (Smith, 2006, July 22); *Elusive creatures of the forest* (Gorrie, 2006, November 11).

### **Carbon storage and Climate change**

Climate change became preponderantly a theme for public pressure in Ontario in 2007, as an issue connected to the fate of woodland caribou. Rather than an issue campaign such as "woodland caribou," climate change has become an overarching issue of concern straddling energy policy, carbon storage, land use planning, and development, and it has become an underlying theme to campaigns for conservation-based planning. For example, in February 2007, a full one-page ad from Forest Ethics linking protection of woodland caribou with carbon storage was placed on major news outlets like The Globe and Mail asking the Ontario Premier to stand by his promise: "More forests, more stored carbon, more clean air. Premier McGuinty, will you keep your promise?" (Published in The Globe and Mail 14/02/2007). In May 2007, the 1500 signatures collected by the

International Boreal Conservation Campaign also linked boreal protection to climate change mitigation (Section 5.1.1).

Further, the link between carbon storage and protected areas became a central issue in research studies and reports commissioned by the Canadian Boreal Initiative, conference presentations, campaigns and reports by organizations such as Forest Ethics, CPAWS–WL, Ontario Nature, WWF, Earthroots and the Suzuki Foundation, and relayed under various forms in the media as well as in blogs, twitter, and facebook sites. For example, the Canadian Boreal Initiative sponsored projects to measure the value of ecological services, including carbon storage (Anielski and Wilson, 2009), and evaluate the potential for carbon and conservation offsets in the boreal forest (Carlson et al., 2009; Dyer et al., 2008). Media outlets such as The Toronto Star reported climate change as the most often quoted topic, with 42 articles published between 2006 and 2009 and again, in conjunction with the Provincial elections, with 22 articles published in 2007 alone. While an important issue, grassroots organizations have critiqued the direct link between carbon storage and protected areas for sidetracking efforts aimed at changing industrial practices and industry’s lobbying power in high mining and tar sand potential areas (Cizek, 2006, July 9).

### **Linking northern communities to sustainable livelihoods**

The support for Aboriginal livelihoods in the Far North Region was also an important aspect of these campaigns. Several organizations such as CPAWS–Wildlands League, Ontario Nature, and the Canadian Boreal Initiative developed relationships with northern communities, working in partnership around common goals, raising attention to the need for Aboriginal decision-making in land use planning, and hiring Aboriginal representatives within their organizations.<sup>37</sup> Yet, while relationships flourished around conflicts over resource development, the establishment of new protected areas, and a common request for enabling Aboriginal decision-making, in practice they were more difficult when it came to community-led resource development. The media best

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<sup>37</sup> The Canadian Boreal Initiative also commissioned a short “ethno botanical values” report as a way to highlight the values of the boreal forest for Aboriginal people, and to incorporate these values in new protected areas (Karst, 2010).

expressed these sentiments by (1) dedicating more coverage to Aboriginal–industry conflicts; (2) expressing guarded skepticism at First Nation-led development; and (3) justifying a paternalistic view of Aboriginal people as subject to forces greater than they could muster.

First, conflicts between First Nations and industry were reported on twelve occasions, as opposed to 4 references to First Nation–industry partnerships between 2006 and 2009. Arguably, most coverage occurred in 2008, when conflicts between Aboriginal communities and mining companies escalated following the arrest of Ardoch Algonquin Chief and Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug (Big Trout Lake) First Nations’ Chief and Council. Rather than describing these events as an issue of jurisdictional authority, and asking outsider developers to follow community processes and protocols, some journalists saw these actions as evidence that Premier Dalton McGuinty was breaking his promise to adopt a comprehensive planning approach that would mitigate such conflicts.

Second, while siding against industrial developments opposed by the First Nations, national media also questioned projects spearheaded by Aboriginal communities. When Pikangikum First Nation and the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources signed the “Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy” in June 2006, *The Globe and Mail* published the article titled “A new beginning or mistakes of the past?” The author recognized that the community of Pikangikum had initiated planning for forestry to ensure it could control development on their traditional territories and encroachment from the south (Campbell, 2006, July 6). It also reported interviews with environmental groups questioning the lack of large-scale planning and the lack of baseline information for wildlife protection. The Minister recognized the lack of such a plan but said work was just beginning. On that note, Campbell (2006, July 6) concluded the article by stating that, “For the sake of Ontario's vast, unspoiled north, he’d better be right.”

Third, journalists’ views about Aboriginal development projects arguably stemmed from a paternalistic view of the pressures felt by First Nations rather than seen as a way to seek self-determination and leadership in land use planning and economic development. While they supported Aboriginal calls for decision-making, they considered the relationship

between Aboriginal communities and industry as unequal, marred by pressure for jobs, and contrary to First Nations' way of life.

... the northern boreal forest must be opened up to logging. But it's a false assumption. It's based on huge pressure from First Nations badly in need of jobs (Smith, 2003, December 20).

Environmentalists generally align themselves with the majority residents of the Far North, the Indians who live in 27 small, remote communities. But these First Nations seek a mixture of conservation and local development that will create jobs and improve their often abysmal living standard. So the traditional allies in the south tread carefully. Some say it would be fine to build small power stations to supply the local communities. Such projects wouldn't harm the rivers and would eliminate expensive, polluting diesel generators. But what if, as in Quebec and Canada's northern territories, First Nations team up with developers on mega projects? ... Even though the community is still in the discussion phase, "One problem to overcome, Browne and others say, is that the northern communities aren't in an equal bargaining position. "It's someone who's pretty desperate up against someone who's just wanting a good deal (Gorrie, 2007, September 29).

As a result, the views of the community were seldom reported in the mainstream media. It was only at the end of a 2006 article that journalist Peter Gorrie quoted Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug (Big Trout Lake) First Nation's director of lands and resources position in support of leading future development:

The primary strategy is for us to become the developers ourselves. With community control, some kind of development could be done in harmony with traditional ways. ... It would become more of a negotiated concept. "That's "a long way down the road." In the meantime, "We can't move from our position" (Gorrie, 2006, June 20).

It seems then, that support for Aboriginal traditional livelihoods helped advance the conservation agenda, while stated support for Aboriginal decision-making did not actually lead to support of Aboriginal organizations' rejection of the Far North Act (2010).

### **Forest Stewardship Council certification**

So far I have presented three key issues that supported a conservationist-led call for comprehensive planning in the Far North Region of Ontario. The promotion of third-party certification schemes, such as the Forest Stewardship Council, was a relevant tool in the area of the 'Lands for Life' process where large forestry companies held forestry

tenure. Organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund, Forest Ethics, Greenpeace, Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, and Ontario Nature promoted the Forest Stewardship Council certification as a way to support sustainable forest management practices and the creation of larger protected areas and no-harvest zones. While these campaigns did not immediately apply to the Far North, strategically they linked in the network conservation actors who worked across the sphere of conservation and sustainable forest management, both in areas allocated to forestry and the Far North Ontario. They also enrolled industry partners into the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework—enabling the development of an inclusive framework—and discursively connected sustainable forestry practices in the south to the maintenance of large protected areas in the Far North Region.

In brief, these campaigns served to create a unified vision of the boreal forest as an area where different actors could come together around common objectives, and through well-planned and comprehensive approaches, address issues as varied as endangered species protection, climate change, sustainable Aboriginal livelihoods and sustainable forestry development. In a positive way, the inclusion of, and interest in, Aboriginal livelihoods denoted a shift in conservationists' portrayals of the northern forests as 'wilderness' areas, and thus a shift in post-colonial politics that recognizes Aboriginal presence and agency (Baldwin, 2009b). In these campaigns however, Aboriginal livelihoods mainly appeared as maintaining traditional activities rather than engaging in new commercial development. Further, when set in the context of planning, they entailed a different standard for the Far North, one in which the focus would be greater protection than had been afforded to lands to the south.

### **5.2.3. Reports and maps**

While boreal conservation-based planning campaigns played an important role in framing issues of concern in an easy to grasp manner, the creation of reports and visuals such as maps provided a way to increase public visibility in the press, market the message as science-based, and shape policy development. Reports enabled conservation organizations to (1) set the framing; (2) market it through press releases; (3) influence its adoption in policy; and finally (4) enable conservation representatives themselves to be



involved in government-sponsored advisory positions, and thus at important decision-making tables. (5) They also enabled these organizations to present concrete results and to continue to generate funding for themselves.

At the Provincial level, several organizations raised attention to the Ontario boreal forest, with a number of these published between 2006 and 2007 to point out the changing relationship between Ontario's forests, climate change, forestry practices and caribou conservation. The reports were published at the peak of campaigns for woodland caribou protection and on the eve of Ontario's Provincial elections (Table 15).

**Table 15.** Examples of conservation-based reports published ahead of Ontario's provincial elections in 2007.

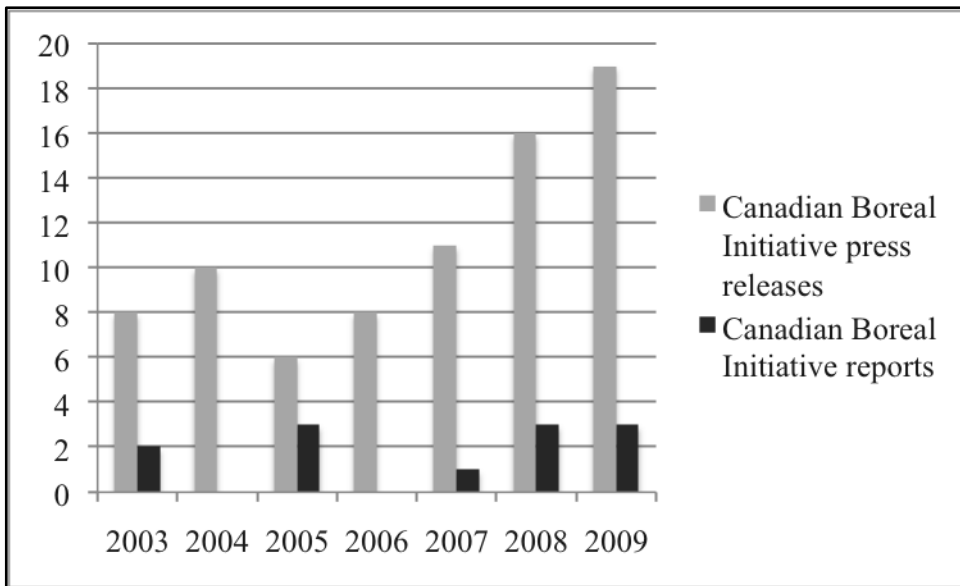
<b>Lead organization</b>	<b>Title of report</b>	<b>Funding support</b>
Sierra Club of Canada	Sierra Legal Forestry Report Card. May 2006.	No funding support mentioned
Forest Ethics	Wilson, S. 2007. Robbing the Carbon Bank: Global Warming and Ontario's Boreal Forest.	Canadian Boreal Initiative and Ivey Foundation
Forest Ethics	Bringing down the boreal: How US consumption is destroying endangered northern forests. 2007.	Acknowledgments and contributions to individuals from conservation organizations and Aboriginal groups
Global Forest World Watch	Lee, P. Recent anthropogenic changes within the boreal forest of Ontario and their potential impacts on woodland caribou. 2007.	Alberta Ecotrust, Canadian Boreal Initiative, EJLB Foundation, George and Cedric Metcalf Charitable Foundation, Ivey Foundation, Wilburforce Foundation, Tides Foundation
Greenpeace	Consuming Canada's Boreal Forest: The chain of destruction from logging companies to consumers. August 2007.	
National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy	Boreal Futures: Governance, Conservation and Development in Canada's Boreal: State of the Debate 2005.	

With regard to framing, first, a clear connection was established between improving forestry practices (seeking Forest Stewardship Council certification) in areas already allocated to forest management, and maintaining intact forests in the Far North as a result of comprehensive planning. For example, Greenpeace called for logging companies to ease logging in all sensitive forest areas, shift all lumber production to Forest Stewardship Council certification, commit publicly to not pursue logging in unallocated areas of the Boreal Forest, and seek consent of First Nations before logging (Greenpeace, 2007, 47). Secondly, science-based assessments were used to support these statements. Third, these reports challenged the Provincial Government—through the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources—approach to the management of Crown lands. For example, in 2006, the Sierra Club of Canada reviewed forestry and protected areas practices in Ontario, questioning the Northern Boreal Initiative as being weak, and the draft plan for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative as “not providing convincing evidence” that protected areas designation was following a rigorous process, and was “the result[s] of formal gap analysis” (SCC, 2006). Finally, some reports called on provincial governments to play a more proactive role in instituting a logging moratorium in intact forest areas and caribou habitat ahead of comprehensive planning. They also set a specific planning role for themselves when arguing in favour of multi-stakeholder processes to plan for protected areas ahead of development.

Global Forest Watch spearheaded mapping to frame the issues, and to show both the public and policy-makers the extent of forest loss and fragmentation, range recession for woodland caribou, and future scenarios of development and its impacts on wildlife (Lee, 2007). These maps were published in the websites of CPAWS–Wildlands League and Forest Ethics. Maps are also likely to play a greater role in both showing areas of concerns and monitoring progress in land use planning exercises following the Far North Act (2010). First, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign summoned a panel of Canadian and US scientists in November 2008 to “describe and map for the first time the full array of conservation values of Canada’s boreal” (IBCC, 2011). Second, mapping presents an important tool for monitoring the actions of the Provincial Ministries, and to ensure that the 50-50 percent promise is maintained. As a result of these present and

future activities, maps will likely play a role in creating ‘facts on the ground’ for communities to consider during their land use planning processes.

As outlined above, the second value attached to reports was the increased ability to market the framing through a number of channels. For example, the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) commissioned and authored a number of reports to highlight the natural and cultural values tied to maintaining large areas from being developed, and to highlight the value of the carbon storage potential as well as opportunities for carbon offsets. The CBI widely circulated press releases linked to their initiatives, reports, and other conservation/sustainable development initiatives in Canada, many of which were printed in major newspapers across the country (Figure 11). A cursory count of the Canadian press revealed that between 2003 and 2009, the CBI was reported 126 times. Of these, 18 press releases were published, and in 13 instances an author published the same article more than once through the ‘wire service’. Two successive directors of the Canadian Boreal Initiative authored seven articles.



**Figure 11.** Number of reports and press releases published by the Canadian Boreal Initiative between 2003 and 2009 (CBI, 2011).

A third aspect of reporting is the influence of reports on policy development. While this is not necessarily a straightforward relationship, influential advisory bodies to the government, such as the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario, cited a number of

ENGO-authored reports in the 2006–2007 annual report, supporting comprehensive planning in the Far North Region of Ontario. These reports included a reference to the CBI (2003), the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, the ecosystem valuation study commissioned by the CBI (Anielski and Wilson, 2009), and the 2005 report on “Boreal Futures” released by the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE, 2005).

Fourthly, the CBI and conservation organizations were able to make their reports relevant by participating directly in government commissions. At the national level, both a CBI and IBCC representative were members of the multi-stakeholder Boreal Forest Task Force held between 2003 and 2005 for the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE, 2005). For example, the report of the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, released in October 2005, showed that the boreal forest was a vital part of Canada’s “green account” and proposed tax policy changes, offsets, and conservation easements. In Ontario, the CBI and conservation organizations such as the David Suzuki Foundation, Ducks Unlimited, Forest Ethics, Ontario Nature, CPAWS–Wildlands League, and WWF–Canada participated in the Far North Plan Advisory Council (FNPAC), which was established by the Government of Ontario in 2008 to develop the Far North Act (2010) (Section 4.5.2.). By participating in advisory bodies to the federal and provincial governments, these representatives were more likely to influence the framing of the resulting reports by ultimately contributing to the drafting and/or reviewing of the final reports.

Finally, reports and maps that show a conservation-based framing do not in themselves provide support for the argument that they influenced policy development. However, these reports show the ability of conservation-based groups to access resources needed to generate and disseminate them, and thus to raise the visibility of their own framing to governments and other actors (IBCC, 2011). It is indeed likely that a significant part of the funding geared at creating a conservation-based framing for the boreal (e.g., part of Pew’s funding for the Canadian Boreal Initiative) was used not only in the production but also in the dissemination of reports and maps. First Nations have also created their own maps to show customary and new land-use activities. However, it seems that First

Nations had significantly less access to financial and capacity-building resources to develop their own reports and maps. When communities such as Pikangikum made their own maps, they lacked the resources to make them more visible to the public, and thus to publicize their own framing to the broader public. For example, in 2007, at the height of the Save Ontario Species campaign, Forest Ethics showcased a map that highlighted the Whitefeather planning area as an area of immediate concern. Further, CPAWS and Canadian retailer Mountain Equipment Co-op also developed an interactive map for users to share their personal stories about the boreal forest.<sup>38</sup> In the website, the Whitefeather Forest Planning Area was again highlighted as a place where future forest development would ensue. As a result, unequal access to resources needed for framing suggests a disadvantage in accessing resources to frame policy.

#### **5.2.4. Media**

As shown with regard to environmental campaigns in Section 5.2.2, conservation organizations developed important linkages to the media. On the one hand, newspapers, television, and radio stations were paid to advertise their conservation-based campaigns. On the other hand, media providers contributed to these campaigns through free postings of press releases, interviews, and through editorial space for comments. Unlike campaigns, these “services” reflected the tight relationship and extensive communication that exists between environmental organizations, journalists, and editorial staff. Such relationships mostly involved the national and provincial media. When it came to matters in the Far North Region, national and provincial newspapers (The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star) tended to champion comprehensive planning and to question attempts at community-based planning and resource development. That is, these news outlets sided with the views of conservation organizations.

A clue to the fact that the national and provincial media was not representative of Aboriginal interests is evident when comparing a traditional newspaper like The Toronto Star with Aboriginal media such as Wawatay News: (1) the issues addressed varied in terms of coverage (i.e., number of issues); and (2) the timing of events varied.

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.thebigwild.org/>

First, the issues covered were different. An analysis of themes of interest to land use planning in the boreal forest from 100 articles, coded between 2006 and 2009 in The Toronto Star, showed a continuing interest in climate change, woodland caribou, First Nations' conflicts with development, and land use planning (Table 16). Notably, in The Toronto Star there was no coverage on conflicts surrounding the establishment of new protected areas on Aboriginal lands.

**Table 16.** Frequency of themes of interest to planning in the boreal forest coded from The Toronto Star during a four year period (2006–2009).

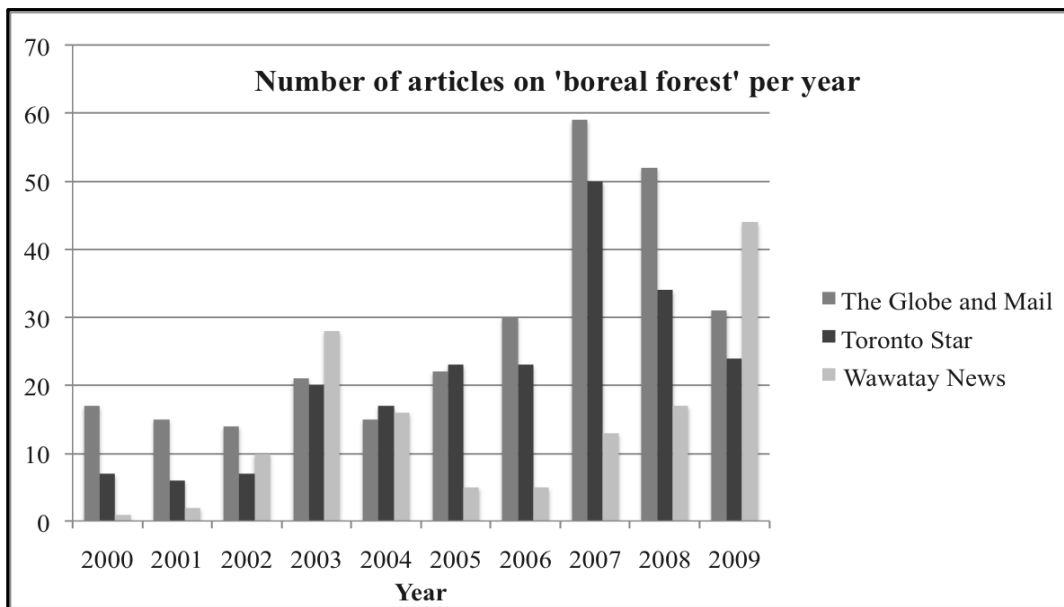
<b>Coded theme</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Total</b>
Climate change	9	22	6	5	42
Woodland caribou	6	10	3	5	24
First Nations resource conflict	3	1	6	3	13
Premier's comprehensive land use planning promise	3	7	2	0	12
Adoption/promotion of sustainable industrial practices	3	4	2	1	10
50 percent target	0	0	6	4	10
First Nations land use planning	1	2	1	0	4
First Nations partnerships with industry	2	2	0	0	4

Based on 81 articles coded between 2006 and 2009 (n=81), Wawatay News had less emphasis on the environmental issues addressed in the Toronto Star (i.e., climate change and woodland caribou) and more on opportunities for First Nations, including partnerships with industry and government and community-based land use plans such as the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (Table 17).

**Table 17.** Frequency of themes of interest to planning in the boreal forest coded from Wawatay News during a four year period (2006–2009).

<b>Coded theme</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Total</b>
Climate change	0	1	1	0	2
Woodland caribou	0	0	1	0	1
First Nations resource conflict	1	3	3	6	3
Premier’s comprehensive land use planning promise	0	0	0	0	0
Adoption/promotion of sustainable industrial practices	0	0	1	0	1
50 percent target	0	0	0	3	3
First Nations land use planning	0	0	1	6	7
First Nations partnerships with industry	1	1	4	6	13

Secondly, the timing and peak of events reported on boreal issues also showed different interests at play between Southern and Northern Ontario media outlets (Figure 12).



**Figure 12.** Number of articles on ‘boreal forest’ published in The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and Wawatay News between 2000 and 2009.

Significantly, in *The Toronto Star*, most articles on ‘boreal forest’ occurred in 2007 (an election year in Ontario), which coincided with environmental campaigns for woodland caribou and comprehensive planning, and 1500 scientists’ requests for greater protection of the boreal forest as a way to address climate change. In *Wawatay News*, the number of articles for ‘boreal forest’ peaked in 2003 and in 2009. In 2003 there were extensive discussions about community-based land use planning and forestry development. In 2009, discussions centered on the new pieces of legislation being proposed—the Mining Act (2009) and the Far North Act (2010)—as well as on new community-based initiatives under way, including community-based land use plans and forest management plan development in the Whitefeather Forest Initiative. Following the Far North Planning Initiative in 2008, *Wawatay* devoted a number of articles discussing the revisions needed for the Mining Act (Thom, 2008, December 25; Thom, 2009, April 2), and support and concerns shared by both First Nations and environmental groups with the consultation process of Bill 191, later passed in legislation as the Far North Act (2010) (Garrick, 2009, June 11). Unlike *The Toronto Star*, *Wawatay News* offered a space for expressing the objectives and framing that individual communities were striving for in both conservation and development initiatives.

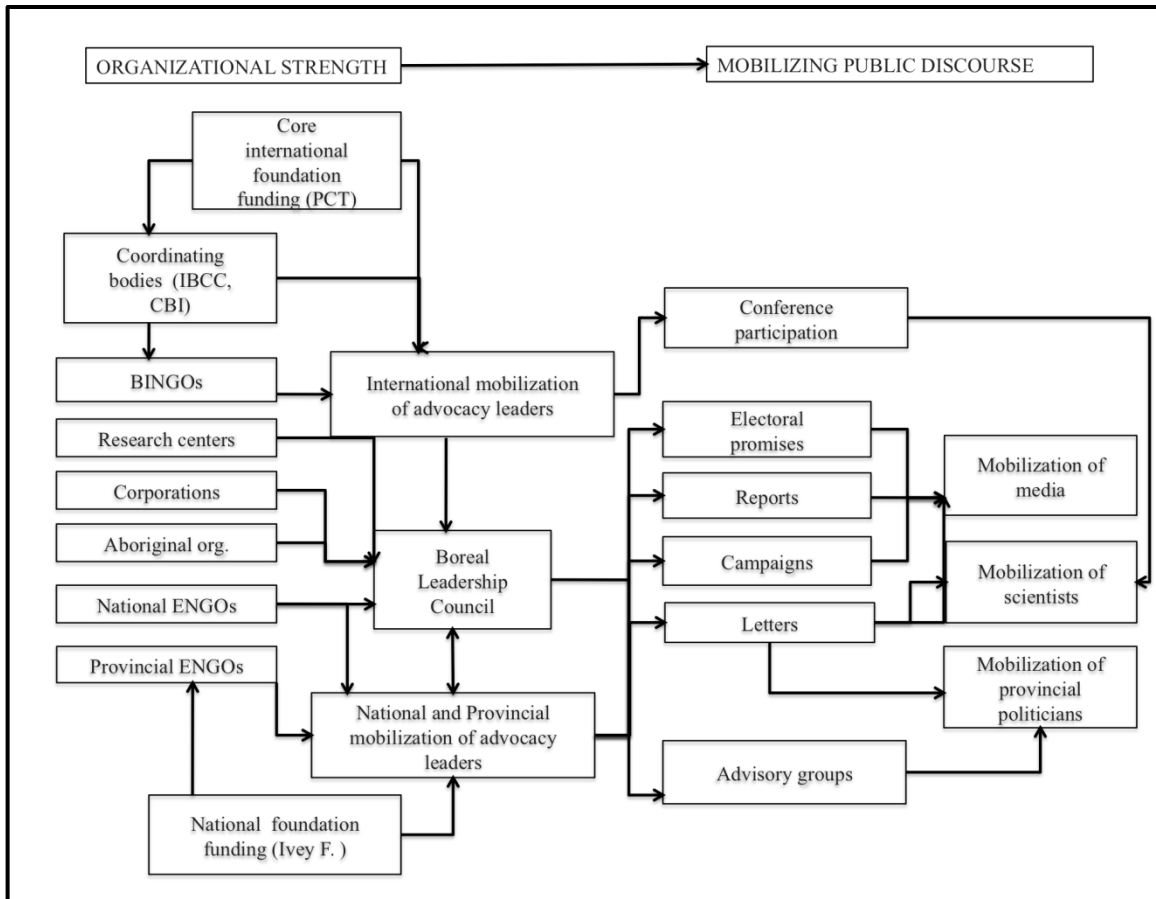
### **5.3. Summary and implications**

In Section 5.1, I focused on analyzing the organizational strength that a transnational network of conservation organizations (also known as BINGOs or Big International Non-governmental Organizations) developed around a framework for large landscape scale protected areas target. International foundations such as the Pew Charitable Trusts and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation funded the work of conservation organizations at different jurisdictional levels (provincial, national and international) through US- and Canadian-based coordinating bodies, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC)—and to a lesser degree the Boreal Songbird Initiative—and the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI). Together with the Canadian branch of the World Wildlife Fund and Ducks Unlimited, the IBCC and the CBI brought together a diverse network of conservation organizations, corporations and Aboriginal partners as part of the Boreal Leadership Council. While these groups can often be odds, all partners signed the Boreal



Forest Conservation Framework, which advocated for the protection of 50 percent of the boreal forest (and the sustainable development of the remaining landscape). Leaders of these organizations were active across the different jurisdictional levels and set the course of international and national campaigns, established key strategic directions, actively participated in advisory committees, conferences, decision-making tables, and developed key communication strategies, including through the use of the media.

In Section 5.2, I analyzed how the international network of the IBCC and Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) converged with actions by provincial civil society organizations to influence land use planning policy development in the provincial context of Ontario's Far North Region. These actions focused on the strategic mobilization of public relations around the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and a framework for comprehensive planning to apply political pressure. Public tactics promoted these frameworks as win-win policy outcomes. They included the development of boreal conservation campaigns, reports and maps supporting a conservation-based framework, and political lobbying both through electoral promises and letters. The discourses that guided these tactics were based on a cohesive and effective narrative of forest conservation and forest loss, climate change, wildlife protection, and large-scale planning in intact boreal forests to offset threats of development. They also included support for sustainable development and Aboriginal livelihoods, and an overall attempt at finding a 'balanced' approach that would suit different approaches to land use planning. These messages became part of the public discourse through media sources aimed at a largely Toronto-based audience—the member base of many of these organizations—and through the mobilization of leaders. Less visible was the work of knowledge brokers at conferences and advisory groups (Sections 4.5.2 and 5.2.3), the ways in which the targets for boreal conservation became part of reports for the provincial government (such as the annual reports of the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario in Section 4.4.), and, as this thesis points out, in the actual framing of the Far North Act (2010). Figure 13 summarizes the strategies and tactics adopted by conservation-based civil society organizations to influence land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario.



**Figure 13.** Summary of strategies and tactics adopted by conservation-based civil society organizations to influence land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario.

The results of Chapters 4 and 5 showed that a network of international and national private institutions and non-governmental organizations (BINGOs) influenced Ontario land use planning policy development. Strategic engagement aimed at influencing government policy is a normal practice for civil society organizations. Further, efforts at including First Nations as partners to the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework planning, and supporting Aboriginal decision-making authority are a step forward in the politics of conservation in Canada (historically focused on preserving wilderness areas). In addition, BINGOs supported its Aboriginal partners in terms of funding, political support and visibility, although further research would be needed to understand why and how different First Nations supported the goals of the CBI and other such organizations, and how Far North communities are using new land use planning legislation for the Far North Region to forward their goals.

However, the changes in land use planning policy in the Far North Region led to a situation of conflict (Chapter 4), and as this chapter points out, civil society organizations' influence in developing policy had important implications for Aboriginal–state relations. First, while claiming to support Aboriginal people's decision-making authority, these tactics did not recognize and respect recent principles of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) nor the principles articulated in the Conservation Initiative on Human Rights signed by many BINGOs as members of IUCN, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (BirdLife International et al., 2010; UNDRIP, 2007). This demonstrates the degree to which First Nations suffer from a systematic disadvantage in accessing resources needed to frame policies that influence their territories; and in holding large organizations accountable to international instruments and frameworks developed by civil society organizations to support Indigenous rights. In this case, BINGOs and civil society organizations strategically enlisted the support of a limited number of First Nations with whom their goals aligned, and used this as a means to position themselves as representing a First Nation point of view. Their ability to influence messages in public discourse about far reaching legislation, such as the Far North Act (2010), muted and marginalized the messages of First Nations, and their Treaty Organizations, in relation to legislation and policy that was developed without the Free, Prior and Informed Consent of First Nations. Secondly, changes in legislation did not further Aboriginal tenure rights or advance communities' agendas for self-governance. And finally, funding support for Aboriginal groups was also disproportionately less than funding for other non-state actors. Of Pew's reported US\$ 50 million transfer to the Canadian Boreal Initiative only \$3 million was provided to First Nations between 2003 and 2008—and mostly to individual First Nations who aligned with the goals of the CBI.

These strategies also supported the international and national network of conservation organizations. Through their role in advisory groups and ability to influence policy targets, conservation organizations regained a seat at decision-making tables—a position they saw diminished from planning processes such as community-based land use planning processes under the Northern Boreal Initiative. They also gained public visibility while leveraging funding for their organizations. The network was based on

marketing a framework that would be appealing to a number of different actors, and that would enable them to speak with one voice, or ‘speak as one’. Thus, the framework was not based on contextual understandings of local social, cultural, economic and political conditions and aspirations of different communities. Further, conservation organizations were ultimately accountable to their own funders and to their own members, and not to First Nations.

The results of these strategies—passing into law of the Far North Act (2010)—point out that the goals of the transnational network fit the socio-economic conditions of the Province of Ontario. The legislation did not challenge state authority over planning, providing instead a venue for the potential standardization of planning across the north. Further, the legislation moved forward the Province’s interest in securing jurisdiction to northern lands, and certainty of access for areas not yet fully allocated to resource development. The Premier also gained from the support of environmental groups. In doing so, however, the change in land use planning policy undermined the negotiation processes that First Nation governments and First Nation Treaty organizations such as Nishnawbe Aski Nation were leading with the Provincial Government to address issues of authority, sharing of resources, and how decision-making with regard to how protected areas and resource developments would unfold.

Thus, despite common goals and ideals that many conservation advocates shared with Aboriginal partners, the changes in land use planning policy shifted the discussion on land use planning, future development and protected areas, without clarifying the relationship between First Nations and the Province. By supporting the demands of international groups, the Provincial Government reinforced both its own position, and that of transnational networks influencing government policy development. The Provincial Government also pushed back their relationship-building process with Aboriginal decision-makers. Despite these conclusions, it remains to be seen how the balance between community-based and comprehensive land use planning will play out locally, and how the design of governance for protected areas and development opportunities will shift the field of rights and responsibilities for the Ontario Provincial Government. The path towards self-governance is a dance and, as such, Aboriginal

communities are likely to continue working towards the recognition of their rights to be involved not only in planning, but also in the decision-making processes that affect their territories.

In the next Chapter, I analyze how the promotion of different scales for planning by different non-state actors played out at the local-level, and how different framings have implications for how Aboriginal–state relations are developed, decision-making authority is vested, and access to resources and use of knowledge are balanced.

## **Chapter 6. ‘You were always in a box’: Framing opportunities and challenges of land use planning in Aboriginal territories**

### **6.1. Introduction**

Advances have been made in international jurisprudence supporting Indigenous rights to territory and self-determination (Alcorn, 2011; ILO, 1989; Lynch, 2011; UNDRIP, 2007). In Canada, the division of responsibilities between federal jurisdiction for “Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians,” and Provincial jurisdiction for the “development, conservation and management” of Crown land has contributed to a general impasse in moving forward Aboriginal rights to self-determination (Government of Canada, 1982). Court cases have represented an important venue for upholding Aboriginal and Treaty rights, and ensuring that all levels of government honour the duty to consult when activities threaten these rights (Annex 1). However, due to support for mainly subsistence and traditional rights rather than for actual economic and commercial rights, self-determination has proven more elusive for First Nations’ people living in the areas where historical treaties were signed—with no land specifically geared at community development (Figure 4). In the present context, land use planning represents a potentially innovative approach to secure tenure allocation rights to resources, and pave the way towards greater decision-making authority over traditional (Crown) lands (Minkin, 2008; Wellstead and Rayner, 2009; Booth and Muir, 2011).

Within the Ontario land use planning system, Aboriginal communities have rarely been able to participate in a way that supports their needs and goals, their authority to decide what developments should be allowed (both in terms of extractive resources and protected areas), and their own framings of conservation. The Northern Boreal Initiative represented an opportunity for communities to develop their own planning process together with the district-level Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. However, Chapter 4 showed how land use planning continues to represent a tool of post-colonial governments to gain access to lands and resources in Indigenous territories (Hibbard et al., 2008; Scott, 1998; Teillet, 2005).

In this Chapter, I argue that the ability of First Nations to influence the rational for planning, planning policy development, and the identification of planning scales will determine whether provincial land-use planning policies and frameworks will support First Nation aspirations for self-determination or continue to be a colonial ‘tool of the state’ (Scott, 1998; Lane, 2006). Planning *from* inside a territory versus planning *for* a region has very different outcomes. Pikangikum First Nation framed threats to the land and land-use planning in a way that was distinct from that of conservation organizations, and ultimately that of the legislation passed by the provincial government.

Pikangikum First Nation saw the Northern Boreal Initiative as a way to gain rights to resources within their territory that would secure their children’s future. The strengths of the Northern Boreal Initiative were the communities’ role in crafting the policy with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, and the provision of a framework for multi-level planning (Chapter 4, see also Chapeskie et al. 2004; Smith, 2007; Baldwin, 2009b). The resulting community-based land use planning approach allowed the First Nation and the Provincial Government to lead planning at the appropriate spatial level. This allowed the First Nation to lead planning for a community land-planning area while the Provincial Government would ensure Provincial level issues were considered within the community-based land-use plan. The approach also provided a platform (the Strategic Action Planning Team) to discuss and resolve specific issues that might arise when the goal of one planning level was not consistent with that of another level. The goal was to recognize and balance the customary authority of the First Nation and the legislated authority of the Province.

Civil society organizations in Ontario and the Big International Non-government Organizations (BINGOs) described in Chapter 5 challenged the Northern Boreal Initiative as leading to piecemeal conservation and advocated for a comprehensive approach—such as the one that emerged in the development of the Far North Act (2010). Rather than considering land use planning as a political tool for moving towards allocation rights and self-governance, these groups set planning in the context of a functional framing premised upon a conservation-based planning approach. Based on this

approach, larger landscape levels guiding community-based land use planning were considered to address ecological functions.

I now turn to consider how these different approaches underscored a ‘politics of scale’ between a territorial and a functional framing that influenced how Aboriginal–state relations were developed; who sat at the decision-making table; how resources were distributed; and how knowledge systems were balanced.

## **6.2. Strategic framing for territorial planning: The case of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative**

The Whitefeather Forest Initiative (WFI) was a community-led economic initiative that relied on the completion of a series of policy-driven planning requirements described in the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework (OMNR, 2001). However, the leaders and Elders of the WFI envisioned it as a way for the people of Pikangikum to regain the authority to continue to perform ancestral customary stewardship responsibilities, and maintain their ability and that of their children to continue to survive from the land as a people, both through customary and new economic activities:

A future in which *Beekahncheekahmeeng paymahteeseewahch* are able to maintain our ancestral stewardship responsibilities for Keeping the Land (*Cheekahnahwaydahmunk Keetahkeemeenahn*) for the continued survival and wellbeing of Pikangikum people (PFN and OMNR, 2006, 1).

In this Section, I show how the leaders and Elders of Whitefeather Forest Initiative framed the initiative in a way that is similar to the territory doctrine of planning. Specifically, I analyze how they described threats and opportunities to their land and people, their vision, and the appropriate cross-cultural process for planning, as I came to understand them through my fieldwork in the community of Pikangikum First Nation.

### **6.2.1. Threats to the Pikangikum Cultural Landscape**

Pikangikum Elders have provided researchers from the Whitefeather Forest Research Cooperative agreement with nuanced narratives of their experience with state and private incursions into their lands through allocation to forestry development and mining exploration, creation of parks, government policies and regulations, and private



commercial interests (Chapeskie et al., 2004; Nikischer, 2008; Burlando, field notes, July, 2007). These incursions, and loss of everything except what was inside their homes, were a clear coming-to-be of the Checkerboard Prophecy as expressed by Pikangikum Elders. This prophecy suggested that their presence on the land would be ignored and that this would lead to the imposition of boundaries and regulations that would slowly erode their ability to access resources and use the land (Chapeskie et al., 2004). The President of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation (WFMC), Mr. Alex Peters, described the Checkerboard Prophecy in the following manner:

Long ago, our ancestors brought a prophecy to us. We call it the “Checkerboard” prophecy in English. This is the prophecy where lines and boundaries would be put around everything that we had—all of our lands and all of our resources. Many generations ago, our Elders began to speak the prophecy. Our Elders said the time would come when others would come and occupy the land and that they would turn the land into a checkerboard. Fences and lines would criss-cross the land. Animals would not be able to move. Our people would not be able to move. The diversity and abundance of our land would be lost. In another part of the prophecy, it was said that the only things First Nation people would be given to own would be the possessions inside of the dwellings they lived in. Even the homes would not be ours.

We now see how wise our Elders of the past were. We see how the land west and south of us has been turned into farms. All of the animals have been pushed out. This has even happened in our forests. Others now have the rights to the trees that grow on the land in the Trout Forest to the south of this community. The biggest fear our Elders have about what non-native people are doing with forestry is that in the future we will not even be able to cut a stump outside of our houses. The prophecy said that we would have to pay for it. The prophecy also said that we would not be able to set a net in our lakes on our own. The prophecy said that if the non-native people are given the right to manage and cut down our trees, we will lose our forests. The white people will cut our forests and then plant trees that they have grown. Then they will claim ownership of every living tree they have planted. This is what is happening to us with other resources even on our lands to the south of Pikangikum, south of the Nungesser River.

Even to the north of the Nungesser River, our commercial fishing quotas were taken from us and non-native people were given tourist lodges with them. Even the *Mahnomin* fields that our Elders planted long ago were taken away from us and licensed to outsiders. We know the names of our ancestors who brought *Mahnomin* into our country to nurture more ducks and muskrats. Non-native people have even taken our lands and turned them into parks. First Nation people have had to go to court to win the right to continue to go into these parks and to build our cabins there. Everything that our ancestors prophesied long ago is

coming to pass. Even the trees where there is logging are being planted by people. They are being planted in straight lines. The non-native people are taking seeds from trees that should be food for birds and squirrels. They are stopping the trees from growing again as they should. Our Elders have told us that they will not accept these trees in straight lines. They do not want seeds from only one tree being used to make millions of seedlings. They will not accept the ground being ripped up as part of planting trees. They will not accept that we will be kept out of parks. They will not accept that we will not be able to make our livelihood in parks (Alex Peters, President of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, WFMC archives, 18/03/2003).

During interviews and at community meetings, Elders from the Whitefeather Forest Initiative Steering Group identified restrictions on access, surveillance of subsistence activities, and loss of commercial pursuits, as threats to their ability to survive from the land, and thus to their wellbeing and that of their land. Examples of such interference were the harvesting quotas that paralleled the incursion of fly-in tourist camps, forestry operations that moved onto their territories in the 1990s, mining exploration and road access for timber harvesting (Chapeskie et al., 2004; Nikischer, 2008). While not mentioned in the Checkerboard Prophecy, participation in economic activities such as firefighting was also an important aspect of self-reliance (Sanders, 2011). In the 1980s and 1990s increasing standardized and technocratic approaches to firefighting, as well as requirements for training certification in mining, logging and firefighting curtailed important seasonal employment, and relegated Pikangikum youth to more marginalized roles in terms of their participation in the wage economy (Sanders, 2011). The lived experience of Elders reflected a profound sense of their livelihoods having changed from one based on self-reliance and the land to one of being controlled through government payments and transfers of land-based opportunities to non-band members without their knowledge (Nikischer 2008).

Changes in policy and regulations regarding fur and fishing quotas, incursions of tourist lodges, forestry operations, and the creation of Woodland Caribou Park occurred without consultation. Indeed, the ease with which government policies and regulations changed created a constant fear that their efforts could be nullified by outside intervention—including fears that the “Keeping the Land—Land Use Strategy” policy could be reversed following outside pressure.

This has been a long outstanding issue, that there was no consultation in the past. People were never consulted when the government began to set aside certain areas when they created parks and the encroachment of these areas into our territories eh. The example is of Woodland Caribou Park, we were never consulted when they expanded the park area. And the sad history that parks had with our people in the past. We don't want to repeat that sad history, eh (Paddy Peters, Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas, 13/11/07).

Elders considered lack of consultation to represent a lack of respect for the people who lived in the community, as well as to the other beings who lived on the land. For instance, a recurrent theme from the past was the example of a game warden that had entered a cabin to check for furs, and stepped on children who were sleeping (Nikischer, 2008). Elders also frequently mentioned how a Thunderbird<sup>39</sup> nest was destroyed when a road was constructed (Matthew Strang, interview, 26/10/07). As Elder George B. Strang pointed out, also two hills that were the site of a spiritual being were carved by gravel construction in his trapline and no one came to speak to him or the First Nation (Burlando, interview, 25/10/07). Other examples of activities carried out in the Whitefeather Forest without their knowledge included staking of mining claims and inappropriate behaviour towards animals (e.g., animals slaughtered improperly, left to rot, or even concerns expressed with regard to tagging animals). These experiences strongly influenced the Elders' commitment to changing relationships with the Provincial Government and outsiders interested in their territory.

Nobody from the outside can come and tell us what to do, nor can they come and take something from our territory. First, they have to come and consult with us (Elder Solomon Turtle, Burlando field notes, trans. by. Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/10).

At the Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas (Section 3.6.1.6), Elders and leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation (WFMC) emphasized the importance of face-to-face discussions as a prerequisite for redressing the past and building government-to-government relations.

I guess what we mean by consultation is for MNR to be sitting at the table with our people. It can't just be a letter eh. That's all they did in the past was write

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<sup>39</sup> The Thunderbird is a culturally important being that is attributed certain powers, including bringing forest fires through thunder and lightning. The physical site is said to be the nest of the Thunderbird (see Miller and Davidson-Hunt, 2010).

letters eh? That can't be, can't be considered as consultation, just writing letters. They have to have face-to-face meetings (Paddy Peters, Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas, 13/11/07).

The stories that Elders told and retold both during interviews and meetings were not simply an airing of grievances, but emphasized the importance of outsiders listening carefully—and changing their behaviour accordingly (see also Davidson-Hunt et al., 2010). As described in Chapter 4, the changes in land use planning legislation for the Far North Region continued this pattern by not using a culturally appropriate consultation process—i.e., no consultation meetings occurred in the affected communities—and likely contributed to the lack of legitimacy of the land use planning policy development process.

### **6.2.2. Outcomes**

The threats described in the narratives that I was told had direct implications for the wellbeing and cultural survival of the people in the community. Ever-changing policies and regulations that were imposed on Crown land without consultation not only challenged their ability to survive from the land, but also entailed a loss of authority over what occurred on their lands. For example, historical precedents such as the creation of the trapline licenses system in 1947 was positively remembered for the fact that the Provincial Government had asked senior trappers to delimit their family trapping areas rather than imposing arbitrary lines (Deutsch and Davidson-Hunt, 2010; Dunning, 1959). In most cases, however, the Provincial Government had viewed First Nation issues as a concern of the Federal government, and had more often ignored or limited 'consultation' to sending letters.<sup>40</sup>

While Aboriginal and Treaty rights have evolved thanks to supportive court cases, the enforcement branch of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) was seen to intrude on their way of life, infringe on rights to their traditional resources, and unfairly

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<sup>40</sup> Two fundamental court cases in 2004, the *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)*, 2004 SCC 73 and the *Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director)*, 2004 SCC 74, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 550, proved the duty to consult extended to Provincial Governments as well (see Annex 1).

question them more than white people.<sup>41</sup> Unlike the positive relationship developed with Ontario Parks and with planners from the OMNR, the enforcement branch monitored and questioned Pikangikum hunters and harvesters even when they were practicing activities that were within their Treaty and Aboriginal rights. They felt scrutinized and described this feeling as “fear of having to constantly watch over their shoulders.” For example, Elder Matthew Strang said that during a visit to a logged area, a conservation officer had stopped to ask about their whereabouts:

Well, MNR says that game warden said they won't bother us if we do our hunting within our territory eh. But to me they are always coming and checking around. So we had to do that in the night, when they were not patrolling that area he says. A game warden carries a pistol eh. Those are the guys that patrol the land...That enforce their laws eh. [...] When we came out of the forest we saw some OMNR game warden waiting for us. They asked us what we were doing. They have no business to ask us he says. No business to ask us what we were doing he says. Got upset at them he says (Elder Matthew Strang, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, interview, 19/07/07).

Loss of authority also extended to the need to acquire permits for conducting activities related to subsistence practices, such as building a cabin in their traditional territory. Finally, trappers and camp owners often perceived such surveillance to put a greater onus on them rather than on white entrepreneurs. For example, Mr. Roy Owen, a camp supervisor for Whitefeather Waters—a network of family operated outpost camps focused on sport fishing—related how a visit by an Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources conservation officer had negatively impacted the tourists that were present (Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas, 13/11/07).

The lack of prospects for the community's youth was also an outcome of changing economic patterns that magnified the impacts of restrictions on land use and lack of authority described above. For example, outside-led development and competition from skilled labour led to poverty and helplessness in the community's youth—a situation of

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<sup>41</sup> Traditional and Treaty rights are protected in the Constitution Act (1982) but are not defined. As a result, many rights have been progressively gained through court cases, e.g., the right to hunt and fish without a license, the right to conduct ceremonies in protected areas (see Annex 1). Others continue to be fought in court; i.e., the right to hunt by invitation outside of one's Treaty area.

marginalization that is almost systematically present across northern communities. Late Elder Norman Quill summarized this in terms of there being less health and wellbeing compared to the generations that had been raised on the land: “People were active, they were never sick. They took care of the land, and the land took care of them. They ate healthy food, even children were healthy” (Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas, trans. by Mr. Charlie Pascal, 12/11/07).<sup>42</sup> Further, dependence on welfare and helpless attitudes were feared because they were alienating youth from the land:

Our people foresaw many years ago that that things would begin to change, that things would come to our people. The teaching [“not becoming a stranger in your own land”] was that those things didn’t make you alienated (Paddy Peters, Burlando field notes, 06/06/07, explaining Elder Whitehead Moose’s reference to the warning, ‘not becoming a stranger in your own land’).

As an Elders-led, and a community-centered economic initiative, the Whitefeather Forest Initiative was envisioned to enable access to new opportunities for the next generations.

### **6.2.3. Vision for “Keeping the land”**

In the “Keeping the Land – Land Use Strategy,” PFN and OMNR (2006) expressed their vision for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative to provide a space in which the people of Pikangikum could continue their ancestral stewardship responsibilities to keeping the land, provide guidance and a future for their youth through traditional and new activities, and regain decision-making authority over what happened on their lands. PFN and OMNR (2006, 9) described the process of customary stewardship as one that “derive[d] from a sacred trust between *Beekahncheekahmeeng paymahteeseewahch* and the Creator,” “that c[ould] not be delegated to others,” that was geared at benefitting their youth, and that was enacted in a contemporary context, where the land was to be preserved through its use.

What I want to talk about is our planning process. When we began this Land Use Strategy we looked at it very carefully. It was very carefully thought out. The reason for that is that we wanted to build a good foundation, a foundation that would stand any pressure. [...] For example, when we want to go on a journey, we don’t just leave all of a sudden. We plan what to leave for our children, we plan for food; we leave them with some money. So this is our number one priority in

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<sup>42</sup> Elder Norman Quill passed away April 8, 2010.

the [Land Use] Strategy, we want to leave something behind for our own children. [...] When you look at the real issue, the real issue is the survival of our children. I want to tell our visitors that we cannot abandon our children. When we are gone they will have what we have left behind (Elder Solomon Turtle, focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/07).

The Elders were mandated by the Band Council to guide the Whitefeather Forest Initiative process through the Elders' Steering Group (Section 4.3.2). The Elders' Steering Group both participated in community meetings with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, and guided the leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation through the planning process. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative was centered on the teaching of "keeping the land," and stressed not only access to new economic opportunities, but also the teaching of their youth to continue Anishinaabe ways of life on the land.

"I want to emphasise the teachings that our parents have taught us. This is a continuing knowledge passed down from one generation to the next. We are elders now and continue to teach. This is what 'keeping the land' is all about. This is why we want to build the teaching centre—to continue to teach our youth at that centre" (Elder Lucy Strang, as cited in PFN and OMNR, 2006, 11).

The Land Use Strategy described the Whitefeather Forest Initiative as relying on three pillars: Stewardship and Protection, Customary Activities, and Community Economic Development, that,

... will provide new opportunities for *Beekahncheekahmeeng paymahteeseewahch* to go out on the land, to learn from the land, to learn our customary stewardship approach of *Cheekahnahwaydahmungk Keetahkeemeenaan*. These youth who have the opportunity to pursue new livelihood activities under the guidance of our *kecheeahneesheenhbayg* (Elders) will become our new "Keepers of the Land" (PFN and OMNR, 2006, 11).

Late Elder Whitehead Moose identified forestry as a 'continuation process' because it built on the knowledge and connection to the land of Pikangikum people, and allowed them to continue using the land through a new but viable economic activity. Pikangikum people had been on the land since time immemorial, the land had sustained them in the past before the demographic collapse, continued to sustain them in the present as their community grew, and would sustain them in the future.

People here have always maintained survival, in this territory. If it was to get survival from animals, that's what they did. This process is to maintain authority over our own territory. All these activities they did, now we're doing new ones. I'm talking about forestry. I know some people don't understand why. But for our people it is a continuation of past activities. For example we used to sell beaver. This is just a continuation of our process. [...] The reason I say this is because we will continue to follow the same process as in the past. When I make reference to the Creator, I say that he has made a good job. He told the Anishinaabe to use everything that I gave you and we have done this. When I say 'keep the land', there are those who want to keep it for the sake of keeping it. But that is not what we are saying. We want to continue using the land, and we want to continue this process (Late Elder Whitehead Moose, focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/07).<sup>43</sup>

Late Elder Whitehead Moose strongly asserted the importance of self-reliance from their whole territory, where they had access to everything that the Creator gave them. Their territory was also seen as their own form of government.

The reason I don't understand [protected areas] is [that] I see the whole planning area as a form of government. On the outside, your government needs land in order to function. It's the same here. We need this land in order to function. [We] need government to plan with us, and land to continue to sustain us. I don't understand, we're in the way because we're trying to create government to regulate land in way we want it regulated. What we're saying is, "give us a chance, an opportunity. See what we can do in forestry" (Late Elder Whitehead Moose, WFMC archives, 15/03/2005).

Thus, Pikangikum Elders saw the land use strategy as a way to regain the authority to use the land for their survival and the survival of their children as a people, and to keep the land based on their own knowledge and their own process. Late Elder Whitehead Moose stressed the fact that Pikangikum trappers, hunters and harvesters had a process they followed to ensure the continuing cycle of life. He was referring to a process linked to how, when, and where land-based activities were carried out, and "how *Beekahncheekahmeeng paymahteeseewahch* have ensured the land has been cared for in a way that it will continue to provide for us" (Davidson-Hunt et al., 2010; PFN and OMNR 2006, 9; Shearer et al., 2009). The underlying concerns were to ensure that, regardless of the activity being carried out, Pikangikum people would not be further marginalized and

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<sup>43</sup> Elder Whitehead Moose passed away February 21, 2009. He was born in 1914.



displaced by the imposition of new regulations or boundaries, and they would be able to continue “Keeping the Land” through their customary stewardship process.

#### **6.2.4. Community-based land use planning as a process for “Keeping the Land” and enabling the survival of their youth as a people**

The underlying objectives of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative were to pave the way for the increasing recognition of Pikangikum’s traditional territory, their own form of government, and their own autonomy as a People. The community-based land use planning process set the stage for addressing issues of appropriate governance and for contextualizing them within a multi-level planning approach. The vision of “Keeping the Land” could come together through a process rooted in the community, guided by the Elders, built on their knowledge, and based on mutually respectful and consensus-based partnerships. First and foremost, the process had to recognize the role of the Creator in providing what the people of Pikangikum needed in order to survive, as well as their responsibility to care for the Creator’s gifts. During the planning process, Elders and WFMC refused to sign the Land Use Strategy unless reference to the Creator was included in the land use strategy document.

I believe this planning process is part of the Creator’s planning. To understand it you need to believe in the Creator. I want to let visitors know that the Creator showed people what needed to be done. Nobody came from the outside to tell us what to do. Yes, the OMNR came to help us but the Land Use Strategy was done by our people. Our people possess this knowledge (Late Elder Norman Quill, focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/07).

Late Elder Oliver Hill stressed that the process ought to be guided by the Elders, and driven by the community, i.e., described as “being in the driver’s seat.”<sup>44</sup>

When I make reference to our Land Use Strategy, we want our community to be in the driver’s seat. This is what it’s all about (Late Elder Oliver Hill, focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/07).

This meant that Pikangikum values, knowledge, and perspectives should be the guiding priority in land use planning and management, research should be led by Pikangikum

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<sup>44</sup> Late Elder Oliver Hill passed away on December 18, 2011.

Elders and knowledge-holders, protection and interpretation should be community-based, and commercial opportunities and benefits should also accrue to the community (PFN and OMNR, 2006).

The boundaries for the planning area coincided with the traplines of Pikangikum senior trappers, areas for which Pikangikum trappers and Elders had personal knowledge and experience, and could therefore speak about them authoritatively (Deutsch and Davidson-Hunt, 2010). The Elders strongly argued that their knowledge was detailed and place-specific, and would not be understood, nor be applicable, in a different place. They saw their role as supporting other communities who wanted to engage in this process, but strongly rejected having to speak for lands they did not have authority over or knew personally, as well as having to ‘speak for others’.

In Sandy Lake [a community north of Pikangikum], for example, they have their own knowledge. They understand their land in their territory. Their land is different than the land in our territory. [...] The white man has knowledge of some kind. But this knowledge is limited on our land. The knowledge from out people is different—it is not book knowledge” (Elder Gideon Peters, community meeting, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 30/05/07).

Planning for new development activities required the establishment of a proper planning structure that would grant the community authority to make decisions, while building partnerships, which would support their process. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative was thus built upon a partnership between PFN and the OMNR, the license-holder for Crown lands not yet allocated to forestry industries, and multi-level arrangements with a number of organizations and institutions (for a detailed analysis see Smith 2007, and Chapter 4). The Elders saw the process of working together as enabling the creation of policies and legislations which would support their process, reflect their framing and their concepts, and grant them the licenses required for gaining tenure rights to forestry resources, and forward the economic initiative. Late Elder Whitehead Moose pointed out that a government license would allow them to maintain authority over their land, and prevent outsiders from coming onto their lands—a similar protection role that trapping and fishing licenses had played in their community. Licenses are also a “double-edge sword” since they give certain rights, impose a set of restrictions, and reinforce government authority. For this reason, Late Elder Whitehead Moose stressed the importance of

following a Pikangikum process, and ensuring that new policies and regulations would support this process:

When the OMNR came into our territory, they were called the beaver bosses. They brought some papers to our people. They helped regulate where people trapped and our people accepted that. In regard to forestry, I know there will be other policies that will work in the same area, the one that helped regulate our trapping. So what I'm saying here is that all these policies, they will not help our people become strangers in their own land. When you talk about forestry, we will only be doing as we planned it. This will guide us (focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, 05/06/07).

In conclusion, the Whitefeather Forest Initiative can be considered through the lens of the territory doctrine because it centered on the territory of Pikangikum people, focused on developing benefits for their community, and ultimately was seen as a path towards self-governance. Supported by the Northern Boreal Initiative, the community-based land use planning process was adopted strategically to develop a new relationship with the Provincial Government regarding the management of Crown land resources; ensured that planning authority rested with the community through joint management arrangements; prioritized benefits at the local level; and prioritized the knowledge and concerns of Elders and community members. While it was a process with high transaction costs (time, resources, capacity building, planning requirements), and had to follow guidelines set by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Elders and leaders of the WFMC were able to develop a Pikangikum strategy to acquire decision-making authority for their lands. This process was consistent with international-level agreements, which support Indigenous Peoples' rights to their territory and the survival of their children as a People (UNDRIP, 2007; Annex 1 for more details).

### **6.3. Strategic framing for comprehensive planning: The case of the boreal conservation campaign in Ontario**

The framing proposed by conservation organizations was centered on concerns for large-scale threats that required the integration of institutions and jurisdictions across the boreal forest (Wilson, 2003). While more detailed ethnographic research with conservation organizations would show differences in views and approaches among the different

groups, and among individuals within these organizations, the framing that emerged from conservation-based campaigns in the boreal forest and from interviews with conservation organizations' representatives was based on finding a multi-level planning approach that could accommodate concerns for larger-level landscape processes with community-based land use planning.

### **6.3.1. Threats to the intact boreal forest**

The boreal forest is an ecological system characterized by large landscape-level processes such as extensive fires, complex hydrological cycles, and unpredictable species cycles (Burton et al., 2003; Chapin et al., 2004; Schindler, 1998). Schindler and Lee (2010, 1573) have presented a comprehensive list of threats to the different regions of the boreal forest that include climate warming, acid rain, logging, dams and rivers diversions, eutrophication, urbanization and lake shore development, exploitation of fisheries, oil sands exploitation and oil and gas development, mining and other toxin sources, biodiversity loss, incursion by agriculture and peat extraction. The management of large-scale landscapes and ecosystem resilience requires addressing the challenges of large-scale industrial development while ensuring adaptation and the protection of Aboriginal territories in the face of climate warming (Chapin et al., 2010).

The boreal forest has also been increasingly publicized, with specific issues gaining prominence. For example, the World Resources Institute identified the boreal forest as one of the last intact forests in the world in 1997, a fact that raised the attention of the Pew Charitable Trusts (Bryant et al., 1997; Wilson, 2003, Section 5.1.1). In 2002, the National Geographic published an article on the boreal forests of the world (Montaigne, 2002). This article summarized the threats to the boreal forest as “logging, oil and gas drilling, and flooding from hydro-power dams” and described the consequences that development and global warming would have on the social and ecological system of the boreal forests, including “eradicating older forests, harming birds and wildlife, and eroding the traditional subsistence way of life of people like the Khanty.” The article contained the building blocks of the conservation-based campaigns described in Chapter 5, and advocated urgent intervention by setting aside large protected areas. Boreal forests

were described as the “forest the world forgot,” as the largest intact forest ecosystem left on earth, and the second lungs of the earth following the Amazon forest.<sup>45</sup>

In Ontario, conservation organizations recognized threats to the vast region of the north as resource extraction was moving northward, the intensification of mining exploration and mining claims, forestry opportunities that would emerge from the Northern Boreal Initiative planning efforts, hydro development, and wind-energy development. For example, while only two mines were operational in the Far North Region (the Victor diamond mine was approved in 2005, and opened in 2008, and the Musselwhite gold mine opened in 1997), FNSAP (2010, 58-59) noted that mining claim units had tripled between 2007 and 2010. Transportation and transmission corridors and infrastructure support for settlements (as well as from associated support infrastructure) were also seen to not only fragment the forest but also open up intact areas to other users and uses. Further, resource extraction was seen to create shareholder wealth rather than job maximization, and to take place at the expense of communities and the environment.

And it’s got nothing to do with the fact that’s community-based, because we support community-based policies everywhere. It’s the fact that the policy (the Northern Boreal Initiative) was designed to grab the wood and run. It was not designed to really talk about all the economic options for communities, all the ways that they could build a future, all the ways that they could build a livelihood for their future generations. It was narrowly focused and the government did not want to talk about how to do mining differently, how to do forestry differently... (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

Conservation organizations representatives also stressed the threats of ‘piecemeal’ planning to conservation under the Northern Boreal Initiative, the lack of baseline information and monitoring in the Far North Region, and the failure of the provincial Ministry of Natural Resources to address landscape-level processes.

But right now decisions are made on a piecemeal basis and there’s nothing that protects any piece of land from allowing an industrial use in themselves. [...] And

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<sup>45</sup> The 2008 Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) report on carbon storage potential and value in the boreal forest borrowed the expression for their title, “The Carbon the World Forgot” (Carlson et al., 2009).

if you don't have some kind of system in place that puts some kind of protected mechanism around a part of the land you'll have much less success in trying to stave off those industrial land uses, to protect ourselves from ourselves. [...] Ontario government is a terrible steward of the land in the sense of monitoring in northern Ontario. They don't have adequate baseline information on which to make decisions. So they're not effective stewards either. And that's because they cut all these budgets from monitoring and baseline research. [...] They [Government] are the owners of the land for now, so it's their responsibility, their legal responsibility and they failed absolutely in keeping their eye on that broad ball landscape (Wildlife Conservation Society representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

### **6.3.2. Outcomes**

Interviews with spokespersons from conservation organizations identified these threats as leading to forest loss and fragmentation, and a general decline in social and ecological services (species loss, loss of carbon storage potential, and a loss of traditional livelihood opportunities). Ecologically, these included a decline in migratory birds, wildlife such as woodland caribou, wolverine, and lake species such as sturgeon and lake trout. Forest fragmentation also led to losses of wilderness areas, important ecosystems such as wetlands, as well as declining carbon storage potential. These losses were also dependent on the intensity of industrial activity, the amount of timber harvested, areas staked and mined, and the cumulative effects of overlapping activities.

You know, it's not just about the few protected areas we may put around the landscape. It's about what's gonna happen outside of those protected areas, it's gonna be about what happens in the greater landscape (Wildlife Conservation Society representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

Climate change was also seen to considerably increase the threats on the boreal forest. For example, warming scenarios predicted a positive feedback loop stemming from drier soils, increased fires, and increased release of carbon. The impacts of mining in terms of infrastructure, drilling, production of waste rock, tailing ponds, chemical interactions including mercury mobilization, and water-level depressions from the use of water and acid mine drainage were also unknown when interacting with a warmer climate (FNSAP, 2010). However, these assessments tended to highlight qualitative differences between the northern and southern boreal forest that would ensue from the effects of forestry on

the micro-climate, hydrology, and flux of carbon—thus setting the case for a different planning and management approach in the Far North Region.

Conservation organizations argued that the government had abdicated its responsibilities and left communities to fend for themselves against large corporations. Thus, a difference in approach was also advocated to create a space for communities to continue pursuing their traditional livelihood activities, or to pursue alternative models of development, instead of being squeezed by large-scale development.

So many communities have felt the devastating impacts of industrial development. Like, look at Grassy Narrows, you know, the worst possible cases, unfortunately. Mercury contamination, forestry location, clear cutting, like, I mean, health problems, I mean, you name it. This community has suffered all the most devastating impacts of ... [they're being] ... and they're being squeezed out. And what they've said is that they actually want to stop the clear cutting on their lands (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

### **6.3.3. Vision for a conservation-based land use planning approach**

Conservation organizations saw the boreal forest as an ecosystem that demanded a new approach, requiring attention to landscape issues, including dealing with large and complex watersheds, movements of caribou, movement of migratory birds, and the fire regime. Interviews identified a vision for an approach that maintained intact boreal forests, maintained ecosystem services and natural processes, prevented range recession, built resilience, provided mitigation and benchmark areas for climate change, supported traditional livelihood activities through large and interconnected protected areas, as well as promoted Aboriginal leadership and decision-making authority.

The landscape scale that we're dealing with here, the complexity of large watersheds, the movements of caribou, the movements of migratory birds, the role of fire... All this means that we have to think differently than we in the past. [...] So what the model that we have done is these little islands, and we need to move to a completely different model where you start looking at protecting entire landscapes and having nodes of development instead, which is more in line with this ecosystem (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

The National Geographic expressed this vision as “our last big chance to do it right.”

In terms of maintaining a vast, healthy forest ecosystem, the boreal offers us our last big chance to do it right,” said Stewart Elgie, executive director of the Canadian Boreal Trust, a nonprofit conservation organization. “We’re trying to reverse the process found in other world forests, which has been to allow economic development to carve up the forest and then try to save the scraps that are left” [...]. “Most of the world’s forests are islands of wilderness in a sea of development. We’d like to flip that around in the boreal and have islands of economic development in a sea of wilderness” (Montaigne, 2002).

While not all conservation organizations signed onto the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF), some of the conservation groups’ representatives described the protection of 50 percent of the land as a vision to strive for. In a discussion paper, Schmiegelow et al. (2006) advocated for a pro-active approach to planning in undisturbed areas—a reverse-matrix model, called Conservation Matrix Model, as exemplifying ‘islands of development in a sea of green.’ The Conservation Matrix Model relied on identifying elements of the landscape that served as landscape-level benchmarks (core protected areas), site-specific protected areas, active management areas and a remaining conservation matrix, where less intense activities would be planned and managed in an integrated fashion (FNSAP, 2010). Schmiegelow et al. (2006) argued that setting targets was ‘plagued by uncertainty,’ and yet a median target above 50 percent could combine the strengths of conservation planning and adaptive resource management to address major uncertainty in the dynamic system of the boreal forest. This discussion paper advanced a 50 percent target for protection in the boreal forest in a scientific institution, a target that appeared in the editorial of *Conservation Biology* by its architect (Noss et al., 2012).

International conservation organizations identified northern Ontario as an area of opportunity to implement planning before development would move forward through both comprehensive planning and Aboriginal participation. As shown in Chapter 5, reports by Forest Ethics and Greenpeace, and maps created by the Global Forest Watch highlighted the fact that Quebec and Ontario had the largest amounts of intact boreal forest in Canada. Further, the Far North Region was considered to be both politically and ecologically different, inhabited mostly by Aboriginal communities and unallocated to forestry. While southern lands had reached a “point of no return,” with close to 90 percent of the land allocated for forestry or other types of development, Northern Ontario



provided an ideal setting for developing a comprehensive approach to land use planning that would protect 50 percent of the boreal forest. The vision for conservation-based planning in the Far North Region included Aboriginal participation in decision-making.

We are an environmental group, and our mission is [to] advocate for the protection of wild areas, you know, wilderness areas in Ontario. Our role is to advocate for what's in the public interest. So we believe it's in the public interest that communities have a say in resource decisions, there's no question about that. We believe that wilderness values need to be protected in all decisions made by the government. [...] So when we talk to Government, we say `we advocate for the protection of lands, we advocate for communities to have a greater say, we advocate for better processes and better policies that will reflect all of that' (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

Interview respondents recognized the need to address the exclusionary approach of protected areas, and argued that there was a lot of space for innovation and for protected area classes that supported an Aboriginal way of life (e.g., by allowing hunting, trapping, and fishing), a role to play as stewards of the land and through co-management arrangements.

I think conservation is something that excludes industrial activity, but it doesn't exclude people from the land, things like hunting, fishing and trapping. Conserving is preserving a way of traditional life, so preserving this for future generations (Canadian Boreal Initiative representative, interview in Ottawa, 12/10/07).

While most respondents argued that a legislative tool was needed, these areas did not have to be called 'protected areas' as long as they were withdrawn from development, had a lighter footprint (e.g., in terms of tourism), and were managed in an accountable and transparent way. They could provide opportunities such as culturally sensitive tourism and participation in the emerging carbon economy and for monitoring environmental changes. Experience with community initiatives from Poplar River in Manitoba,<sup>46</sup> the Innu Nation in Labrador,<sup>47</sup> and the Dehcho, Sahtu and Tâîchô First

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<sup>46</sup> <http://www.poplarriverfirstnation.ca/>

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.innu.ca/>

Nation in the North West Territories<sup>48</sup> showed that communities could drive the establishment of large protected areas.

Do we start paying communities to keep the forest standing, and use that money to build other capacities in community [...] So you've got Forest Guardians you could be hiring, people to monitor the area, to take care of the area. You know, there's all sorts of signs, and traditional knowledge that could be gathered. Monitoring is huge [...] And then making a living from you know, culturally sensitive tourism. [...] Give communities space to do that, give them a whole basket of options, don't just say, 'you're gonna make money from forestry and this is the only way you're gonna do it' (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

FNSAP (2010) recognized that the challenge was to develop a process that maintained ecological values and created economic opportunities in the context of uncertain natural disturbance regimes and climate change.

#### **6.3.4. Comprehensive and pro-active approach to planning**

The approach advocated for the Far North Region of Ontario included a pro-active land use planning approach, where land use plans were developed before development was allowed, measurable and achievable goals, and the creation of a regulatory framework, such as the Far North Act (2010).

The land use planning should happen before any industrial development. [...] Have that kind of thought process done ahead of time so that you can do it in a rational, pro-active way, with some foresight, and with some thought to future generations so that you're not gonna have a situation where you have a big gold mine punched in your backyard, you haven't had a chance to do land use planning, you haven't had a chance to think about how your community uses the land, versus, maybe, how wolverine uses the land... all those things (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

FNSAP (2010) advocated for community-based land use planning to be integrated in a comprehensive strategy—the Far North Land Use Strategy—to identify the criteria for how the different land uses would be selected (protected areas, site-specific protected areas, development areas, and intervening landscape).

... the challenge of land use planning over this vast area is to ensure that community-based land use plans take into account the broader-scale objectives

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<sup>48</sup> <http://www.nwtpas.ca/area-edehzhie.asp>

and values of the Far North of Ontario, and that broader scale objectives do not unnecessarily constrain community-level aspirations (FNSAP 2010, 76).

... comprehensive landscape management through integrated planning of all activities and land uses [...] to avoid piecemeal planning and decision-making about individual projects or sites (FNSAP 2010, 93).

Respondents believed it was in the public interest for First Nations to have a say in decision-making, but wanted to see a different planning approach in the northern part of Ontario. It was recognized that conservation organizations and First Nations were working towards the same goal, but got 'mired up' in the process itself.

But it [the land use planning process] would have to be iterative. It would benefit enormously if you had coordination among the First Nations. Ideally a body like NAN would perform that role, and NAN would keep an eye on that broad ball and sort of fill the local-level planning. And you have to have resources because you need to have all the communities at the same level to be able to do this at the same time. So it would be a huge challenge (Wildlife Conservation Society representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

FNSAP (2010) advocated for an iterative process that could help address uncertainty and lack of information, and that called for collaboration and transparency in decision-making and for careful, incremental and adaptive decisions. This also called for the inclusion of different types of knowledge systems across different scales.

The Elders have observed [caribou] over years and years and years, and the scientists have observed and the two go, oh! We've observed the exact same thing. So they kind of reinforce each other. And in some cases the Elders can give you more information of where the caribou go than the scientists. Because the Elders have more of that intimate connection, whereas the scientists are more about the higher scale (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, interview in Toronto, 10/10/07).

When I conducted the interviews, conservation organizations said they worked in the public interest, providing and sharing independent information and expertise on future developments with communities, advocating for innovative approaches with the government, in the public, with Aboriginal organizations, academics, and scientists. They also argued for the need to look at Aboriginal rights and to carry out meaningful consultation.

I think the expectations are that the community is going to be fully engaged in whatever it is that we've decided upon, and that they're the ones who are going to make those decisions and we're going to help support those decisions (Canadian Boreal Initiative representative, interview in Ottawa, 12/10/07).

While the Whitefeather Forest Initiative was framed as a territory planning approach focused on developing benefits for the people and youth of Pikangikum, and ultimately as a path towards self-governance, conservation organizations framed land use planning in the boreal forest in functional terms (*sense* Friedmann and Weaver, 1998). While not all groups shared the same views or advocated for the same approaches, the framing used tended to distinguish between the southern boreal forest already allocated to industry, and the northern boreal forest. The northern boreal forest was an intact region, inhabited mostly by Aboriginal people, where it was possible to develop a new planning approach—pro-active, ahead of development, with clear goals such as a 50 percent conservation target, scientifically-driven, and based on a regulatory framework. This framing supported community-led plans, if they considered the larger landscape level through a comprehensive bio-regional planning approach. This approach was also consistent with the framing of Big International Non-governmental Organizations who sought to address ecological functions by identifying priority areas, relying on scientific findings and expert knowledge, and increasingly embedding these in partnerships and global market strategies.<sup>49</sup>

#### **6.4. Conflicts underlying strategic framings for land use planning**

The territorial and the ecological functional framing represent two divergent and conflicting approaches to planning—its first proponents in planning theory called them 'doctrines' to reflect their application as a swinging pendulum, and explain their historical opposition (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979; Hodge and Robinson, 2002). While the *territory* doctrine sees each planning area from the point of view of people's ability to support their community from the use of their resources in a modern economy, the

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<sup>49</sup> For example, see the World Wildlife Fund approach to conservation at: <http://www.worldwildlife.org/what/howwedoit/>; The Nature Conservancy at: <http://www.nature.org/aboutus/visionmission/index.htm>; and Forest Ethics at <http://forestethics.org/>.

*function* doctrine sees them as part of a larger whole in which ecological integrity subordinates local concerns to a secondary position. As I describe in this Section, these different framings reveal a ‘politics of scale’ at play in the land use planning processes and policies in the Far North Region that impacted (1) how the relations between Aboriginal communities and the Provincial Government were developed; (2) who sat at the decision-making table; (3) how resources were distributed; and (4) how knowledge systems were used and balanced.

#### **6.4.1. The relationship between Pikangikum First Nation and the Ontario Provincial Government**

The Whitefeather Forest Initiative (WFI) helped Pikangikum First Nation develop a government-to-government relationship with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources through common interests in forestry. It enabled Pikangikum to gain tenure rights to forestry resources through a forestry license, and set a decision-making process in which they gained authority for assessing activities on their lands. The WFI supported the continuation of their land-based way of life as long as the people of Pikangikum were able to follow their own process; and helped them move towards greater economy self-sufficiency and ultimately governance. The partnership allowed them to contribute to the development of enabling policy to support a community-led economic initiative (i.e., through the Northern Boreal Initiative) and access funding (Chapter 4.3.2). It also created a basis for the development of similar relationships with other government departments. For example, as I describe in Section 6.4.3.1, the development of the *Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn* Dedicated Protected Areas represented a concrete example of the ways in which the relationship with a Provincial Government department—Ontario Parks—was improved by the local-level process. It also helps to understand how for Pikangikum, protected areas were not a desirable land use designation unless their management specifically addressed the needs of the community.

##### ***6.4.3.1. The case of the Whitefeather Forest Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn Dedicated Protected Areas***

During fieldwork, the creation of Woodland Caribou Park, located in the south-western part of the Whitefeather Forest, was referred to as a ‘sad story’ which made Elders afraid

of practicing their activities within the park—a fear they described as “*nuhnecheewuhg*, they’re always looking behind them” (Elder Sam Quill, meeting with Ontario Parks trans. by Mr. Paddy Peters, audio recorded, 25/06/07). Woodland Caribou Park had been established without consultation, and Elders had experienced lack of communication, which in one case had specifically hindered access to wild rice fields. As a result, even though current senior trappers continued to use their traplines inside the park for their customary practices, for many Elders it symbolized a bounded area subject to policy regulation, loss of economic opportunities, and greater enforcement. In the land use plan, protected areas were defined as *kahyahkookahnahwaycheekahtayk ahkee* or “something that is very protected through enforcement of policies and surveillance; where entry is restricted” (PFN and OMNR, 2006, 98).

The land use plan identified new Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs), but as Elders and senior trappers discussed at the Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas in November 2007, they continued to express the fear of becoming trapped or ‘snared’ in new park policies and management plans, which dictated what they could do, making them permanently unable to pursue new activities in the future, and hindered their access to the land either directly or indirectly. They wanted to have a clear understanding of what those areas represented, why those areas were part of their planning (i.e., what commercial benefits they would derive from them), and how the planning had to come from the community.

I remember when we first began our discussions and what we wanted to happen in our territory, I don’t recall us ever discussing protected areas eh? Wanting protected areas in our territory. The only thing that I remember discussing was the survival of our children, of our youth’s future. And we looked at our whole territory. I guess we wanted to develop a process where the future generations would be able to sustain themselves eh? (Elder Norman Quill, Burlando field notes, 25/03/09).

As a result, in 2006 Ontario Parks and Pikangikum First Nation had developed a separate dialogue—the Ahkee dialogue—to identify culturally-appropriate designations and management approaches. The Elders wanted their definition of protected areas to frame the new DPAs: *cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn* means “to keep something that you know helps you in your life so that it will continue to provide for future generations in the

same way it always has” (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011). The Terms of Reference for the Whitefeather Forest *Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykeehn* Dedicated Protected Areas—five large and interconnected protected areas that occupy 436,582 ha (more than a third) of the 1.2 million ha of the Whitefeather Forest—were signed in 2009, and reflected not only a management shift, but also an attempt to lay the basis for a new relationship between Pikangikum as a First Nation, vis-à-vis the Provincial Government. Regulation of the Dedicated Protected Areas under the Ontario Protected Areas and Conservation Reserves Act (2006), and the management approaches identified in the more recent draft Management Plan also showed that it was possible to move forward under the Ontario Parks’ system—by sharing of management authority and recognizing new opportunities for economic benefits (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011). Key observations derived from the Workshop on Dedicated Protected Areas and follow-up analysis of the Terms of Reference and the more recent draft Management Plan for the DPAs (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2009; Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011) include the following:

1. Elders agreed to the establishment of DPAs provided park management policies and regulations did not adversely affect their Treaty and Aboriginal rights regarding the continuation of traditional activities.
2. Elders stressed the importance of a balanced approach in which their knowledge would be recognized and understood. Pikangikum First Nation and Ontario Parks established a planning team that would include both Indigenous Knowledge and Conservation Science in planning and managing protected areas. New management processes were required in order to include both community members and Ontario Park staff as part of the planning team.
3. Pikangikum First Nation involvement in the identification, planning, and management of protected areas ensured they would be involved in, and benefit from, land use decisions through their partnership with Ontario Parks. For example, protected areas are seldom a revenue-generating enterprise; shared governance can ensure management costs are not off-loaded onto the First Nation.
4. Training has been planned for Pikangikum youth to access benefits from employment and other economic opportunities, and become involved in the future management of the DPAs.
5. Planning requirements for regulated protected areas have high transaction costs, in terms of expertise, planning process, time, and money and as a result require sufficient and long-term resourcing. For example, time was required to develop a process that will lead to mutual respect, listening, learning, and ultimately institutional change.

Despite the fact that the Northern Boreal Initiative enabled the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, most conservation groups identified the Northern Boreal Initiative policy as a flawed, government-driven approach, narrowly focused on forestry, and that did not enable for coordination across scales through a comprehensive approach (CPAWS–WL and SLDF, 2005). Further, conservation groups either did not recognize the steps required to developing government-to-government relations to guide decisions over Crown land, or saw them as secondary to having assurance that land use planning would keep the values of an intact boreal forest. The emotional challenge of integrating a conservation perspective within the broader implications of community land use planning was apparent at a focused consultation meeting:

I know that you're asking us to trust you and go and do your thing, but we can't. It's just impossible to do that because of what we've experienced in other places, and I wish there was a way to build that kind of trust, but it would take so much trust, and we're not there. [...] So, I'd like to work with First Nations and get to a place, where we're really trusting, where we can relinquish some of that control and not be afraid. It's not really about trusting people. [...] it's more about trusting the process, and trusting that in the long run (Ontario Nature, focused consultation meeting for seeking Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage, Burlando field notes, 06/06/07).

And yet, by challenging the relationship between Pikangikum and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, and undermining the Northern Boreal Initiative as an appropriate tool for decision-making, these groups—regardless of their internal differences in views and approach—risked undermining the active participation and knowledge that the Elders were bringing to the table.

#### **6.4.2. Implications for decision-making**

For Elders and leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, the land use planning process was centered on community decision-making, and radiated outwards to involve different spatial, institutional, and jurisdictional levels. The land use planning process was about creating the conditions that would enable them to regain decision-making authority to maintain their stewardship responsibilities on their land regardless of the activity undertaken, and to create land-based opportunities for their youth—part of a “continuation process” of using the land for both subsistence and commercial purposes.



Like Pikangikum, conservation organizations that had signed a Partnership Agreement with the community in 2003 also wanted to have a seat at the table, where they could integrate the decisions taken at the community-based land use process to a broader landscape scale strategy. Thus, they saw their input as necessary to outweigh pressures from development and from Provincial Government authority.

We think that only inviting the Ministry of Natural Resources to this planning process is a huge mistake, and one that you will regret. The Ministry of Natural Resources staff is mandated to move the industrial modern model that exists in the South North, into northern Ontario, and unless you are very clever about how you deal with them, they will move that model into your backyard. We know how they work, we know the companies that work with them, and we'd help that not happen here. But we can't help on that if we're not at those meetings. If you are meeting with the Ministry of Natural Resources, and doing maps, and doing resource planning, and we're not in the room, we can't be the people to tell you, 'oh, down the road they told somebody else that and they did this. And over there they said they'd do this and they did something else'. We can only do that if we are present (CPAWS–Wildlands League representative, WFMC archives, 15/03/05).

The Elders, however, did not take lightly reference to the need to balance the 'power' of the government, as it questioned Elders' ability to 'see' when the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) was working against them, and undermined their relationship with the OMNR as a government-to-government relationship. Within a colonial history of having not been listened to, they considered listening and acting upon what one had heard as a prerequisite for working together. "Elder Oliver Hill uses '*geemoshgenatagwuk*', which means that people are willing to hear, people are willing to listen" (Davidson-Hunt et al., 2010, 141). Through listening, Elders expected their knowledge would be properly balanced with the knowledge that outsiders brought. As described to me by a consultant, the challenge for Pikangikum was to ensure that the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources representatives would listen to them, without being subsumed by the perspectives that a multi-stakeholder approach would entail (Burlando, field notes, 21/06/07).

As expressed during interviews and meetings, Pikangikum Elders and leaders of the WFI did not see conservation organizations partner to their initiative as listening to them, learning from them and supporting them. Instead, they witnessed how "They don't come

with their agenda up front. They should be truthful and not make us think that they are on our side” (Burlando, field notes, 09/10/07). As shown in Chapter 5, some conservation organizations partners to the WFI opposed the forestry plan in the media, through their responses to the land use strategy, conservation-based campaigns and through their lobbying of the Provincial Government. While not all conservation spokespersons shared the same views and not all opposed the outcomes of the land use strategy, it is possible that their presence at the decision-making table—and opposition on many issues—would have diluted the ability of Pikangikum representatives to negotiate with the OMNR.

#### **6.4.3. Access to resources and balancing knowledge systems**

Both Pikangikum spokespeople and conservation organizations such as CPAWS–Wildlands League, the Canadian Boreal Initiative, Ontario Nature, and the Wildlife Conservation Society agreed about the importance of securing primary livelihood opportunities for Aboriginal people and incorporating Elders’ teachings in the planning process. However, Pikangikum Elders saw members of conservation organizations partner to them as using the Partnership Agreement with Pikangikum to make their agenda stronger, generate funding for themselves, and gain leverage in negotiations with the Provincial Government through the deployment of their ‘book knowledge.’ Some groups argued that they did not have the resources to work at the local level and as an advocacy group, were more effective at the larger political level. However, as described in Chapter 5, large amounts of funding were given to conservation organizations to develop reports, carry out boreal campaigns, and lobby the Provincial Government—rather than toward helping Aboriginal communities build capacity for planning and supporting culturally-appropriate ways to do development.

Knowledge, and the ways in which different knowledge systems were balanced, was also contested. Conservationists considered a landscape-scale planning approach, mapping of critical habitat, bounding of large and interconnected protected areas, and regulatory measures as necessary to protect social and ecological values. Indeed, conservation organizations considered the plan led by Pikangikum as a ‘piecemeal planning’ approach to conservation and argued in favour of a science-based comprehensive approach (FNSAP, 2010; Miller, 2007; Wiersma et al., 2010; Wilkinson, 2008). Conversely, the

community-based process was based on the First Nations leading the initial evaluation of protected areas and proposed new uses, integrating the results with broader ecological considerations (based on eco-regions) and provincial interests, as well as with the commercial interests of the community (Table 9).

As a result, Pikangikum Elders questioned the ways in which outsiders used science-based knowledge or experiences from the south to subsume their own knowledge (Burlando, field notes, 18/07/07). First, Elders had a very detailed knowledge of their land. They considered the knowledge that conservationists brought to the table as ‘book knowledge’—knowledge of the larger spatial-level processes that were based on limited knowledge of the details at the local level (Burlando, field notes, 30/05/07). Second, Elders questioned the deployment of scientific information that had been collected in the south, and the use of these research studies to blanket their area and subsume the knowledge of Pikangikum Elders to outside understandings of how the Far North Region should be kept. For example, observation at different community meetings allowed me to see how Elders perceived the use of woodland caribou for conservation-based campaigns as disrespectful. It lacked respect to the animal’s powers as a sentient being; it failed to acknowledge the importance of keeping the whole land for the caribou rather than just in protected areas; it downplayed the importance of the little creatures; and finally, it used caribou to indirectly undermine the community’s initiative.

## **6.5. Summary of chapter**

The framing of two different spatial levels for planning represented the crux of a politics of scale that played out in land use planning policy in Ontario (Brenner, 2001; Neumann, 2009; Smith, 2008; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). This had implications for community relations with the Provincial Government, access to the decision-making tables, access to resources, and use of different knowledge systems.

First, for the community of Pikangikum, the goals of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative were to regain decision-making authority over their lands, and secure land-based activities for their youth as a way to lay the ground for self-governance. The lack of constitutional or regulatory provisions for the recognition of Aboriginal land tenure in

Crown lands made land use planning one of the possible venues for seeking empowerment and redress post-colonial politics (Alcorn, 2011; UNDRIP, 2007). Secondly, uneven power relations vis-à-vis the Provincial Government and outside non-state groups, unequal access to funds, and unequal recognition of different knowledge systems, meant that Pikangikum had to build a space for decision-making authority upon a strong territorial approach to planning, and a partnership relationship with the Provincial Government that would secure access and funding to resource allocation and tenure.

Conservation organizations helped to maintain the old frame of Provincial Government–First Nations relations, and eventually supported a paternalistic frame of protecting lands ‘for’ Aboriginal people through the Far North Act (2010). First, while comprehensive land use planning process was conceptualized as a middle ground between top-down and bottom-up approaches, in practice, the spatialization of land use at the large-scale failed to account for the reverberations that a ‘piecemeal’ plan entailed in terms of overcoming a ‘sad history’ of exclusion, and chart a novel process towards self-determination through self-reliance, empowerment, and cultural continuity. This approach is compatible to the processes of state government without addressing the relationships with First Nations (sense Scott, 1998); to industry, for whom it is easier to apply a spatial division to their activities rather than a change in practice; and to conservation organizations, which gained a space at the decision-making table.

Secondly, conservation organizations and scientists have gone to lengths to state that community-based land use planning can be balanced with a broader scale strategy, and that it is a win-win solution. In practice, the focus on broader scale planning may subsume the political demands attached to a territory-centered approach aimed at gaining authority to control land use decisions—to a technical endeavour. Perversely, the Far North Act (2010) may force ‘devolution’ without having allowed the political organizations representative of northern Ontario First Nations—such as Nishnawbe Aski Nation—to approve the legislation, and without adequate funding and capacity building.

As this case shows, land use planning can be understood as a continuous dance. It is not a solution by default, even when it purports to rely on community-based land use planning;

but a context-specific approach that must be continuously evaluated to ensure it supports community objectives and a path towards self-governance. Despite the opposition and conflicts that I analyzed in this case, where goals and objectives did not match, Chapter 5 showed how there were other cases in which conservation organizations were able to match the expectations of communities who were interested in pursuing large-scale approaches to counter large-scale development (e.g., tar sand development, hydro development) and thus contribute mutually to their agendas (Innes and Moore, 2003; Wallace, 2010). There were also international cases, where conservation organizations were able to have a better long-term impact and change government approaches by working with communities and civil society movements rather than against them (Schwartzman et al., 2010). In the next chapter I discuss the results of the thesis, focusing on the analysis of the ‘politics of scale’ and the opportunities that exist for Aboriginal communities in the Far North to craft their own decision-making spaces.

## **Chapter 7. Discussing the politics of scale in land use planning**

### **7.1. Introduction**

At the international level, Indigenous social movements and civil society movements and organizations have developed norms to help foster more balanced relationships between Indigenous Peoples and post-colonial states (UNDRIP, 2007; Annex 1). In Canada, Aboriginal communities with limited territorial rights outside of their small reserves have developed different ways to engage with governments to secure access to their resources. These included appealing to the courts to support their Aboriginal and Treaty rights; developing comprehensive land use claims in areas where treaties were not signed; partnering with industry to access benefits and have a say on development; co-managing resources; developing land use planning process; developing their own enterprises to access resource tenure; and creating community, council, and Treaty-level protocols to control resource developers' access to their territories. Each approach has demonstrated both strengths and limitations, showing that no approach can guarantee a successful venue for community self-governance (Anderson et al., 2006; Armitage et al., 2009; Nadasdy, 2003; Natcher and Davis, 2007).

Land use planning is becoming a venue for Indigenous communities to exert territorial rights and control over which and where activities occur (Hibbard et al., 2008; Lane, 2006). In the boreal region of Canada, communities have adopted land use planning as a means to secure cultural continuity and their traditional way of life in the face of resource development and social change; access fair benefits from resource development; and enable community-led resource development, as in the case of Pikangikum First Nation (Chapeskie et al., 2004; Minkin, 2008; Wellstead and Rayner, 2009).

While goals may be similar among different communities interested in safeguarding their territories and securing their children's futures, the means adopted have differed—in terms of the partnerships that were developed to support the plans, the relationships developed with Provincial and territorial government during planning, and the spatial levels involved. As a result, communities have had to find ways to assert their own

decision-making power vis-à-vis the provincial government and their own approaches to land use planning—a tool generally reserved for state control—to gain control and jurisdictional authority over their lands (Lane, 2006; Scott, 1998). For example, land use planning was not a goal for Pikangikum, but a provincial requirement that they developed step by step in partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to gain allocation of timber resources and move forward in terms of self-governance. In Manitoba, Poplar River First Nation developed a land management plan to protect their traditional territory, with support from organizations such as the Natural Resources Defense Council, Manitoba Wildlands and the Canadian Boreal Initiative. They then asked the Manitoba Provincial Government to approve the plan. In 2008, the Government of Manitoba passed legislation that aimed to enable the quasi-autonomous development of community-based land use plans for sixteen communities located in the same region as Poplar River First Nation (Wellstead and Rayner, 2009). Fort Albany First Nation also expressed the desire to develop the plan at the grassroots level as tool for negotiations and consultation processes regarding resource development (Minkin, 2008).

Other communities have adopted large-scale ecosystem-based planning, as in the case of the Innu of Labrador (Innes and Moore, 2003). In the Northwest Territories, twelve Dehcho First Nations and the Sahtu have presented comprehensive land use plans in conformity with the comprehensive land claims process (Booth and Muir, 2011). Indigenous social movements have also adopted comprehensive approaches to land use planning centered on the creation of large protected areas to block the progress of development expansion in Indigenous forests. The Trans-Amazon Highway Colonists' social movement, for example, sought the recognition of 5.6 million ha of protected areas in cooperation with conservation organizations to halt the expansion of the agricultural frontier, land grabbing, and large-scale deforestation (Schwartzman and Zimmerman, 2005; Schwartzman et al., 2010). Trans-Amazon movement leaders were able to maintain control over their self-representation, become regional interlocutors for regional development policy, and over time sit in key regional and national positions in government. National and international conservation organizations supported the movement. They brought international attention to conflicts over large-scale infrastructure development and resources. Schwartzman et al. (2010) reflected on the

positive long-term environmental impacts that were gained when national and international NGOs worked with civil society movements and Indigenous movements as institutional interlocutors, rather than as project-investors of specific community initiatives.

The issue, then, is not so much whether First Nations decide to engage with land use planning, but how the process is implemented and how resources are distributed to ensure First Nation leadership. Multi-level arrangements developed with outside actors shift the structure of power in Aboriginal–state relations, by either empowering communities to gain rights over their territories, or hindering these grassroots-level efforts. In Canada, a few authors have analyzed the benefits of international visibility; the challenges of representation in sidelining local perspectives; as well as discussed the legitimacy of international actors shaping Canadian policy development (Baldwin, 2003; 2009a; Bernstein and Cashore, 2000; Braun, 2002; Wallace, 2010; Wilson, 2003). However, less analyzed have been the specific strategies and tactics adopted by international networks (also Big International Non-governmental Organizations or BINGOs) to influence provincial land use planning policy development and their effects on local-level processes (Wilson, 2003).

In this Chapter, I discuss this interaction as the product of different politics of scale that play out in terms of the framings that privilege different land use planning levels, and the actions taken to forward different agendas. I first discuss how Pikangikum First Nation scaled down to a territory-focused approach to land use planning. I then discuss how the international boreal conservation campaign shifted these newly created spaces for planning in the Far North Region of Ontario through the mobilization of organizational strength and public relations. Finally, I discuss the role for Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) and other First Nation institutions in terms of scaling out to support First Nations in community-based land use planning, as well as in seeking international support.



## **7.2. Producing appropriate scales for planning**

### **7.2.1. Scaling down to community-based land use planning**

Pikangikum First Nation presents one specific strategic case in which a community was able to shift the ways in which the Provincial Government interacted with them, and to gain rights to resources in their territory through a forestry license, before the Far North Act (2010) was passed. Leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation (WFMC) and Elders from the Steering Group developed their own framing around sustainable community forestry and land stewardship. They also developed the land use strategy based upon a territorial system—the trapline system—and a governance system—a multi-level decision-making approach in which each authority would take decisions at the appropriate spatial levels—that both WFMC and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, could adopt. Setting the basis for planning was a lengthy process that required significant financial resources, capacity building, and cross-cultural communication and learning (Chapter 4.3.2). However, WFMC leaders and Elders asked the Provincial Government to support the authority of each community to make their decisions for their own territories, rather than using their ‘Pikangikum’ approach as a blueprint for working with other communities. The WFMC strategically scaled down their land use planning approach by adopting a territory framing that (1) maintained legitimacy at the community level and ensured that planning authority rested with the community through supportive partnership arrangements; (2) balanced local knowledge with outsiders’ knowledge; and (3) prioritized local benefits. Below I expand on these in turn.

First, while international conventions and declarations have supported Indigenous rights to self-determination, limitations in tenure rights outside of reserves have led to negotiation and partnership building as one venue for crafting a path towards self-governance (Government of Canada, 1996; Lynch, 2011; UNDRIP, 2007). In order to ensure continued legitimacy and planning authority at the community level, PFN argued in favour of an open and transparent partnership approach with the Provincial Government where the community would be ‘in the driver’s seat.’ The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation also sought institutional arrangements premised upon

supporting the goals of the WFMC (Smith, 2007). These partnerships had high transaction costs in terms of time, capacity development, and funding. However, they allowed the WFMC to develop their own framing and their own information base; build support from outside groups; work on different fronts at different times throughout (i.e., planning, business strategy, education and training programs); and have research projects that attracted new sources of funding thereby contributing to the WFMC in periods of low funding. The development of common pathways to cross-cultural learning required investment in cross-cultural communication and understanding, as well as the need to address the distribution of power (Shearer et al., 2009). These were all fundamental steps to respect First Nations' responsibility for the land, and their profound ethic of non-interference (Ross, 2006). In addition it was part of an incremental process to acquiring power of expression and self-representation for future self-governance.

Secondly, authority, knowledge, and experience are closely linked together in Pikangikum (Davidson-Hunt, 2006). Authority and knowledge were negotiated and ways to balance them were found, by working at the local level through place-based learning communities (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty, 2007). For example, Davidson-Hunt (2006) argued that in order to bring together different types of knowledge, it was necessary to bring together knowledgeable individuals as part of learning communities. At the cross-cultural level it was possible to discuss objectives and goals for planning and management, but Pikangikum needed space to discuss and to decide on their culturally appropriate process to achieve those results (O'Flaherty et al., 2008). Common goals rather than prescriptive actions were seen as a way to balance different types of knowledge for planning and management (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty, 2007).

Thirdly, Pikangikum First Nation scaled down the land use planning process by setting it in the context of gaining allocation rights, and ensuring that benefits would be prioritized at the local level. As described in Chapter 6.2.3, Elders highlighted how development represented a continuation of their livelihood practices, and that the threat to their system was the imposition of outsiders' frameworks. Instead of a rights-based approach focused on gaining tenure rights (which would most likely have to be gained through the courts),

Pikangikum focused on local economic development and local stewardship as paving the way towards self-governance.

When scientists and ENGOs considered this scaling down as piecemeal and claimed that legitimacy rested with consideration for larger-scale ecological processes (Miller, 2007; Wiersma et al., 2010; Wilkinson, 2008), Pikangikum Elders stressed the importance of learning to work together, and asked outsiders to listen to their teachings, including changing behaviour based upon what they heard (Davidson-Hunt et al., 2010). First, the environmental groups that had partnered with Pikangikum on the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (the Partnership for Public Lands) could not act upon what they heard, because it did not fit their frame of how the land use planning process should be carried out, and their own agenda for conservation (Chapter 6.4). Secondly, the approach that Pikangikum had developed with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources was on a government-to-government basis, and did not include the day-to-day participation of stakeholder groups until strategic discussions had occurred. Thirdly, accepting targets for protection to which both the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society and World Wildlife Fund had agreed to as part of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework would have not only conditioned Pikangikum to an outsider-led process, but also made them ‘speak for’ other communities.

### **7.2.2. Scaling out a comprehensive scale for planning**

The Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) affiliated with the International Boreal Conservation Campaign scaled out a comprehensive approach to land use planning that reframed the path towards self-governance that Pikangikum was moving forward, alongside other communities in the Far North Region of Ontario. Scaling out is defined as “the replication and diffusion of an innovation [or idea] across social boundaries that leads to saturation and conversion” (Moore and Westley, 2011), and in this case it meant using resources and legitimacy to create the illusion of an inclusive process through press representation rather than through actual consensus-building (Alcorn pers. comm. May 2011). Scaling out was accomplished by developing an inclusive network capable of ‘speaking as one’, by framing their own approach on the grounds of a science-based consensus and functional trade-off between conservation and

development, and by marketing it through extensive public relations. I elaborate on each of these points below.

### *7.2.2.1. Speaking as one*

The International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) developed a seemingly inclusive network spanning a number of different interest groups, including foundations, corporations, Aboriginal organizations, and conservation organizations. The IBCC sought partners that would support their message. By enrolling traditionally ‘antagonistic’ partners (i.e., conservationists and industry), the IBCC was able to speak with one voice (‘speak as one’) and make claims for the boreal forest. Rather than multi-level arrangements developed from the community outward to partners willing to support community objectives, the IBCC sought to influence policy development at the regional level, and relied on the coordination and funding prowess of the Pew Charitable Trusts Environment Group and a committed group of key leaders working as institutional entrepreneurs (Moore and Westley, 2011).

As political process model theorists and researchers of social movements have observed, the inclusion of foundations tends to settle the most radical elements of non-government organizations by channelling movement activity in three ways: (1) cherry-picking more moderate organizations such as preservationists and conservationists rather than human rights activists; (2) “transform[ing] social movement organizations over time, primarily via a process of professionalization;” and (3) becoming “‘institutional entrepreneurs’ that champion a particular model of social order and attempt to build new arenas of social life—that is, new organizational fields—to institutionalize that model” (Bartley, 2007, 230-231; Corson, 2010; Dowie, 2001; McAdam, 1982).

Channelling movement activity is the result of several tactics. First, foundations generally provide conditional grants that are “accountable only to the funders who provided them” (Dowie, 2001, 98). Secondly, large funds tend to favour grant receivers leveraging power for other sources of funding, including from public funding sources, while constraining the ability of dissenting organizations to leverage funding. As Dowie (2001, 101) observed, “when a handful of large foundation program officers [...] decide that one environmental strategy is more worthy than another, a significant number of their

colleagues tend to follow.” Thirdly, including both environmentalists and grant-makers in the board of foundation-led initiatives can potentially intimidate dissenting voices, provide a space to forward compromising positions, and “lower interest in aiding ongoing efforts at grassroots organizing, public education, or legal intervention by the member group” (Dowie, 2001, 100; see also Corson, 2010).

Chapin (2004) noted that the growth of large conservation organizations or BINGOs, on the other hand, led to dependence on large amounts of cash, competition among organizations, territoriality, conditions attached to the funding, unwillingness or inability to support Indigenous movements against governments and corporations, and retrenchment of top-down forms of conservation. Further, in Canada, activists noted a trend towards control of the boreal conservation agenda in areas funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, including in the Canadian Northwest Territories Protected Areas Strategy (Cizek, 2006, July 9) and in the Great Bear Rainforest (Stainsby and Oja Jay, 2009). Working in Western Canada, Cizek (2006, July 9) noticed that funding that should have addressed conservation outcomes was failing to materialize into greater conservation gains; large protected areas were located in areas less relevant for resource development, a strategy that favoured continued tar sand development; and meek criticism of tar sands development was supported. He also noted that some organizations were trying to break away from the dependency on Pew Charitable Trusts and the Canadian Boreal Initiative funding.

Some Aboriginal organizations and corporations also supported the boreal conservation agenda fostered by the IBCC and the Canadian Boreal Initiative. The inclusion of Aboriginal organizations allowed the IBCC and the Canadian Boreal Initiative to seem inclusive and representative of Aboriginal people’s aspirations—an issue I discuss in Section 7.2.2.3. The relationship with corporations was not explored directly in the thesis, but concerns have been raised about the close alliance with corporate interests, the presence of major corporations on the boards of BINGOs, the increasing blurriness of boundaries between the two sectors, and the ways in which conservation and conservation projects are becoming closely aligned to a neoliberal agenda, matching

corporate interests to conservation targets (Büscher et al., 2012; Chapin, 2004; Dowie, 2009; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Igoe et al., 2010).

Sullivan (2009) argues that BINGOs are striving to fit conservation with the requirements of business—by trading off development with protected areas; making conservation approaches competitive on global markets; commoditizing resources (e.g., wildlife, carbon); and becoming dependent financially on alliances with corporation and wealthy individuals. The financialization of conservation is creating a new frontier for investments that continues to dismantle human–environment relationships; concentrate capital; and create dependencies on the global market economy. The wording used by the managing director of the PCT Environment Group, Josh Reichert, in terms of “conservation efforts in Canada offer large-scale rewards [...] and Pew's \$40-million investment has paid off handsomely,” seems to align with this new direction in conservation (Friesen, 2008, January 4).

As increasingly documented internationally, the ability to speak as one may also mean marketing simplified versions of reality, and promoting non-confrontational stances that avoid problematic linkages and differences in power. Rather than inclusive and legitimate, they may impact people and resources on the ground without clarifying their ultimate goals and agendas (Büscher and Dressler, 2007; Igoe, 2010).

#### ***7.2.2.2. Framing***

The International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) network focused the legitimacy of the message on a functional framing based on scientific consensus, and trade-offs between conservation and development.

First, the pace of extractive development, climate change, and cumulative impacts support the need for large and interconnected protected areas, and thus the quest for science-based comprehensive planning (Schaefer, 2003; Vors et al., 2007; Wilkinson, 2008). Science has indeed shown that many of the ecological processes that occur in the boreal forest cover large spatial areas, face temporal shifts and changes that are often unpredictable and non-linear, and are increasingly susceptible to climate change (Burton et al., 2003; Chapin et al., 2004; FNSAP, 2010; Racey, 2011).

However, many scientists have cautioned against ‘one size fits all’ policy targets such as setting aside 12 percent for protected areas, arguing that targets need to be empirically tested, and need to be matched to specific conservation goals (Lindenmayer et al., 2008; Wiersma and Nudds, 2006; Wiersma and Nudds, 2009). Despite divergence among scientists over the merits of targets, scientific evidence favouring comprehensive planning eventually relied on scientific consensus for the specific 50 percent target. In the boreal, this began when a prominent conservation biologist, Dr. Reed Noss, identified the target for supporting boreal ecosystem services and functions as a 50 percent protected areas (Noss et al., 2012; Schmiegelow et al., 2006; Soulé, 1998; Wilkinson, 2008). This was followed by the signing of a petition circulated by the IBCC to 1500 scientists. The IBCC network then used the petition as a communication strategy to show scientific consensus around the 50 percent target. The IBCC also instituted a panel of scientists to map the conservation values of the forest. Finally, in Ontario, advisory panels such as the Far North Science Advisory Panel described in Chapter 4 also supported the 50 percent target (FNSAP, 2010).

In seeking practical outcomes, community-based land use planning was not seen to address larger-scale concerns, and scientists argued for a top-down, bottom-up approach, in which both areas identified by the community and conservation values could be captured (Leroux et al., 2010; Sturtevant et al., 2007; Wiersma et al., 2010). Thus, while scientists did not discount the importance of community-based land use planning, they contextualized it within a two-tier process. This approach worked in cases where communities were closely aligned to a conservation-based agenda (Innes and Moore, 2003), but the ways in which such integration occurs was also very dependent on local context and funding available for identifying local values. Thus, a focus on Aboriginal rights and authority was mainly instrumental in advancing the boreal campaign, as an addition to a strong science-based framing, rather than as a discourse on which to base land use planning process in Aboriginal lands.

Science was necessary to frame the comprehensive scale at which decisions should be taken, and grant legitimate standing to the International Boreal Conservation Campaign. The proposed Boreal Forest Conservation Framework also fit within the existing

economic and social structures of Ontario, where the Provincial Government was interested in allocating resources in the Far North Region, and corporations were set to benefit from these allocations. A framing supporting trade-offs between conservation and development reflects new forms of environmental governance that garner support from industry and corporations (Sullivan, 2009). At the same time, the 50 percent protection advocated in the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework and legislated under the Far North Act (2010) does not address the underlying issues and tensions of Aboriginal communities, including the ways in which to make decisions which best benefit their communities.

### ***7.2.2.3. Marketing the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework***

How problems are constructed, and which solutions are brought to the public policy arena, is a result of power (Peet and Watts, 1996). In order to become effective in the public arena, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) marketed their own approach—simplified in this analysis as the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework—through public relations. While doing ‘conservation’ granted the IBCC the ‘moral right’ to intervene in international policies, and money allowed them to gain the upper hand in terms of legitimacy, marketing enabled them to scale out a presentation of themselves as independent brokers and interpretative communities capable of framing the problem and presenting tractable solutions to difficult and systemic problems (See also Bernstein and Cashore, 2000).

Specifically, the IBCC supported initiatives—including campaigns, reports, and science-based evidence and consensus—that reproduced the framing of comprehensive approaches to boreal conservation. The IBCC and the Canadian Boreal Initiative marketed the successful outcomes of communities who wanted to protect their territories; and made use of images and symbols that would best support their campaigns (Igoe, 2010). These strategies institutionalize[d] practices, and created a world that was then referable and replicable (Büscher and Dressler, 2007). With this internally valid system of references, the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework was assumed to represent a win-win solution for Big International Non-governmental Organizations, Aboriginal communities, and industry (Bateman et al., 2007, February 22).



In practical terms, successes in conservation approaches enabled network partners to gain and leverage funding resources; gain a seat at decision-making tables; and move forward their own agendas. For example, the Boreal Leadership Council promoted the communities who supported the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, and provided both financial and capacity building support. Further, the convergence of several actors and the marketing of a specific message allowed the IBCC to gain momentum and establish itself as the referent for those seeking financial support, accredited scientific information, and access to multi-level network.

#### ***7.2.2.4. Implications of scaling out for Aboriginal decision-making in land use planning processes***

An approach based on the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BCFC) and comprehensive approaches to boreal conservation presented challenges when it intersected with Aboriginal–state relations. First, by virtue of their ability to speak as one, the International Boreal Conservation Campaign (IBCC) and its partners also spoke for others (Alcorn, 1993; Alcorn, 2005; Brosius, 1997). The showcasing of successful initiatives, however, did not necessarily reflect local issues in other locations (Adger et al., 2001). This made it more inclusive than it really was, ‘hopping’ from one successful case to the next, and assuming areas in between would stand to benefit from these approaches (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). For example, while a number of organizations from First Nation groups signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, it is notable that changes in policy occurred in provinces in which there were no Aboriginal signatories, including Ontario and Quebec (although there were communities who signed Memorandum of Agreements with the Canadian Boreal Initiative). At the same time, some communities recognized what the consequence would be of signing onto these frameworks. When asked to sign onto the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, the leaders of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation refused because this would have enabled them to speak for other communities and in some ways represent other First Nations. Instead, Pikangikum leaders and Elders stated that they were willing to work with other First Nations to support their own goals, and support each other in learning how to address land use planning (Lemelin and Bennett, 2010).

Secondly, the IBCC and its network obscured the ways in which the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework (BFCF) was used to foster policy change. In Ontario, the Far North Act (2010) was a direct outcome of the BFCF, but the ways in which the BFCF was used was not clear until the Act was tabled. While the IBCC and the Canadian Boreal Initiative have an open website in which they published their mission statement, publications, members of the Boreal Leadership Council, and links, they did not show their activities, archive annual reports, and clarify their links to the Pew Charitable Trusts or to Ducks Unlimited. These websites shed no light into the practices of its members involved in policy development. Equally, organizations with annual reports (e.g., the World Wildlife Fund—Canada) also failed to account for their role in lobbying for policy change in the Far North Region. Thus, these organizations were not clear with First Nations that their accountability laid with their funders rather than with First Nations, and that their interest lies primarily in influencing land use planning policy.

Thirdly, the assumed legitimacy of the BFCF and the comprehensive framework in policy development (i.e., the Far North Act, 2010) emboldened spokespersons to dismiss and marginalize criticism. Mr. Monte Hummel (President Emeritus of the World Wildlife Fund—Canada) declared in an interview that it would be to the communities' peril to reject the Far North Act (2010). Thus, while the proponents of the framework assumed the BFCF could accommodate all interests, this quote recognized that if not accommodated, these interests would be pushed to the sidelines—a clear statement of the exercise of power involved in this campaign. As Igoe and Brockington (2007, 446) stated, “The bottom line is that neither protectionist conservation nor neoliberal economic development needs to benefit the rural poor in order to thrive.”

Fourthly, this discourse identified conservation planning as a technical and non-political endeavour (Robbins, 2004). Such an approach masked the political nature of lobbying for policy development (e.g., access to the Far North Region resources), while at the same time negating the political nature of Aboriginal communities' adoption of land use planning as a tool for gaining territorial rights. Further, it narrowed the discursive possibility of First Nations interested in alternative frameworks (Forsyth, 2003; Robbins, 2004). The unquestioned premises of conservation and the simplification of the solutions

proposed hid the social struggles that underpin these concepts, and the local conflicts that emerged with individual communities—such as between Pikangikum First Nation and the Partnership for Public Lands (Adger et al., 2001; Hutton et al., 2005).

Finally, the case presented in this research shows the rise of non-state actors ability to set agendas and enroll a number of unlikely partners to the same table, and the need for researchers to go beyond the state as the arbiter of power, and to “view[s] domination as organized around multiple sources of power, each of which is simultaneously material and symbolic” (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008, 75). Political ecologists have highlighted how ENGOs are fostering norms of social responsibility, and new types of ‘hybrid environmental governance’ to share responsibility for conservation (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). While “this type of governance holds promise of being democratic, efficient, equitable and profitable,” it is a process that can be best understood as re-regularization rather than deregulation and a new type of state-making through the territorialization of protected areas (Igoe and Brockington, 2007, 433; Corson, 2010). These types of governance approaches, however, have not necessarily supported communities seeking alternative pathways to self-governance and self-determination within the context of the post-colonial states.

#### ***7.2.2.5. Implications of the politics of scale in land use planning for Aboriginal-state relations***

While researchers have shown that the governance of commons resources requires a shift from monocentric or state-centric approaches to multi-level and adaptive governance (Termeer et al., 2010), these studies have mostly been based on finding the right ‘fit’ between relevant scales, and creating linkages between levels, i.e., through partnerships, collaboration, epistemic communities, and policy networks (Berkes, 2006). As I sought to show in this thesis, different actors strategically attempted to influence the political process by framing the levels and scales at which they would be more effective, through a ‘politics of scale’ (see Lebel, 2006; Neumann, 2009; Rangan and Kull, 2009). While a combination of a comprehensive (driven by science-based data) and community-based land use planning process should yield a ‘scale match’ between ecological and social

processes, this case revealed the potential for dominance from higher levels of governance.

As I described in Chapter 4, there were three changes in the scale of planning. The spatial areas considered for planning were scaled up—from the Northern Boreal Initiative that only considered timber-rich areas, to the entire Far North Region. At the jurisdictional level, a community-focused approach governed by a government-to-government approach was integrated within a science-driven comprehensive approach. Finally, at the institutional level, policy changed to legislation. Thus, the shifts in spatial, institutional, and jurisdictional scales (sense Cash et al., 2006) that resulted when the Northern Boreal Initiative became the Far North Act (2010) shifted the negotiating positions of Aboriginal communities vis-à-vis the Provincial Government.

The main change in the negotiating position of First Nations actors was in terms of their ability to influence decision-making, leading to a different distribution of power within the new multi-level arrangement; and the emergence of new scales for decision-making, including knowledge and network scales (Cash et al., 2006). The larger spatial scales for planning and shifts in jurisdictional levels granted more power to non-governmental organizations and experts, and paved the way for functional approaches to planning. Aboriginal communities, which decided to scale up and supported the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework benefitted in terms of networking, moving forward their conservation-based agendas in the face of large-scale development, and accessing funding support.

Conversely, these changes may not favour other Aboriginal communities. Those who wish to develop their own process, or who may not be ready to engage in state-directed planning initiatives, could be forced into a top-down policy-driven process, or “be pushed to the sidelines.” Participation in land use planning processes could further skew the ways in which communities are able to carry forward their own frameworks in community-based land use planning approaches. Unless communities are able to receive support and strategic advice, for example from Aboriginal organizations such as Nishnawbe Aski Nation, these processes may place them at the mercy of outside consultants, industry, and environmental groups. The result is a piece of legislation that may not provide enough

space for Aboriginal perspectives and decision-making regarding how conservation and development should be carried forward in their traditional territories. Questions remain as to who will decide on new protected areas, whose values will be included, and whose will be traded off; but arguably, the shifts in scales of planning could represent a shift away from decentralization and devolution of decision-making power towards a more centralized system, in the guise of a multi-level, polycentric one.

### **7.3. Opportunities for developing counter frames in the politics of scale**

The Far North Act (2010) recognized land use plans that had already been completed. As a result, changes in land use planning policy in Ontario did not affect the land use strategy developed by Pikangikum First Nation. However, Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), as the Treaty organization representative of the communities in the Far North Region, was left to challenge the jurisdictional rights of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to pass the Far North Act (2010). Despite its inability to stop the Far North Act (2010) from passing, NAN first stated their opposition at a government-to-government level, and then scaled up at the international level. They could now provide an accountable bridging organization for communities leading their own land use plan—in terms of seeking funds and providing capacity building and strategic advice between communities and higher-level institutions.

Strategically, Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) stated its initial opposition to the Far North Planning Initiative and Bill 191 (the Far North Act, 2010) through the venues offered by the bilateral partnership agreement with the Provincial Government, the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue. In negotiations with the Provincial Government and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, NAN supported community-based land use planning; advocated the inclusion of all NAN communities in land use planning, both south and north of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel; opposed the 50 percent protection as imposing a ‘super park’; and continuously stressed the need for consultation and “meaningful input into the decision-making process” for both conservation and development initiatives which affected NAN's territory (NAN, 2008, July 14).

The strategies that NAN adopted vis-à-vis the Provincial Government to prevent the Far North Act (2010) from passing were not successful. Since the passing of the Act in September, 2010, NAN scaled up internationally to include more direct reference to international norms that support Aboriginal self-determination, including Free, Prior and Informed Consent, and sought to challenge the actions of Big International Non-governmental Organizations as contravening their own codes of conduct (Audet, 2011). Given the lack of Aboriginal tenure on large land bases that allow communities to develop their economies, and the ways in which the Provincial Government avoided a culturally appropriate form of consultation, NAN has sought legitimacy for self-determination, tenure, and commercial rights in the wider sphere of international law. International norms, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, are setting a framework for linking Indigenous self-determination to land tenure (Alcorn, 2011; Charters, 2009; Lynch, 2011). Re-framing their claims towards Free, Prior and Informed Consent within the sphere of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples might enable NAN to access a higher moral sphere for respect of Indigenous rights versus the moral right of conservation.

The international sphere has also provided a place for bringing forward grievances against actions of the state and non-state actors. For example, NAN appealed the World Wildlife Fund's infringement of their own statement of principles—"Indigenous People and Conservation: WWF Statement of Principles"—in 1996, and again in 2008 (WWF, 2008). It also appealed WWF's signing of the Conservation and Human Rights Framework in 2010.<sup>50</sup>

Unfortunately, international declarations and agreements do not always ensure that Indigenous voices will be heard, and that mechanisms to address grievances will be developed and/or implemented (Bennett and Woodman, 2010; Lynch, 2010). Indigenous People have indeed made their voices heard nationally and internationally, but these have

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<sup>50</sup> The International Union for the Conservation of Nature has moved towards the recognition of 'rights-based approaches to conservation' addressing the connection between human rights concerns and conservation practice (see online at <https://community.iucn.org/rba1/>), as well as more local and informal conservation initiatives, such as Indigenous Community Conserved Areas, as means to assert authority over territories under threat from development (Berkes, 2009b; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2004).

not changed how powerful voices continue to dominate and shape opinions through globalized pictures of problems and solutions that are far removed from the realities on the ground. However, declarations such as the United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples represent powerful international tools for Indigenous Peoples to credibly frame, support, and legitimize their claims for self-determination, and continue pushing for binding agreements, implementation, and addressing of grievances (Charters, 2009).

NAN could also scale down to advice and facilitate communities undertaking land use planning. As a Treaty political organization, NAN's role is to move forward enabling policy at the Provincial level, but the Far North Act (2010) process has enabled the Province to side-step the Treaty organization and work directly with communities. As Treaty signatories, each community can access its own funding and chart its own conservation and development path. Some have relationships with environmental groups (i.e., with the Canadian Boreal Initiative and Wildlands League, the Ontario chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society); others have or are developing partnerships with industry such as mining, while still others are in the process of developing land use plans. While First Nations are the Treaty signatories and decision-makers, this has limited Nishnawbe Aski Nation's ability to receive funding, and its ability to develop a common position for the communities of the Far North Region. Further, NAN does not function like a secretariat, and is not always aware of where communities stand in terms of funding, partnerships, and positions vis-à-vis Government policies and legislation (Smith, pers. comm. June 2011). Ramos (2006, 226) pointed out that historically, "there is little support for the role of Pan Aboriginal identity" because "both resources and opportunities are largely allocated to specific local communities and status groups rather than Pan Aboriginal organizations or all Aboriginals."

Despite these limitations, Nishnawbe Aski Nation can support the creation of new spaces for First Nation communities to express their own views of how conservation and development should occur on their territories. On the one hand, the international norms supporting self-determination and Indigenous tenure could provide the higher-level framing (Lynch, 2011). On the other hand, the framing that Pikangikum proposed

through their unconditional support for the rights of each community to make their own decisions for their own lands indicates a framing for how higher-level Aboriginal organizations could support community-level planning.

First, NAN could scale out an inclusive approach that supports communities who are participating in the new community-based land use planning processes, by creating a support network capable of delivering timely information, and putting out press releases and statements which support Aboriginal positions. For example, this could include supporting alternative discourses to conservation and development to seek support in terms of funding, develop their own platforms for discussion, caution against approaches which ‘divide-and-conquer,’ and find a common front that supports agendas for self-governance, and the continuing evolution of government-to-government relations (Davidson-Hunt pers. comm. May 2011).

While multi-level and multi-scale governance is seen as a way to address complex problems, the interaction between Pikangikum First Nation, Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the Ontario Provincial Government, and conservation organizations showed that unless First Nations are able to negotiate as legitimate governments at their own local jurisdictional levels on a government-to-government relationship, they risk being undermined by more powerful outside groups. Undoubtedly, First Nations communities have been able to achieve significant strides in conflicts against resource development when they partnered with environmental groups (Clapp, 2004; Feit, 2001; Wallace, 2010). However, the strategic process undertaken by Big International Non-governmental Organizations in the Far North Region of Ontario did not take into account the context for Aboriginal–state relations, and led to a change in the negotiating position of Aboriginal organizations such as Nishnawbe Aski Nation to influence policy development on the territories of their First Nations.



## **Chapter 8. Conclusions**

This Chapter concludes the thesis by providing (1) an outline of the main findings of the research, (2) the main theoretical contributions and practical recommendations for different actors, and (3) a review of the limitations of the research and future research opportunities.

### **8.1. Main findings**

The purpose of the research was to examine the political ecology of conservation planning in northern Ontario, by analyzing the role of non-state actors (conservation organizations and First Nations) through four different land use planning policies; and how shifts in spatial, institutional, and jurisdictional scales changed Aboriginal communities' ability to influence land use planning policy development, engage in land use planning and ultimately, influence the relations with the provincial government. In order to address this purpose, I (1) analyzed changes in land use planning policy in Northern Ontario since the mid-1970s to 2010 with a focus on Aboriginal communities' role and participation; (2) documented the practices of non-state actors involved in influencing land use planning policy in the Far North region of Ontario, specifically between 2000 and 2010; and (3) identified and analyzed the strategic framing of planning approaches by the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, as well as by the International Boreal Conservation Campaign network, and its implications for the framing of scale (Table 18).

Ontario's historical relationship with First Nation communities has been fraught with conflicts over access to land and allocation to resources, including forestry, protected areas, and mining (Berger, 2010; Hedican, 2008; Linden, 2007; McNab, 1999; Miller, 2009; Teillet, 2005). A focus on land use planning processes from the mid-1970s to 2010 shed light into the ways First Nations actively responded to state-led planning, found ways to resist lack of consultation, and actively negotiated their entry into land use planning processes such as the Northern Boreal Initiative.

**Table 18.** Main findings by Results Chapter.

<b>Results Chapter</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Main findings</b>
4	To understand historical precedents to land use planning (1975–1999), and analyze changes in land use planning policy and Aboriginal participation in the Far North Region of Ontario specifically between 2000–2010.	Four planning processes in Northern Ontario showed that Aboriginal people have actively responded to state-led land use planning and resource allocation, through opposition and negotiations. While individual communities have moved forward their own community-based land use planning initiatives, the most recent Far North Act (2010) has opened the Far North Region to comprehensive land use planning, resource allocation, and retrenched planning as a an activity of the state rather than a as a path towards self-governance.
5	To document the role and strategies of civil society organizations involved in conservation-based land use planning policy in the Far North Region of Ontario between 2000–2010.	Changes in land use planning from 2000 to 2010 were the result of the influence of a coordinated international boreal conservation strategy that successfully mobilized public and political support, through political leverage, campaigns, reports, science-based support, advertisements and use of news outlets.
6	To identify and analyze the strategic framing of planning approaches by different-non-state actors and their implications for the framing of scale.	The framing of planning encompassed a politics of scale that influenced how Aboriginal–state relations were developed; who sat at the decision-making table; how resources were distributed; and how knowledge systems were balanced.

In Chapter 4, four major planning initiatives were analyzed because they defined the trajectory for successive land use planning processes across Northern Ontario. These included the West Patricia Land Use Plan which was never implemented in northwestern Ontario (1982), the ‘Lands for Life’ process south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel (1997–1999), the Northern Boreal Initiative north of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel in Northern Ontario along the forest boundary (2001–2008), and the Far North Act (2010), including the entire Far North Region.

The permanent residents of the Far North Region are Aboriginal people who resisted the incursions of industrial development by asking for the revision of large-scale forestry

allocations (Fahlgren, 1985). Unlike other provinces, Ontario presented a unique history in terms of having a northern frontier that resulted from such resistance (roughly at the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel), and which impeded access from the forestry industry. In effect, the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel provided opportunities for First Nations to petition the Provincial Government for accessing new timber commercial licenses when other commercial opportunities had declined (i.e., fur and fish), and they were ready to consider industrial development.

The Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework represented a bottom-up effort at policy development—or a government-to-government process from the perspective of the First Nations involved—for accessing those new opportunities. First Nations advocated for this policy to provide them with space to determine how relations around forestry development and protected areas should be developed in their territories; prevent unilateral decision-making on behalf of the Crown under pressure from industries; and move forward Aboriginal people's relationships with the Province of Ontario towards increasing self-determination. The Northern Boreal Initiative enshrined the principles of community-based land use planning as the first step to allocate resources for community-based resource development.

The conditions that enabled the development of a new relationship between northern First Nations and the Government of Ontario through this policy included the recognition of the historical and recent exclusion of Aboriginal people from planning processes. Northern First Nations were aware neighbouring First Nations to the south had been excluded from the 'Lands for Life' process and the '1999 Ontario Forest Accord.' The death of Mr. Dudley George, an Aboriginal protester at the Ipperwash Provincial Park standoff in 1995—at the hands of the Ontario Provincial Police—also had left a bitter legacy, and the desire on both sides to work towards a new relationship. Finally, the Provincial Government and First Nations were able to move forward around common interests for economic renewal and forestry development.

The Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework relied on strong community leadership, a territory planning approach, and the development of multi-level institutional arrangements, which supported the community-led forestry initiative and new joint management arrangements rooted at the local level. The community-based land use

process allowed for the development of a process guided by the Elders, built on seeking a balance between their knowledge and that of the OMNR, and on a consensus-based partnership with the Provincial Government. An effectively articulated territorial framing embedded in the planning approach of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative enabled Elders to support their ancestral stewardship responsibilities within the new management plans and structures, gain decision-making authority over their own territory and land-based activities, and lay the basis for building a future for their children. This process ensured that planning authority was shared with the community, through government-to-government relations; that benefits would be prioritized at the local level; and that local understandings would be prioritized in terms of concerns and knowledge of the community members. For example, though an incremental approach, the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation's strategy of partnering with provincial Ministries such as Ontario Parks have led to the development of a new relationship and innovative joint management approaches for the newly created *Cheemuhnuhcheecheekuhtaykehn* Dedicated Protected Areas (Ontario Parks and PFN, 2011).

Changing the planning approach of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources meant that institutional change was possible, at least at the level of the government's response to the community's goals for their territory. However, there were also limitations to this policy. The route towards mutual cross-cultural understanding was a lengthy process; it required commitment on behalf of both parties regarding time, significant provincial and federal financial resources, and personnel; and the fulfillment of planning requirements (mapping of values, land use strategy development, environmental assessment, and identification of protected areas that would contribute to Ontario's protected area system). It relied on the high transaction costs of developing several cross-scale arrangements, which would support the goals of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative (Smith, 2007). And it did not define nor engage with Treaty relations or questions of jurisdictional authority. Finally, this process was reliant on a territorial approach geared at self-determination that could not be easily transposed across communities and could not be easily subsumed under a comprehensive planning approach.

Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), a political organization advocating for the 49 communities of Treaty #9 and Ontario's portion of Treaty #5, sought to expand enabling policy to lands and use of resources to address underlying grievances with respect to four major issues: land use planning, parks, mining, and licenses and permits. Nishnawbe Aski Nation developed a bilateral government-to-government relationship with the Province of Ontario in 2005, and formalized in 2007 as the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue, to delineate a more unitary approach to land use planning, benefit sharing and consultation for corporations' access to land-based resources. This dialogue was part of a larger effort to gain rights over their resources, and move towards self-determination.

The passing of the Far North Act (2010) into legislation, however, undermined the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue. The Ontario government was under pressure to secure development and economic growth in northern Ontario following the slump in the forestry industry and the economic recession; as well as under pressure to avoid costly legal battles between mining companies and Aboriginal communities. Conservation organizations and science groups also challenged the Province's approach to land use planning under the Northern Boreal Initiative as being piecemeal and lacking a comprehensive focus, being geared at forestry alone, driven by government interests, and leading to the demise of sensitive species such as woodland caribou. To address these pressures, the Government of Ontario proposed the Far North Planning Initiative in 2008 and later moved to table Bill 191 and approve it as the Far North Act (2010). The Far North Act (2010) provided land use planning policy legislation for the entire Far North Region, included the protection of at least half of the Region to protected areas, and a comprehensive land use planning strategy to guide community-based land use plans. I analyzed this piece of legislation because (1) it intersected the budding government-to-government discussions made under the Northern Boreal Initiative and the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue, and reverted to the planning model used for previous planning processes such as the 'Lands for Life' (1997-1999); (2) it moved planning to a more comfortable ground for government, ENGOs and corporations; and (3) it showed the increasing internationalization of policy development in Ontario. I elaborate on each of these in turn.

First, the Far North Act (2010) has opened the Far North region to development (e.g., pressure to develop land use plans is very strong in areas of high mineral potential), and set a restrictive target for protected areas, a ‘super park.’ This was accomplished without addressing the relationships between First Nation governments and the Provincial Government, and without clarifying substantive issues of jurisdictional authority, sharing of resources and benefits, consultation protocols, and substantial issues with the legislation governing Provincial parks in Ontario. Nishnawbe Aski Nation saw the Act as infringing upon Aboriginal Treaty rights; dividing NAN communities north and south of the 51<sup>st</sup> parallel; strengthening government jurisdiction in the Far North Region; and failing to uphold appropriate consultation processes. Berger et al. (2010) called the Far North Act (2010) a continuation of Ontario's exclusionary planning practices.

Secondly, as ironically forecasted by WWF–Canada, the Provincial Government side-stepped Nishnawbe Aski Nation—the organization in charge of negotiating policy with the Province—while setting a more comfortable position for the state to potentially move forward a more standardized and technocratic approach to land use planning with Far North communities. Similarly, the Far North Act (2010) maintained provisions to move forward resource allocation in the absence of land use plans, thus maintaining the door open for corporations to access northern resources.

Thirdly, the Far North Act (2010) represented a successful accomplishment for conservation organizations working in the Far North Region of Ontario and their transnational partners (Big International Non-governmental Organizations). As analyzed in Chapter 5, in order to shift policy away from the Northern Boreal Initiative, Ontario conservation organizations aligned themselves to an international coalition, which provided a clear framework and target for conservation (i.e., through the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework), as well as financial resources. Political pressure, and extensive public relations around the framing for conservation-based planning in conservation-based campaigns, reports, maps, and scientific consensus that found receptivity in provincial and national media, enabled the shift in planning policy from the Northern Boreal Initiative to the Far North Act (2010).

Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) financed and brought together broad coalitions with divergent interests by focusing on trade-offs between conservation and development, developed agendas that resonated with larger international trends in conservation (e.g., a focus on targets rather than on institutional regimes and on underlying causes of deforestation), and fostered publicity and broad public support. These strategies legitimized the role of BINGOs and provincial conservation organizations in supporting scientific knowledge as the means for developing principles, standards, and targets for protected areas which were enshrined in the Far North Act (2010); in sitting at decision-making tables such as the advisory boards that the Provincial Government established to advise on the implementation of the Far North Planning Initiatives (the policy precursor to the Far North Act, 2010); and in accessing significant financial resources. Ultimately, these changes served to reverse to the framing that had supported conservation groups' active decision-making role in the '1999 Ontario Forest Accord.'

However, these strategies, while providing win-win solutions for some actors, had consequences for First Nation aspirations regarding self-determination. These member-based conservation organizations intersected with Aboriginal discussion tables and, through shifts in policy, effectively changed the negotiating position of Aboriginal communities and organizations outside of these networks with the Provincial Government. As outlined above, the Provincial Government set back the middle ground developed so far with Nishnawbe Aski Nation, and by passing the Far North Act (2010) despite Aboriginal opposition, avoided its responsibilities to ensure that decisions would be made through adequate consultation processes. As described in Chapter 6, the comprehensive approach that superseded the territorial planning approaches of the Northern Boreal Initiative reversed progress made in Aboriginal-Provincial Government relations—strengthening instead the Provincial Government's jurisdiction over the Far North Region. This change also impacted those actors who sat at the decision-making table, to include a seat for civil society organizations in government-to-government processes from where they had been excluded under the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework. This change also impacted resources, favouring the distribution of resources from foundation funds to conservation organizations rather than to communities. Finally,

integration of knowledge systems also changed to favour science-based frameworks within which community-based knowledge could be integrated.

While politically, socially, and economically acceptable and expedient, wholesale targets such as the 50 percent target, and the actions of the network that supported them, should be evaluated in the larger sphere of how they impacted on Aboriginal relations with Ontario, and their continuing struggle for self-determination. Either because of ignorance or actual support for the existing economic and political structures of power—which community-based approaches may have undermined—these external agendas interfered with those of Aboriginal communities who were working to collectively frame their needs and demands.

The transnational network developing around the International Boreal Conservation Campaign and the Canadian Boreal Initiative is like a hydra that may reproduce itself to develop new strategies and approaches, and pursue new directions in the fields of land use planning, conservation and development. This network is likely to continue to influence policy and legislative changes in the Canadian boreal region. First Nation communities in northern Ontario are also likely to respond in different ways to the new land use planning legislation, either through engagement or resistance. Nishnawbe Aski Nation will have to find ways to engage with the Provincial Government and BINGOs, while working towards a more united Aboriginal framing. Alternatively, continued contentious interaction will either reify the dominant framing of BINGOs, or open doors to renew a more united Indigenous control of the framing for the boreal forest.

## **8.2. Scholarly and practical contributions of the thesis**

### **8.2.1. Multi-level governance and the politics of scale**

My main scholarly contributions concern multi-level governance in land use planning, and the politics of scale within the broader field of political ecology. First, the analysis of strategies and tactics through the use of the political process model demonstrated how different actors produced the levels and institutional scales in multi-level land use planning at which they were most effective (Lebel, 2006; McCarthy, 2005; McAdam,



1982). Secondly, the analysis of the politics of scale showed the emergence of a pattern of scale dominance when Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) delegitimized the scaling down strategy of community-based land use planning, and legitimized their own comprehensive ecoregional approaches. The result was to undermine the broader goals of community-based land use planning as leading to self-governance. Thirdly, the emergence of a pattern of scale dominance was not necessarily an intended outcome, but has led to contradictory stances, not the least, the undermining of Aboriginal–Provincial Government relations. I elaborate on these below.

The politics of scale underscores the production of scales by different social actors (Brenner, 2001; McCarthy, 2005; Neumann, 2009). This thesis showed that the politics of scale are an inherent aspect of multi-level governance in land use planning, and that strategic interaction defines the levels at which non-state actors participate in decision-making processes (Lebel, 2006; McCarthy, 2005; Neumann, 2009). The reworking of the political process model for the analysis (Figure 3, revised from McAdam et al., 2001) provided a new venue to specifically address strategic interaction within the field of political ecology.

Multi-level governance can provide a venue for Aboriginal communities to control access and use of resources in their territories through land use planning, but—as the case of Pikangikum showed—strategic interaction was needed to ensure the process would be rooted at the local level, benefits extended beyond access to resources, and planning moved beyond a technical endeavour—towards self-governance and a new relationship with the provincial government (Lane, 2006; O’Flaherty et al., 2008; Wellstead and Rayner, 2009). This can occur provided the framing for planning is scaled down to support community-based planning; there are clear decision-making structures based on government-to-government relations; the partnerships developed are aimed at local capacity building, economic empowerment and wellbeing; and different knowledge systems are balanced (Gruber, 2011).

BINGOs strengthened their position and sought to advance their own agenda and those of their supporters through specific strategies, including by marketing ecoregional conservation, gaining seats at decision-making tables through the legitimization of their

own science backing, and generating their own funding through intervention in conservation initiatives (including initiatives already under way) and policy development. Pikangikum was fortunate that their process was temporally ahead of the policy processes initiated by civil society organizations with the Provincial Government.

While multi-level governance can support devolution of decision-making and community-based management (Berkes, 2009a; Folke et al., 2007; Ostrom, 1998), in the Far North Region of Ontario, a pattern of scale dominance within multi-level land use planning processes emerged (Lebel, 2006; Young, 2006). BINGOs pressured the Provincial Government to shift the institutional and jurisdictional levels at which decisions are taken—from community-based planning to large-level landscape planning—as has also happened internationally (Brosius, 2006). Through their advocacy, BINGOs directly and indirectly challenged community-based planning as leading to piecemeal conservation, supported the new land use planning policy (i.e., the Far North Act, 2010), and indirectly forced Nishnawbe Aski Nation into a position of resistance vis-à-vis the Provincial Government. The result was a policy framework and legislation that risked turning planning processes into standardized and technocratic approaches imposed on community planning processes (Scott, 1998).

Finally, this thesis also illustrated how the pattern of scale dominance has led to contradictory stances. First, the actions of BINGOs indirectly undermined Aboriginal–state relations, by reinstating old paternalistic approaches of protecting the land for Aboriginal people, leaving the Provincial Governments’ jurisdictional authority unchallenged, and opening of the Far North Region to development through a 50 percent commitment. This was done despite support for Aboriginal people’s decision-making authority. Secondly, the seemingly inclusive transnational network of BINGOs capable of ‘speaking as one’ circumvented state actors and Aboriginal governments outside of their network. BINGOs lobbied at the highest Provincial political level to influence policy development while being neither accountable nor representative of the communities whose territories their policies would influence. Thus, by speaking with one voice, networks generated by foundations and conservation organizations can undermine provincial political processes—perhaps, of which they are unaware. They can also claim

a representational role to influence provincial scale policies that govern natural resources in Canada that may be detrimental to First Nations who are not their partners, and who have different agendas. In this case, the Provincial Government was quite willing to move to discussions with BINGOs and corporations about new policy rather than further discussions regarding government-to-government relations with First Nations.

To summarize, this thesis contributes to the literature on multi-level governance by showing that, if there is not careful attention to how power is distributed across levels, multi-level governance may lead to a pattern of scale dominance, and be a way to justify continued control from the center by the state, corporations, and Big International Non-governmental Organizations (Bernstein and Cashore, 2000; Igoe and Sullivan, 2008). As Young (2006) highlighted, while non-state actors and civil society organizations are often heralded for the importance of their bridging role in multi-level governance systems (Haas, 1991; Ostrom, 1998), these arrangements can either empower communities to gain rights over their territories, or set a pattern of scale dominance that hinders grassroots-level efforts. In this case, the larger spatial scales for planning and shifts in jurisdictional levels granted more power to non-governmental organizations and experts, and paved the way for functional approaches to planning under the guise of multi-level governance.

Further, this thesis contributes to the politics of scale in the political ecology of conservation by analyzing the specific strategies and tactics (through the political process model) that transnational conservation networks adopted to influence national and provincial policy development. A focus on the political process and the resulting pattern of scale dominance showed that these processes interfered with Aboriginal–state relations, and has led to Aboriginal resistance. Ultimately, contradictions emerged between professed goals and strategies adopted, and between proclaimed support for the role of Aboriginal people as decision-makers and continuing attempts to grant legitimacy to conservation gatekeepers.

### **8.2.2. Practical contributions**

The analysis of the community-based land use planning process that Pikangikum and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources carried out showed that First Nations need their

own institutions and planning tables to develop culturally appropriate frameworks for conservation and development. Pikangikum sought economic opportunity as part of a path towards community renewal and continuation of their culture, and cross-cultural partnerships were developed to support this community-based process. The politics of scale that emerged from the intersection of Pikangikum's approach and Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs)' comprehensive approach highlighted the importance of understanding different actors' agendas, clarifying their accountability, and of knowing their sources of funding. Unless First Nation can develop their own economies, they run the risk of continuing to being 'kept in a box' and dependent on outside funding.

The Far North Act (2010) could also aid some First Nation communities. However, as a negotiation process with the Provincial Government, First Nations need to continue to: push for their own framing of how the process should be carried out to ensure they are comfortable with the outcomes of planning decisions; build their own capacity; and, create their own means to learn about the intersection between land use planning, politics and policy. Planning is not a neutral process. It may enable creating a First Nation path to self-governance, or new colonial relationships with the state. First Nation organizations can support the planning efforts of individual communities under the Far North Act (2010) by lobbying the Provincial Government for financial resources, capacity building and access to strategic advice that will support their communities, and lobby internationally for the implementation of international standards for Free, Prior and Informed Consent.

Under the Northern Boreal Initiative, and as part of the Whitefeather Forest planning initiative, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Ontario Parks staff were able to work towards cross-cultural understanding and mutual benefits. An important admonition from Pikangikum was to avoid turning this learning into a technocratic approach that could be applied to other communities (as 'one size fits all'). Thus, the conclusions of this thesis have policy implications for the Provincial Government. The policy recommendations are that the Provincial Government should not view the Far North Act (2010) as a shortcut to scale up planning across the Far North Region in the name of

efficiency and lower ‘transactions costs (Brosius, 2006), but consider it part of a process of reversing colonial policies and paternalistic attitudes towards First Nations. Indeed, a clear message that emerged from this thesis is that the legitimacy of land use planning policies such as the Far North Act (2010) depends both on content (e.g., the inclusion of community-based land use planning in land use planning), and on the way the process is carried out. As this thesis suggests then, one of the ways to move towards post-colonial conservation is to start from the leadership, ideas, and consent of the people whose territories are being impacted. Indeed, the moral right of conservation, and the economic imperative of seeking trade-offs to development through ever-increasing protected areas, should not trump a move towards securing Aboriginal territorial rights.

This case showed that international networks of large conservation organizations (BINGOs) are becoming powerful in Canadian policy development, thanks to large investments from private foundations. These funding resources enabled conservation organizations to leverage further private and public funding, and thus to limit resources for alternative frameworks. In the case of the Pew Charitable Trusts, funding was directly tied to securing large protected areas, and all supported partners worked under this condition. What would the impacts had been if funding (i.e., at a minimum the \$50 million dollars that were made available by the Pew Charitable Trusts between 2000 and 2009) had built First Nation institutions to support their own framings, and support community-based land use planning?

Pikangikum Elders wanted conservation organizations to listen carefully, to be truthful, and to avoid coming with a ‘hidden agenda.’ This thesis showed that, instead, conservation organizations did not openly disclose to the communities they worked with their ties to a specific agenda. This suggests that these organizations need to truthfully communicate their goals and objectives, and be open regarding the fact that they are membership organizations accountable to their members and funders. Further, conservation organizations need to understand the implications of ‘speaking for others’ since they are not representative of all the communities they speak for when they refer to the boreal region.

Further, broader public awareness of the Treaties and citizens responsibilities to assist their governments in implementing them could alter the playing field. If conservation organizations and their members were aware of the Treaties and the responsibilities governments hold under the Treaties, then their actions would be less likely to impede First Nations' efforts at building government-to-government relations. Aboriginal governments face many barriers to create collective discourses not the least of which are the colonial legacies that challenge the emergence of healthy, thriving, and self-reliant First Nations and collective institutions. The struggle to address internal colonization and escape the poverty trap that hinders many families in Aboriginal communities and that leads to challenging social, economic, and health conditions, as well as to urban migration and persistent unemployment are the issues of priority to First Nations. Framing boreal forest conservation as a protection versus development debate has displaced these concerns. Conversely, many First Nations would rather start the discussion by asking how integrated conservation and development approaches can support the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of their communities in response to their priorities.

### **8.3 Reflections and caveats**

This case study engaged with an unfolding field of contention in environmental governance, to which I was privy from the context of community-based research. First, the passing into legislation of the Far North Act (2010) showed that the concerns that Elders in Pikangikum raised about the influence of conservation organizations on policy development regarding community-based land use planning was not unfounded. Secondly, the passing of the Far North Act (2010) shifted the focus of the research to the level of the Far North Region.

However, much has remained beneath the surface. For one, the practices of the leaders of this initiative are largely invisible, traceable only through their appearances at conference venues, public events, and reports. Leaders' goals and motives have at times remained secret from their own staff, giving a perspective into the high stakes that are at play. I inferred and interpreted some of the strategies from material that was publicly available,

and from the compelling narratives presented by the network affiliated to the International Boreal Conservation Campaign and the Canadian Boreal Initiative.

By conducting my research out of the context of the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, it created both strengths and weaknesses in terms of exploring the larger field of policy development. I could have tried to directly interview the leaders of this initiative in order to gain greater nuance, but after the initial round of interviews with conservation organization spokespersons, a respondent argued that as a researcher working with Pikangikum, I would have a biased perspective. My bias lies in believing that Aboriginal communities should be granted space and time to make their own informed decisions, and that calls for ‘urgent’ intervention should be heeded with attention to the implications on the ground. Through my fieldwork, I was granted the privileged position of being able to understand the opportunities and challenges of living in a remote reserve and the daily challenges that the WFMC faced in trying to move their initiative forward, including the threat posed by proponents who wanted to stop piecemeal conservation planning and forestry. I also did not get a firsthand perspective from NAN. It was both the outcome of keeping my thesis focused to the work that I had done in Pikangikum, as well as the result of the timing of events and responses from NAN to the Far North Act (2010).

In order to develop the story for the emergence of the Far North Act (2010), I also placed emphasis on the initiatives of the Pew Charitable Trusts. While this focus has allowed me to show the international linkages of the environmental movement, and the rise of a new field for environmental governance, I have been less specific about the agency of the conservation organizations who have been working in Ontario for longer than the 2000–2010 period, and who provided the direct linkages to the provincial context. Readers may also feel that I am critiquing environmental organizations in general. Instead, my critique has focused on the large national and international conservation organizations that have partnered with industry and selected Aboriginal communities to influence forest policy with sweeping conservation targets—rather than the numerous small environmental organizations that work at local-level issues and struggle to gain resources. I realize, however—and this has been a continuous challenge in the preparation of this

manuscript—that I am straddling an uncomfortable grey line. There is a risk that criticism of conservation organizations could open the way for proponents of economic development that disregards environmental and social consequences, and who will fail to engage communities.<sup>51</sup> The space for Aboriginal communities to make their own decisions may remain elusive if they do not mobilize their own framing for development and conservation—perhaps, as suggested by a reviewer of this thesis, an action that could result from the establishment of BANGOs, Big Aboriginal Non-governmental Organization.

Further, while I did not address changes in the Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act (2006), and the review of the Endangered Species Act (2007), they have both been part of election promises to conservation groups such as the Partnership for Public Lands that have represented significant shifts in policy and legislation in Ontario. These, together with changes such as the Mining Act (2009), have presented their own challenges and opportunities for Aboriginal communities—and impacted the Aboriginal response to the Far North Act (2010). Different communities have also been larger players in these fields and the stories that emerge from the different contexts would perhaps provide a much more nuanced reading than the one I have provided here.

#### **8.4. Future research opportunities**

While this thesis focused on the influence of ENGOs in Aboriginal-state relations, further research could also address the ‘inside stories’ of Big International Non-governmental Organizations (BINGOs) and civil society organizations involved in conservation, as well as the role of funding in furthering the framing of some groups at the expense of others, i.e., First Nations-led research. Moreover, research with a broader representation from First Nation communities themselves was not pursued but would yield important insights

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<sup>51</sup> A telling example of this possibility emerged when the Premier of Canada expressed concern with regards to the use of foreign money to stop the eventual construction of a pipeline that would carry tar sand bitumen to China, the Northern Gateway pipeline. He stated that, “Growing concern has been expressed to me about the use of foreign money to really overload the public consultation phase of regulatory hearings just for the purpose of slowing down the process” (Galloway, 2012, January 6).



into the larger political context and contentious process, together with other actors such as the forestry and mining industries, and different levels of government.

An inside look at the operating strategies from extensive interviews with diverse Aboriginal communities, BINGOs and big foundations' perspectives would complement this thesis. For example, Smith (2007) analyzed the arrangements that Pikangikum First Nation developed to influence policy-making for land use planning. I continued this story with regard to its evolution into the Far North Act (2010). A follow-up to this would include not only a more thorough analysis of Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)'s perspectives—which I collected from publicly available material—but also from other First Nations communities and Aboriginal organizations involved with the Canadian Boreal Initiative and environmental organizations. For example, efforts at addressing NAN and NAN community perspectives on conservation, development, and climate change are underway at Lakehead University under the direction of Dr. Peggy Smith.

At the same time, it would be very interesting to gain insight into the long-term interests and internal discussions of the US foundations and the BINGOs they support. However, addressing both Aboriginal and BINGOs' perspectives at the same time would be difficult to do as they require access and deep trust. Further, it would be particularly challenging to do a retro-active examination of the same period covered in this thesis given that players 'construct' and 're-construct' their own histories and motivations.

The inclusion of industries' motives for accepting or rejecting the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, as well as their involvement in policy change would have provided a valuable addition—but a different thesis. Their attempts to shift government policy towards the Far North Region (where forestry industries hold no tenure) were not as significant in the specific context of the Far North Act (2010) as the pressure exerted by conservation organizations. However, the more recent partnership between the forestry industry and the network of the International Boreal Conservation Campaign—the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement—might point towards a greater role in forestry and land use planning policy development. For example, why was the forestry industry interested in these partnerships, and what will they gain? Did the forest industry engage in the network in order to improve their corporate image—and specifically in the context

of Forest Ethics' confrontational approach—placate environmentalists and avoid further boycotts? Or can this partnership actually improve the performance of the forestry industry? Further, can this partnership aid the development of community-led partnerships with First Nations interested in forestry, or are First Nations to remain in the 'back-seat' when it comes to decision-making?

The mining industry has certainly had a greater impact on policy development in the Far North Region and mining pressure in the 'Ring of Fire' will certainly drive much of the positioning of different actors, and the mobilization of public discourse in the near future. The pull between Ontario government's interests in Far North Region resources, especially for mining development and interests in developing government-to-government relations with First Nations, is worthy of attention and analysis. These pressures highlight the challenges of articulating an argument that attempts to situate First Nations concerns for the wellbeing of their communities and their need to forward self-determination, at the forefront.

While this thesis addressed the questions of 'who produces scale and how,' it only touched on crucial question of 'why' (McCarthy, 2005). First, researchers have started to explore and question the underlying rationale for carbon and 'conservation offsets' and the trade-offs implicated through the valuation of 'ecosystem services' in the boreal forest (Baldwin, 2009a; Lorentz, 2009). Secondly, political ecologists have recently brought to attention the implications of an emerging trend towards 'neoliberal conservation' within the field of environmental governance, a trend which can also be seen in the context of the boreal forest (Büscher et al., 2012; Igoe and Brockington, 2007). The greater role of non-governmental organizations in environmental governance, the quest for larger and larger protected areas linked to calls for urgent action, the trend towards the valuation and commoditization of resources—including through the emerging discussions of 'trade-off' and 'mitigation' in the context of climate change—all point towards a new 'field' of transnational environmental governance premised upon the neoliberalization of conservation (Bartley, 2007; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Igoe and Sullivan, 2008).

The financialization of conservation proposed by Sullivan (2009) will likely expand in the near future in Ontario. Since the development of the IBCC, other foundations have

been enrolled in the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework as well as in new agreements such as the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement. The implications for the valuation of boreal resources were not analyzed in this thesis but may become further entrenched in the conservation discourse. The issue of spectacle, which is also becoming an emerging field in political ecology, could lead to the analysis of the way in which the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework has been developed through awards and recognitions. Similarly, I believe a more thorough analysis of the networks associated with media would yield valuable perspectives into the inner relationship between advocacy and media in relation to the construction of the boreal campaign, as well as a more nuanced reading than the one provided here.

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## **Annex 1. Treaty and Aboriginal rights and the International context supporting self-determination and the right to territory**

This annex provides a brief definition of Aboriginal and Treaty rights in Canada, and provides a link to some of the important declarations and conventions supporting Indigenous Peoples' claims to territory and self-determination.

### ***Aboriginal and Treaty rights in Canada***

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 provides support to Aboriginal Peoples' perspectives that "they have legal rights to their land and resources, and that the government has lawful obligations to protect those rights (Teillet 2005,10). Specifically, the Royal Proclamation recognized Aboriginal People as autonomous political entity capable of entering into agreements with the Crown, and entitled to full possession of their territories, unless they ceded them to the Crown. Aboriginal and Treaty rights are differently defined.

... Treaty rights are contained in solemn agreements negotiated between the Crown and various First Nations communities, while Aboriginal rights derive from Aboriginal peoples' occupation and use of the land when Europeans arrived, or when a European nation acquired sovereignty over an area in accordance with the principles of international law (McCallum, 2004, 205).

Aboriginal and Treaty rights are protected under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982).

35 (1) The existing Aboriginal and Treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed. (2) In this Act, "Aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada. (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "Treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired. Aboriginal and Treaty rights are guaranteed equally to both sexes

However, these rights are not defined and as a result Crown has interpreted them to its benefit. Lack of action on upholding Treaty and Aboriginal rights has also rested on the division of jurisdictional authority between the Federal and Provincial Governments—enshrined in the British North America Act (1867) and in the Canadian Constitution Act (1982). Provinces did not want to take responsibility for issues related to Aboriginal People, and the Federal Government did not want to take responsibility for issues outside of reserve lands.

1. Art. 91(24) provides that, "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" are a federal responsibility.
2. Art. 92A. (1) states that "In each province, the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to (1) exploration for non-renewable natural resources in the province; (2) development, conservation and management of non-renewable

- natural resources and forestry resources in the province, including laws in relation to the rate of primary production therefrom; and
3. (3) development, conservation and management of sites and facilities in the province for the generation and production of electrical energy.

The Court system has increasingly defined the extent of Aboriginal and Treaty rights, and supported Aboriginal positions for redress—arguing that at stake is the “honour of the Crown.” Between 1982 and 2005, more than 40 court cases dealt with Aboriginal and Treaty rights, setting out the principles that meaningfully support Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982). Specifically, the Supreme Court has introduced two mechanisms that attempt to balance the relation between Aboriginal People and Canadian governments: (1) fiduciary law; and (2) justifiable infringement.

Sparrow (1990) first defined the relationship between Aboriginal People and the Crown as a fiduciary relationship, “trust-like rather than adversarial” (Newman, 2009). Based on this concept, the Crown should protect Aboriginal People to continue to sustain themselves as distinct people; and should to justify its actions when they infringe upon Aboriginal and Treaty rights.

Either level of government can infringe Aboriginal or Treaty rights by legislation within its sphere of legislative authority, as long as the infringement can be justified. Ordinarily, as part of justifying an infringement of an Aboriginal or Treaty right, the government must show that it has consulted with the First Nation concerned on how best to accommodate the right (Mainville 2001, 71-74, 81-84; as cited in McCallum, 2004, 205).

Both the Federal and Provincial Governments rejected the implication that all lands and resources are subject to consultation, arguing instead that the “duty to consult” would arise in the context of specific interests.

“In argument before the Supreme Court of Canada from 1984 to 2004, Ontario and the federal government have both consistently resisted the conclusion that constitutional space for Aboriginal peoples means any restraint on Crown jurisdiction or authority” (Teillet, 2005, 36)

While the implications of this case have not yet played out, in 2011 in the *Keewatin v. Minister of Natural Resources* court case, the Ontario Superior Court of Justice held that the Government of Ontario does not have the authority to significantly interfere with the harvesting rights of the Grassy Narrows First Nation under Treaty 3, a case that was brought to the courts because of allocation of forestry licenses against the community’s will.

The following table presents a short list of cases that have moved forward the extent of Aboriginal rights to lands and resources, the Crown’s “duty to consult,” and the extent of Governments’ ability to infringe upon these rights.

**Supreme Court of Canada and Ontario Court cases on Aboriginal rights to resources.** Source: Canadian Legal Information Institute, retrieved from <http://www.canlii.org/en/index.php>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Case</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
1982	Constitution Act, 1982 and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms ( <a href="http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html">http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html</a> )	Rights of Aboriginal Peoples of Canada 35. (1) The existing Aboriginal and Treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed. (2) In this Act, “Aboriginal peoples of Canada” includes the Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) “Treaty rights” includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired. (4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the Aboriginal and Treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.
May 24, 1990	R. v. Sioui, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1025	Whether territorial scope of Treaty extends to territory of park to perform customary ceremonies
May 31, 1990	R. v. Sparrow, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075	Whether or not net length of restriction is inconsistent with s. 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982 - show that the Crown has to justify legislation which may have negative impacts on Aboriginal rights (Morellato 2008); also has to demonstrate it allocated priority of use; infringement of right must be accommodated by facilitating use of resources, i.e., Fishing (Iso in Van Der Peet and Gladstone)
Nov. 21, 1985	Simon v. The Queen, [1985] 2 S.C.R. 387	Whether or not Treaty rights prevail when there are restrictions on hunting
August 21, 1996	R. v. Van der Peet, [1996] 2 S.C.R. 507	Right to sell fish on non-commercial basis -- Definition of “existing Aboriginal rights” as used in s. 35 of Constitution Act, 1982 --
October 3, 1996	R. v. Adams, [1996] 3 S.C.R. 101	Native fishing on traditional fishing area without a license, when title was considered to be extinguished by flooding or by Treaty.
Dec. 11, 1997	Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010	What is required to prove Aboriginal title

March 25, 1999	R. v. Sundown, [1999] 1 S.C.R. 393	Treaty Indian constructing log cabin in provincial park -- Park regulations prohibiting construction of dwelling on park land without permission
2004	Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests), 2004 SCC 73	Whether Crown has duty to consult and accommodate Aboriginal peoples prior to making decisions that might adversely affect their as yet unproven Aboriginal rights and title claims — Whether duty extends to third party. Shows the duty to consult does not apply when rights are unproven.
Nov. 18, 2004	Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director), 2004 SCC 74, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 550	Whether Crown has duty to consult and accommodate Aboriginal peoples prior to making decisions that might adversely affect their as yet unproven Aboriginal rights and title claims — If so, whether consultation and accommodation engaged in by Province prior to issuing project approval certificate was adequate to satisfy honour of Crown.
Nov. 24, 2005	Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage), 2005 SCC 69, [2005] 3 S.C.R. 388	Crown exercising its Treaty right and “taking up” surrendered lands to build winter road to meet regional transportation needs — Proposed road reducing territory over which Mikisew Cree First Nation would be entitled to exercise its Treaty rights to hunt, fish and trap — Whether Crown had duty to consult Mikisew — If so, whether Crown discharged its duty — Treaty No. 8.
July 20, 2005	R. v. Marshall; R. v. Bernard, 2005 SCC 43, [2005] 2 S.C.R. 220	Indians — Treaty rights — Logging — Interpretation of truck house clause — Mi’kmaq Indians charged with cutting and removing timber from Crown lands without authorization, or with unlawful possession of Crown timber — Whether Mi’kmaq in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have treaty right to log on Crown lands for commercial purposes.
May 1, 2007	Platinex v. Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation & A.G. Ontario, 2007 CanLII 16637 (ON SC)	Scope of the duties and rights of the Crown, third parties, and First Nations communities when development is proposed on traditional Aboriginal land that has been surrendered pursuant to the terms of a treaty.

August 16, 2011	Keewatin v. Minister of Natural Resources, 2011 ONSC 480	Members of the Grassy Narrows First Nation entered into litigation with Ontario after it issued licenses to the Defendant Abitibi-Consolidated Inc. to clear cut forests on Crown lands in the Plaintiffs' trap line areas, allegedly significantly interfering with their Harvesting Rights under the Treaty. At issue is the interpretation of a Harvesting Clause in a treaty ("Treaty 3") made in 1873 between Canada and the ancestors of the Plaintiffs.
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### *International Treaties and Law*

International treaties, conventions and declarations have moved forward the recognition of Aboriginal rights to self-determination and territorial rights, as both substantive and procedural rights. United Nations bodies that address Indigenous Peoples' issues include: the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues; the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous peoples and the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous Peoples (Alcorn, 2011).

Lynch (2011, 2-3) shows that in international law, (1) Indigenous Rights and recognition of Aboriginal/native title are increasingly protected under international law, even though they are framed as the "legal authority to manage and otherwise control the use and exploitation of specific areas of land and other natural resources" rather than framed as self-determination; and (2) "the emerging norm of free prior and informed consent (FPIC) manifests another aspect of the trend towards the development of international law supportive of native/Aboriginal title.

Substantive rights, including the right to self-determination, are recognized in documents such as the ILO Convention No. 169 (ILO, 1989) and enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Griber et al., 2009; OAS, 2010). Procedural rights include implementation and compliance with substantive rights, by upholding access to information, participation in decision-making, and access to effective judicial and administrative proceedings, which helps with legitimacy (Griber, 2009).

The **ILO Convention No. 169** "Concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries" (Geneva, 27 June 1989) contains many references to lands, resources and the environment of Indigenous People; requires States to "take special measures to safeguard the environment of Indigenous peoples (Article 4)" as well as to "provide for environmental impact studies of planned development activities and take measures, in cooperation with the people concerned, to protect and preserve the environment of the territories they inhabit" (Griber et al., 2009).

The **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (New York, 13 September 2007) also sets a specific Declaration to protect self-determination (art. 3); Indigenous lands (art. 10, 25-27); resources (art. 23, 26), procedural rights to participation

(art. 18) and establishes the need for Free, Prior and Informed Consent (art 19). For example,

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development (UNDRIP, 2007, art. 3).

States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them (UNDRIP, 2007, art. 19).

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources, which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.
2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.
3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the Indigenous peoples concerned (UNDRIP, 2007, art. 26).

In the Inter-American Human Rights system, “Indigenous and tribal people’s territorial rights are encompassed mainly within Article XXIII of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man<sup>13</sup> [American Declaration] and Article 21 of the American Convention on Human Rights<sup>14</sup> [American Convention]” (OAS, 2010, 2). Other relevant jurisprudence that has been used to support territorial rights includes the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. “Indigenous property rights are part of the array of rights included in the draft American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (OAS, 2010, 10).

Internationally, Article 8(j) of the Biological Diversity Convention (1992) is also of relevance to Indigenous Peoples’ rights over their lands, territories and natural resources. It on States to respect, preserve and maintain “knowledge, innovations and practices of Indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application” with the participation of these communities and for their benefit.

International declarations have also enabled organizations such as the IUCN, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, to pass a resolution on Rights-based Approaches to conservation (Resolution 4.056) in Barcelona in 2008 (Lynch, 2010). The resolution cited supportive substantive and procedural instruments in international law including: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 21); the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Article 1 and 21); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 25) the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Article 7); the Aarhus Convention (1998)

and relevant regional conventions on human rights; the 1972 Stockholm Declaration; the 1982 World Charter for Nature; the 1992 Rio Declaration; and Agenda 21.

While many of these declarations develop norms that are not binding, making it more difficult to handle complaints and enforce implementation, they re-enforce Indigenous framings in the political realm, and pave the way for possible recourse to legal action as a way to advance rights to territory and self-governance (Lynch, 2010).

**Annex 2. Time line of initiatives, events, planning policies, and legislation in the Far North Region of Ontario between 1975 and 2010.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Event</b>
1976	Memorandum of Understanding between the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Reed Ltd. regarding timber forestry development in 30,400 sq km of unlicensed areas in the West Patricia area (part of Far North Ontario).
1976	The Grand Chief of Grand Council Treaty #9 (since 1983 Nishnawbe Aski Nation), Andrew Rickard, together with environmental groups launches a successful campaign against Reed Paper's pollution of the Wabigoon River system, objects over the plans of Reed Ltd. to cut in unlicensed areas in Treaty # 3 and Treaty #9 areas, and asks the Provincial Government to open an inquiry with regard to the merits of such development.
1977	The Premier of Ontario, Mr. William Davis, establishes the "Royal Commission on the Northern Environment" to address benefits and challenges of resource development in the Far North Region.
1982	"West Patricia Land Use Plan: Proposed Policy and Optional Plans" outlines four different land use planning options for the Northwest administrative areas of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.
1982	Section 35 of the Constitution Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) recognizes and affirms existing Aboriginal and Treaty rights.
1983	Based upon suggestions from the "West Patricia Land Use Plan," Woodland Caribou Park Reserve (located partly on the traditional territory of Pikangikum First Nation) is expanded and regulated as a wilderness park.
1985	Commissioner Ed Fahlgren releases "The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment," rejecting the policy options proposed in the "West Patricia Land Use Plan," and advocating for greater involvement and participation of northern inhabitants in land use planning and development opportunities.
1988-1989	In Northeastern Ontario, the Tema Augama People set two road blockades to prevent construction of a road in the Temagami forest. Environmental groups stage a separate road blockade in which the Leader of the New Democratic Party, Mr. Bob Rae, is arrested together with environmental protestors.
1991	Once elected, Premier of Ontario Bob Rae signs a "Statement of Political Relationship" with First Nation leaders.
1995	The Progressive Conservative Party gains power in Ontario under the leadership of Mr. Mike Harris. Mike Harris is re-elected in 1999, and stays in power until his resignation in 2002.
1995	In Southern Ontario, the Stoney Point First Nation occupies Ipperwash Provincial Park after decades of unheard complaints against land expropriation. Aboriginal occupant Mr. Dudley George is shot by the Ontario Provincial Police, the first Aboriginal person to die in a land rights dispute. Pikangikum leaders reference the tragedy at Ipperwash as something that should never happen again. Premier Dalton McGuinty opened an Inquiry into the events in 2003, and the resulting report is released in 2007.



1996	Pikangikum First Nation commences dialogue with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources regarding new forestry opportunities in the Whitefeather Forest, located north of the areas allocated for forestry development, in the southern fringe of the Far North Region.
1997-1999	Premier Mike Harris establishes the 'Lands for Life' land use planning process, a comprehensive effort aimed at completing the land use plans undertaken in the 1970s and '80s (including the "West Patricia Land Use Plan"), and securing certainty of access to different resource development in Northern Ontario, south of the Far North Region.
1998	Consolidated Recommendations were submitted for review in 1998, including the call for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to address Aboriginal people's concerns with the 'Lands for Life' process, Crown land and resource use.
1998	The four Aboriginal Territorial Provincial Organizations (the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, Grand Council Treaty #3, the Union of Ontario Indians and Nishnawbe Aski Nation) withdraw from the 'Lands for Life' process because of lack of proper consultation with Aboriginal communities, and lack of consideration for government-to-government relations.
1999	The '1999 Ontario Forest Accord' between the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, forestry industry and environmental groups from the Partnership for Public Lands enables the Province of Ontario to commit to the expansion of the protected areas network and to resource certainty south of the 51 <sup>st</sup> parallel, and to access development opportunities north of the 51 <sup>st</sup> parallel provided consent of affected Aboriginal communities. "Ontario's Living Legacy Land Use Strategy" is released, adding 378 new protected areas in the 'Lands for Life' planning area.
2000	Requests for resource development from northern Aboriginal communities and the '1999 Ontario Forest Accord' support the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to develop a community-based land use planning approach through the Northern Boreal Initiative policy. Ontario commits to granting commercial forest management tenure upon the completion of a set of planning tasks to Pikangikum First Nation—including land use planning, request for Environmental Assessment Act (1990) coverage and completion of management plans.
2000-2001	The Environment Group of the Pew Charitable Trusts establishes the International Boreal Conservation Campaign with headquarters in Seattle, WA.
2001	The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources releases the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework.
2001-2004	Ontario's "Living Legacy Trust" provides funding to communities in the Northern Boreal Initiative area that are interested in land use planning.
2001	Nishnawbe Aski Nation presents a position paper on the Northern Boreal Initiative to the OMNR expressing concerns for a government-driven land use planning process, and government-driven resource development, without proper consultation.
2002	Premier Mike Harris resigns, and an interim government headed by Progressive Conservative Ernie Eves is formed until elections are held in the fall of 2003.

Mar 2002	The “Protected Areas and First Nations Resource Stewardship: A Cooperative Relationship Accord” to develop a network of protected areas and seek recognition for a UNESCO World Heritage site is signed by Pikangikum First Nation, Pauingassi First Nation, Little Grand Rapids First Nation and Poplar River.
2002	Grassy Narrows First Nation begins a road blockade against forestry development in their territory, located in the Treaty # 3 area.
Jan. 2003	The Partnership for Public Lands asks Opposition Leader, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, to review several pieces of legislation, including the Provincial Parks Act and the Endangered Species Act, and institute broad-scale land use planning in the Ontario Northern Boreal Forest—as part of a campaign election promise.
Mar 2003	Opposition Leader, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, commits to the proposed changes in legislation, if elected.
Jun 2003	Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Pikangikum First Nation sign the Terms of Reference for the development of new land-based economic opportunities in the Whitefeather Forest, as part of the community-based land use planning approach of the Northern Boreal Initiative.
Aug 2003	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, Mountain Equipment co-op, the Suzuki Foundation and the Canadian Boreal Initiative partner in the “Boreal Rendezvous” campaign to focus public attention on Canada’s boreal forests.
Aug 2003	The Partnership for Public Lands (Canadian Wilderness and Parks Society–Wildlands League, Ontario Nature and World Wildlife Fund), signs a Letter of Agreement with Pikangikum First Nation—“The Whitefeather Forest Economic Opportunities and Resource Stewardship: A Partnership Framework”—to collaborate on the development of new protected areas as part of the community-based land use planning process for the Whitefeather Forest.
Nov 2003	The Environmental Commissioner of Ontario, Mr. Gord Miller, shares, in his annual report to the Ontario Legislative Assembly, Nishnawbe Aski Nation’s concerns with the Northern Boreal Initiative. Given the endorsement of some northern communities including Pikangikum First Nation, the Environmental Commissioner concludes that the “process provided a reasonable framework” for planning.
Dec 2003	The Boreal Leadership Council signs the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. The Canadian Boreal Initiative, an initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts, coordinates the implementation of the Framework in Canada.
Jan 2004	Grand Chief Stan Beardy of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation rejects the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework for lack of consultation of boreal affected communities, and for the arbitrary development of the 50 percent target for conservation.
2004	Nishnawbe Aski Nation begins discussions with the Provincial Government to establish a specific negotiation process that will address lands and resources on Nishnawbe Aski Nation’s territory (including Treaty #9 and the Ontario portion of Treaty #5).

Mar 2005	Nishnawbe Aski Nation Chiefs-in-Assembly officially support in a resolution the community-based land use planning approach, and initiate a new bilateral, government-to-government relation with the Ontario Government.
Aug 2005	CPAWS–Wildlands League and the Sierra Legal Defense Fund petition the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources, the Minister of the Environment, the Minister for Northern Development and Mines, and the Premier of Ontario to revise the Northern Boreal Initiative framework for land use planning in the Far North Region.
2005	The Victor diamond mine is approved in the Far North Region.
Oct. 2005	The report of the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy shows that the Boreal is a vital part of Canada's "green account" and proposed tax policy changes, offsets and conservation easements.
Nov 2005	A study commissioned by the Canadian Boreal Initiative, “Counting Canada's Natural Capital,” estimates the value of the boreal forest at \$93.3 billion.
Oct – Nov 2005	The Premier of Ontario forwards petition from CPAWS–Wildlands League and the Sierra Legal Defense Fund to the other Ministries. All Ministries reject the request to review the Northern Boreal Initiative, partly because the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources is conducting a dialogue with Nishnawbe Aski Nation through the Northern Tables.
2005	The “Save Ontario’s Species” (S.O.S.) coalition is formed in 2005 to lobby the Ontario Premier to review the Endangered Species Act. It includes five conservation groups—David Suzuki Foundation, Environmental Defence, Ontario Nature, Sierra Legal Defence Fund (now EcoJustice) and CPAWS–Wildlands League.
Apr 2006	Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation (KI) challenges Platinex Inc., an aurora junior mining exploration company, in a 10 million lawsuit for exploration activities in KI’s territory that had commenced despite letters from the community opposing the development (August-Nov 2005), and peaceful protests at the drilling site in February 2006. Platinex Inc. responds with a counter-lawsuit.
May 2006	Sierra Club of Canada publishes a report card on forestry in Ontario and fails the Northern Boreal Initiative as a ‘piecemeal approach.’
Jun 2006	Pikangikum First Nation is the first community to complete the land use planning process under the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework.
2006	Massive chromite deposits are discovered in the “Ring of Fire,” in the territories of Webequie and Marten Falls First Nations, in the Far North Region. 31,000 staking claims are laid between 2006 and 2010.
Oct 2006	The Environmental Commissioner of Ontario concurs with CPAWS–Wildlands League and Sierra Legal that “significant changes should be made to the way in which the Ontario government regulates and plans for the northern boreal.”
Feb 2007	Forest Ethics posts ads on newspapers such as The Globe and Mail asking the Premier to keep his promise to protect the boreal forest. Robert Bateman, Farley Mowat and David Suzuki call on Premier McGuinty to keep his promise and protect the boreal forest.

Mar 2007	Nishnawbe Aski Nation Chiefs issue Resolution # 07/39 against outsiders calling for broad-scale planning, and further supporting community-based land use planning processes.
Apr 2007	Northern Tables officially begin through a Letter of Agreement between Grand Chief Stan Beardy of Nishnawbe Aski Nation and Mr. David Ramsay, Ontario Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Aboriginal Affairs. The tables are set for 120 days to address issues related to (1) parks, (2) land use planning, (3) mining, and (4) permits and licenses.
May 2007	Unveiled new Endangered Species Act (2007) is applauded by conservation groups, who had started the “Save Ontario’s Species” campaign in 2005.
May 2007	The International Boreal Conservation Campaign circulates a petition to protect 50 percent of the boreal forest, which 1500 scientists sign worldwide.
May 2007	A Memorandum of Understanding between the Mushkegowuk First Nation Environmental Research Center and the Canadian Boreal Initiative is signed.
May 2007	The results of the Ipperwash Inquiry are released.
Sep 2007	The Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act receives Royal Assent.
Sep 2007	Seven communities reject provincial park designations resulting from the ‘Lands for Life’ process, and call for de-gazetting the provincial parks.
Sep 2007	Grand Chief Stan Beardy asks all party leaders to take an action-oriented approach towards planning that is “based on a government-to-government relationship and [...] respect[s] and implement[s] the Treaty rights of our First Nations.”
Oct 2007	Premier of Ontario Dalton McGuinty is re-elected.
Nov 2007	NAN leadership agrees to move forward bilateral discussions with Ontario under the name of Oski-Machiitawin dialogue. NAN Chiefs express concerns that Northern Tables interfere with community-led land use planning or in legal proceedings. Resolution is passed to continue with the Northern Tables provided: 1) discussions are founded on Treaty relations; 2) the process must be government-to-government; 3) a framework with principles and objectives be developed; and 4) that Ontario stop issuing resource development licenses and permits in NAN territory—a requirement the Minister decides not to agree to.
Mar 2008	CPAWS and Mountain Equipment Co-op launch “The Big Wild” campaign.
May 2008	The Oski-Machiitawin dialogue officially commences, building on the Northern Tables, and is set to continue for one year.
Apr 2008	Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) Grand Chief Stan Beardy suspends bilateral discussions with the Government of Ontario until the Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation Chief and Council are released from serving a six-month jail sentence due protests against mining exploration in their territory.

Jul 2008	Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty announces the Far North Planning Initiative, including the development of a comprehensive planning framework for community-based land use planning, and the protection of 50 percent of the Far North Region. Two other related initiatives are also announced: modernizing the Mining Act (1973), which falls under the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines; and developing a framework on resource benefits sharing, which the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs will undertake. Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) Grand Chief Stan Beardy is encouraged that new mining development in the Far North boreal region will require early consultation and accommodation with local Aboriginal communities under the Government of Ontario's Far North Planning Initiative.
Sep 2008	First of twelve meetings of the Far North Plan Advisory Council, an advisory group instituted by the Provincial Government to provide advice and input for the Far North Planning Initiative. The Council is chaired by the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Natural Resources, and includes members from conservation organizations, forestry and mining industries.
Oct 2008	CPAWS–Wildlands League hires bilingual mining coordinator from Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation to provide First Nation communities with the best available knowledge on mining issues.
Nov 2008	Through Resolution #08/84, NAN Chiefs support the continuation of the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue until March 2010.
Nov 2008	The Canadian Boreal Initiative awards Premier McGuinty and Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug and Good Hope First Nations the Boreal Awards.
Nov 2008	On June 3 Cat Lake and Slate Falls signed Terms of Reference to pursue land use planning in their territory. Due to the Far North Planning Initiative process, they reframe the Terms of Reference to account for the goals proposed by the Premier in July 2008.
Nov 2008	The International Boreal Conservation Campaign summons an interdisciplinary team of some of North America's top scientists to form an advisory body to work with the Pew Environment Group's campaign to identify and map values in Canada's boreal forests.
Dec 2008	The Ontario Minister of Natural Resources establishes the Far North Science Advisory Panel to provide scientific and technical advice on how to achieve the Minister's vision for the Far North. Ten meetings are held between December 2008 and December 2009.
Mar 2009	The Far North Plan Advisory Council releases the "Consensus advice to the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources."
Mar 2009	Through Resolution #09/06, Nishnawbe Aski Nation Chiefs reject the imposition of 225,000 sq km for protected areas that will pose limitations for future economic development opportunities.
Apr 2009	CPAWS–WL, EcoJustice, Environmental Defense, Forest Ethics, Ontario Nature, Environment North launch a call to action for the Premier to support its commitment to protect Ontario's boreal forest through legislation. The Ivey Foundation funds the "Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition" (also known as the "Great Boreal Forest").

Jun 2009	“An Act with respect to land use planning and protection in the Far North” (Bill 191, or the Far North Act) is introduced for First Reading, and is referred to the Standing Committee on General Government.
Jul 2009	NAN Chiefs officially condemn Bill 191 and ask for its withdrawal.
Aug 2009	Standing Committee on General Government meetings are held for five days. However, NAN Chiefs critique the process because all locations are south of the Far North Region; and the dates coincide with Nishnawbe Aski Nations’ Chiefs-in-Assembly meeting and the election of the Grand Chief.
May 2010	Bill 191 passes to Second Reading and is referred to the Standing Committee on General Government
Jun 2010	Far North Science Advisory Panel Report, “Science for a Changing Far North,” is released.
Aug 2010	Nishnawbe Aski Nation steps up its campaign against Bill 191.
Sep 2010	The Standing Committee on General Government considers final motions to amend Bill 191. Opposition parties side with Nishnawbe Aski Nation’s requests to repeal the Act.
Sep 2010	Bill 191, the Far North Act, passes third reading.
Oct 2010	World Wildlife Fund–Canada justifies passage of Far North Act (2010) in the press.
Oct 2010	Nishnawbe Aski Nation calls on World Wildlife Fund-International to review their “Statement of Principles” in light of WWF’s role in supporting the Far North Act (2010).
Oct 2010	The Far North Act receives Royal Assent
Nov 2010	Canada signs the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
Nov 2010	Cat Lake and Slate Falls First Nations and Ontario release draft community-based land use plan.
Nov 2010	Pauingassi and Little Grand Rapids First Nations reach draft plan stage with Ontario.
May 2011	Nishnawbe Aski Nation Gran Chief Stan Beardy attends the United Nations International Forum on Indigenous Issues

### Annex 3. Main players involved in land use planning policy development in the Far North Region of Ontario

Name	Acronym	Role
Boreal Ecosystems Analysis for Conservation Networks	BEACONS	The Canadian BEACONS Project was founded at the University of Alberta to develop a “made in Canada” approach to conservation planning in Canada's boreal forest. The stated goal is to “build a credible scientific framework for comprehensive conservation planning based on the Conservation Matrix Model” ( <a href="http://www.beaconsproject.ca/">http://www.beaconsproject.ca/</a> ). BEACONS supports the 50 percent target as a reasonable target for conservation in the boreal region.
Boreal Leadership Council	BLC	The Boreal Leadership Council was formed in 2003 when 11 members from conservation organizations, industry, financial institutions, Aboriginal communities, and research institutions signed the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework. The signatories committed to pursuing the principles and goals of the framework (including 50 percent protection and 50 percent sustainable development). In 2010, the Boreal Leadership Council comprised 20 signatories and had signed Memorandum of Understanding with other partners.
Boreal Songbird Initiative	BSI	The Boreal Songbird Initiative is a Seattle-based initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts and focuses on international advocacy around migratory birds. The goal of the BSI is to attract American birders’ attention to the importance of the Canadian boreal for migratory birds, and to foster support for the International Boreal Conservation Campaign.
Canadian Boreal Initiative	CBI	The Canadian Boreal Initiative (Canadian Boreal Trust until 2003) is an Ottawa-based initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts. The CBI hosts the Secretariat for the Boreal Leadership Council, and represents “a convener, bringing together governments, industry, First Nations, conservation groups, major retailers, financial institutions and scientists to create new solutions for the conservation and sustainable development of the Boreal Forest.” The CBI is a major proponent of the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, which includes a vision for the protection of 50 percent of the boreal forest.

Name	Acronym	Role
Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society	CPAWS	CPAWS defines itself as “Canada’s voice for wilderness” and its vision is “to keep at least half of Canada's public land and water wild” through large, inter-connected areas of Canada’s wilderness. CPAWS has a national coordinating office in Ottawa, and 13 Chapters across Canada. CPAWS has since 2003 been a member of the Boreal Leadership Council.
Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society- Wildlands League	CPAWS– Wildlands League	CPAWS–Wildlands League is CPAWS’ Chapter in Ontario and is based in Toronto. It has been involved in campaigns to review the Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act (2006), the Endangered Species Act (2007), and the Mining Act (2010), and to develop the Far North Act (2010). It also collaborates with a number of Aboriginal communities in Ontario’s Far North Region, especially with regard to conflicts with mining development and community-based land use planning. CPAWS–Wildlands League was a member of the Partnership for Public Lands since 1997 (for common outcomes, see Partnership for Public Lands).
Ducks Unlimited	DU	Ducks Unlimited–Canada has been committed since 1938 to conserve Canada’s wetlands, as well as to deliver environmental education. Its work is based on strong science, strategic partnerships for ecosystem-based sustainable development; best management practices; and the creation of an extensive network of protected areas. Ducks Unlimited has since the beginning been involved in the boreal initiative of the Pew Charitable trusts. Scientists have been involved in the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, and because of its presence in both the US and Canada, DU has been a conduit for the transfer of funds from the Pew Charitable Trusts to the Canadian Boreal Initiative.
Environmental Commissioner of Ontario	ECO	The Environmental Commissioner of Ontario is the Province’s independent environmental watchdog. Appointed by the Ontario Legislative Assembly, the Environmental Commissioner is tasked with monitoring and reporting on compliance with the <i>Environmental Bill of Rights</i> , and the government’s success in reducing greenhouse gas emissions and in achieving greater energy conservation in Ontario ( <a href="http://www.eco.on.ca">http://www.eco.on.ca</a> ). The Environmental Commissioner has been following the changes in Ontario’s land use planning policy since 2002.



Name	Acronym	Role
		Following a tentative endorsement of the Northern Boreal Initiative, since 2005 the Environmental Commissioner has strongly supported a comprehensive land use plan for the Far North Region of Ontario.
Forest Stewardship Council	FSC	The FSC “is an international, not-for-profit membership-based organization whose mission is to promote environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial and economically viable management of the world’s forests” ( <a href="http://www.fsccanada.org">http://www.fsccanada.org</a> ).
International Boreal Conservation Campaign	IBCC	The IBCC, based in Seattle, WA, is an umbrella organization coordinating media campaigns, outreach, research and conservation work in the US and Canada ( <a href="http://www.interboreal.org">http://www.interboreal.org</a> ). The IBCC is an initiative of the Pew Charitable Trusts and its ultimate aim is “the adoption of a comprehensive conservation plan for Canada’s boreal forest, believed to be the most ambitious wilderness conservation plan in the world” (PCT, 2008). The IBCC coordinates its international conservation work with the Boreal Songbird Initiative and the Canadian Boreal Initiative.
EcoJustice (Sierra Legal Defense Fund before 2007)		EcoJustice is an independent, not-for-profit organization focused on environmental justice. Lawyers and scientists provide the expertise for citizens and groups to take polluters to court and ensure that governments enforce environmental laws. Founded in 1990 as the Sierra Legal Defence Fund in Vancouver, it changed its name to Ecojustice in 2007, and includes more than a dozen staff lawyers and scientists in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa and Calgary. EcoJustice has marked landmark victories at all levels of the Canadian courts and shaped the policy and practice of governments – municipal, provincial, and federal ( <a href="http://www.ecojustice.ca/about/history">http://www.ecojustice.ca/about/history</a> ).
Far North Plan Advisory Council	FNPAC	The Government of Ontario instituted the Far North Plan Advisory Council to provide advice and input to the Far North Planning Initiative. FNPAC members met in Toronto between September 2008 and February 2009 and released a “Consensus Advice to the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources” in March 2009, three months before Bill 191 for the Far North Act was first tabled (FNPAC, 2009).

Name	Acronym	Role
Far North Science Advisory Panel	FNSAP	The Government of Ontario instituted the Far North Science Advisory Panel to “provide scientific and technical advice on how to achieve the government's vision for the Far North,” provide advice on the broad landscape scale strategy, and discuss the areas of protection, ecology, mineral resources, carbon, permafrost and climate change (FNSAP, 2010). In April 2010, the Far North Science Advisory Panel tabled its report, “Science for a Changing Far North.”
Forest Ethics	FE	Forest Ethics is an international not-for-profit organization (NGO), based in San Francisco, with Canadian offices in Vancouver ( <a href="http://forestethics.org">http://forestethics.org</a> ). The goals of FE are to protect endangered forests and wildlife by holding accountable and transforming the paper and wood industries in North America (e.g., through boycotting campaigns and support for Forest Stewardship Council certification), and supporting forest communities. FE has since 2003 been a member of the Boreal Leadership Council, and participated in a number of Ontario-based campaigns, including “Save Ontario’s Species” (2005), “Save the bou” (2008) and Ontario Boreal Futures Coalition (2009).
Nishnawbe Aski Nation	NAN	<p>Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) represents 49 First Nation communities within the territory of James Bay Treaty #9 and the Ontario portions of Treaty #5 (covering about 2/3 of the Province of Ontario). It is one of four political territory organizations in Ontario. The others are the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, Grand Council Treaty #3 and the Union of Ontario Indians.</p> <p>Nishnawbe Aski Nation was established in 1973 as Grand Council Treaty #9 to represent the political, social, and economic interests of the people of Northern Ontario. It changed its name to Nishnawbe Aski Nation in 1983. Specific areas for political advocacy include Education, Lands and Resources, Health, Governance, and Justice (<a href="http://www.nan.on.ca">http://www.nan.on.ca</a>).</p> <p>NAN currently has seven Tribal Councils which have taken up program delivery from the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada: Windigo First Nations Council, Wabun Tribal Council, Shibogama First Nations Council, Mushkegowuk Council, Matawa First Nations, Keewaytinook Okimakanak, Independent First</p>

Name	Acronym	Role
		Nations Alliance (Pikangikum First Nation is part of IFNA).
Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources	OMNR	The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources is responsible for the management of Crown lands and issues pertaining to Fish and Wildlife Management, Lands and Water Management, Forest Management, Ontario Parks, Forest Fires, Flood and Drought Protection, as well as development of Geographic Information ( <a href="http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca">http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca</a> ). The district level office in Red Lake has partnered since the mid-1990s with communities such as Pikangikum First Nation to develop community-based land use plans in the Far North, through the Northern Boreal Initiative policy framework, and, since 2008, through the Far North Planning Initiative. Since 2005, the Ministry has also been involved in provincial level discussions with Nishnawbe Aski Nation, through the Oski-Machiitawin dialogue.
Ontario Nature (previously Federation of Ontario Naturalists)	ON	Ontario Nature is a Toronto-based charitable organization representing 140 member groups, and 30,000 members in Ontario ( <a href="http://www.ontarionature.org">http://www.ontarionature.org</a> ). Its goal is to protect wild species and wild spaces through education, public engagement and conservation. FON was part of the Partnership for Public Lands since 1997. Since 2003 it has also been part of campaigns such as the “Save Ontario’s Species” and “Boreal Wild” (2005); participated in the “Priorities for Ontario’s Future” in 2007; and been part of the “Ontario’s Boreal Futures Coalition” in 2009.
Partnership for Public Lands	PPL	The Partnership for Public Lands was formed in 1997 between the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (later Ontario Nature), CPAWS–Wildlands League (a chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society) and the World Wildlife Fund ( <a href="http://wildontario.org">http://wildontario.org</a> ). The goal was to participate in the ‘Lands for Life’ planning process held between 1997 and 1999 in Northern Ontario. The PPL participated in the development of the ‘1999 Ontario Forest Accord’ including the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and the forestry sector. In addition, the PPL became involved in land use planning in the Far North Region. In 2003, the PPL signed a Partnership Agreement with Pikangikum First Nation, and was promised by Opposition leader Mr. Dalton McGuinty to institute a comprehensive land use planning approach in the Far

Name	Acronym	Role
		North Region. Finally, two members of the PPL organizations also became members of the Boreal Leadership Council in 2003 (the World Wildlife Fund and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society).
Pikangikum First Nation	PFN	Pikangikum First Nation is a remote Anishinaabe community (Ojibwa) of 2400 people, located in the Far North Region of Ontario, about 100 Km north of the town of Red Lake. Since the mid-1990s, Pikangikum developed a partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to develop land-based economic opportunities including forestry, protected areas, tourism and mining. PFN and the OMNR signed the completed land use strategy in 2006, and have since moved forward to develop management plans for forestry and dedicated protected areas ( <a href="http://www.whitefeatherforest.com">http://www.whitefeatherforest.com</a> ).
Pimachiowin Aki Corporation	PAC	Pimachiowin Aki Corporation was incorporated in 2006 to enable a group of five communities—Bloodvein River First Nation, Little Grand Rapids First Nation, Pauingassi First Nation, Pikangikum First Nation and Poplar River First Nation—to move forward a UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination in partnership with Manitoba’s Atikaki Provincial Park, and Ontario’s Woodland Caribou Provincial Park. PAC emerged from the First Nations Protected Areas Accord, signed in 2002. Pimachiowin Aki means “the land that gives life.” A Map of the area is available at <a href="http://www.pimachiowinaki.org/the-land">http://www.pimachiowinaki.org/the-land</a> .
Pew Charitable Trusts	PCT	The PCT is a major American not-for-profit private foundation, which consolidated seven individual charitable funds established between 1948 and 1979 by the sons and daughters of Sun Oil Company founder Joseph N. Pew and his wife Mary Anderson ( <a href="http://www.pewtrusts.org">http://www.pewtrusts.org</a> ). Sun Oil became Sunoco in 1979, a gasoline distribution company based in the US, and in Canada it became an energy company specialized in the production of synthetic crude from the oil sands ( <a href="http://www.en.wikipedia.org">http://www.en.wikipedia.org</a> ). PCT is involved in 19 areas of interest, one of which is the Environment Group. The Environment Group presides and provides funding (figures between 2001-2009 for boreal conservation are close to US\$50 millions) to the International Boreal Conservation Campaign, the Boreal Songbird Initiative and the Canadian Boreal Conservation

Name	Acronym	Role
		Framework.
Ontario Premier's Office		<p>The Premier of Ontario, Mr. Dalton McGuinty, is the 24<sup>th</sup> Premier of Ontario, presiding the Provincial leadership for two consecutive terms between 2003 and 2011 (and re-elected in 2011 for a third term) (<a href="http://www.premier.gov.on.ca">http://www.premier.gov.on.ca</a>). He succeeded two previous terms held by leaders of the Conservative Party of Ontario, Mike Harris (1995-2002) and Ernie Eves (2002-2003). Dalton McGuinty promised conservation organization during his election campaign, that he would institute a comprehensive planning approach for the Far North Region of Ontario. In 2008, during his second term, he announced supporting policy; his government introduced Bill 191 in 2009, and in 2010 the Legislative Assembly of Ontario passed the Far North Act, 2010, "An Act with respect to land use planning and protection in the Far North" (information on the development of the Bill is available at: <a href="http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&amp;BillID=2205">http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&amp;BillID=2205</a>)</p>
Royal Commission on the Northern Environment		<p>The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment was established on July 1977 by an order-in-Council of the Ontario Cabinet. The Commission was created to address beneficial and adverse effects on the environment of public and private enterprises north of the 50<sup>th</sup> parallel, and to recommend ways to evaluate and make decisions regarding future developments, pursuant to the 1975 Environmental Assessment Act. The final report recommended the involvement of Northerners in any decisions affecting them, local benefits, and the pursuit of developments that would not have adverse social or environmental consequences. The report is accessible at: <a href="http://www.archive.org/details/finalreponorenviron00onta">http://www.archive.org/details/finalreponorenviron00onta</a></p>
Richard Ivey Foundation (Ivey Foundation)	RIF	<p>The Ivey Foundation is a private charitable foundation located in Toronto, which established the "Conserving Canada's Forest" program (<a href="http://www.ivey.org">http://www.ivey.org</a>). The strategies are to increase the areas under protection in Canada, and to expand best practices for sustainable forest management. The Ivey Foundation has focused its grants on initiatives that will change market demands, and policy changes that support conservation outcomes. The Foundation has signed a Memorandum of Understanding</p>

Name	Acronym	Role
		with the Canadian Boreal Initiative.
The Nature Conservancy of Canada	NCC	NCC–Canada is a private not-for-profit organization that since 1962 aims to protect Canada’s biodiversity through purchases, donations and conservation easements ( <a href="http://www.thenatureconservancy.ca">http://www.thenatureconservancy.ca</a> ). NCC-Canada has eight offices with its main office in Toronto, and is an affiliate of the Arlington, VA-based The Nature Conservancy (TNC), which focuses on climate change, rainforests, coral reefs, migratory birds, land conservation and the role of people in conservation. The NCC is a member of the Boreal Leadership Council and participated in the Far North Science Advisory Panel.
Wildlife Conservation Society	WCS	The Wildlife Conservation Society-Canada is a Toronto-based affiliate of the New York-based WCS International. Its main goals are to address problems facing key species and their ecosystems, such as in the boreal and arctic regions of Canada. WCS works with partners and stakeholders to generate knowledge that is used to help guide decisions and planning for species and ecosystems conservation. A world map of the areas where WCS International has projects is available at: <a href="http://www.wcs.org/where-we-work.aspx">http://www.wcs.org/where-we-work.aspx</a> .
Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation	WFMC	The Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation is a Pikangikum-owned corporation established in 1998 to undertake planning and development in the traditional territory of Pikangikum First Nation ( <a href="http://www.whitefeatherforest.com">http://www.whitefeatherforest.com</a> ).
World Wildlife Fund-Canada	WWF	<p>WWF–Canada is an affiliate of Gland (Switzerland)-based WWF–International and aims to tackle globally important conservation issues of relevance to Canadians. It has eight regional offices and the head office is located in Toronto.</p> <p>Project areas include climate change mitigation, adaptation and development of a “green economy;” freshwater and oceans; as well as species at risk. Its approach is summarized as science-based; solutions-oriented; focused on lasting results; collaborative; based on the conservation-first principle; and the promotion of market alliances such as the Forest Stewardship Council.</p> <p>WWF–Canada has actively participated in the development of the Boreal Forest Conservation</p>

Name	Acronym	Role
		<p>Framework, and in its implementation on the ground, i.e., through the Far North Act, 2010 in the Far Region of Ontario. WWF was a member of the Partnership for Public Lands since 1997, and is a member of the Boreal Leadership Council since 2003.</p> <p>A world map of priority areas for conservation is available at: <a href="http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/">http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/</a></p>

## Appendix 1. Letter of introduction for respondents from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Parks, and conservation groups



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**Title:** Negotiating Customary Stewardship in the Whitefeather Forest: A Narrative Approach to the Political Ecology of Conservation in Northwestern Ontario

Catie Burlando  
Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba

**Thesis advisors:** Dr. Iain Davidson-Hunt and Dr. Fikret Berkes

**Thesis committee:** Dr. Leslie King and Dr. Janis Alcorn

My name is Catie Burlando. I am a student from the University of Manitoba. My project is situated in the Whitefeather Forest Initiative and attempts to understand how different people value and describe the conservation of the boreal forest, including government agencies, conservation groups and Aboriginal communities. Specifically, I will be looking at how the communities interact with outside groups when their ideas of conservation are different. I would like to ask you about your role and position in the protected areas dialogue with Pikangikum First Nation (Ahkee dialogue). I am interested in understanding what you would like to see happen in this area and what are the challenges to this vision. I would also like to know how protected areas can play a role in the renewal of Aboriginal communities in the boreal forest.

Interviews will last for about one hour. We may not have time to talk about all of these at once so we will focus on the questions you think are most important or interesting and schedule other interviews if necessary and/or interested. You do not need to talk about all of these topics or any of them if you do not wish to. You may stop the interview at any point and you can refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with.

As a participant, you can request to remain anonymous in any or all of the following: the interview transcript, the presentation to verify findings, any meetings associated with the verification of findings, the final thesis, and any or all published or unpublished materials associated with the research project.

I would like to record the interview with a digital audio recorder, but let me know if you prefer handwritten notes instead. In either case, I would like to know whether you wish



your words to be quoted verbatim in the above mentioned forums and documents or not. You can request for the entire interview, or specific parts of it, not to be recorded or included in my notes. If you tell me that certain information is confidential, I will not take notes, record the information, repeat the information to any party, or include it in the research. Finally, I would like to know whether you wish to be photographed and whether I can use the photograph in the above mentioned forums and documents.

This interview transcript will be destroyed by the researcher a year after the completion of the thesis.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date

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## **Appendix 2. Schedule of initial interview questions in Pikangikum First Nation**

### **Questions developed in March 2007**

#### *1. Process/strategies that led to the establishment of Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs) in the Land Use Strategy*

- When did the discussions on DPAs for the Whitefeather Forest come about?
- Who brought up the issue of protected areas and why?
- What was the role of the OMNR and what was the role of the ENGOS?
- What did each of them ask for?
- Have their positions changed over time? How?
- Why did the elders accept DPAs in the Land Use Strategy?
- What was the process that led to DPAs in the Whitefeather Forest? i.e., How were each of these areas chosen?
- What was the role of the head trappers and what was the role of the OMNR?

#### *2. Relationship between WFMC/Elders and OMNR with regards to DPAs*

#### *3. Relationship between WFMC/Elders and ENGOS with regards to DPAs*

#### *4. The Protected Areas Accord*

- Why did you sign the Protected Areas Accord?
- What was your expectation of this accord?
- Has that expectation been met?
- Has it not been met?

#### *5. Potential value of DPAs / potential limitations of DPAs*

- What do you think is the value of DPAs?
- Can they help you achieve any of your goals? (i.e., maintain areas suitable for customary activities?)
- What do you think are the limitations of protected areas?

#### *6. Maintaining values/customary stewardship in the DPAs*

- What are the values that ought to be maintained in DPAs?
- How can these values be maintained over time?
- How will you maintain your stewardship responsibilities within DPAs?
- How will areas located outside of DPAs be taken care of?

#### *7. Maintaining values outside of DPAs*

- Why is it important to maintain access to these areas?

### **Appendix 3. Schedule of revised interview questions in Pikangikum First Nation**

#### **Questions revised in July 2007**

1. I'm interested in learning about the political process for the negotiation of Dedicated Protected Areas (DPAs) in the Whitefeather Forest, and the role that the Elders, OMNR and ENGOs played.
2. I would also like to understand what are the benefits and challenges of DPAs for Pikangikum people.
3. When talking about conservation and dedicated protected areas, Elders refer to the term cheemahnahcheetooyaun. I would like to learn about what this term means.

What do you think of the relationship with ENGOs?

What do you think about the outcome?

What does the 50% represent?

Where does it come from?

## **Appendix 4. Schedule of interview questions for participants from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Parks and Ontario-based conservation organizations**

### *1. Perspectives on boreal conservation and the role of protected areas in conservation*

1. How do you define conservation in the boreal forest?
2. How is conservation different in the boreal and in the south?
3. What is the role that protected areas play in the boreal forest?
4. What do you hope to achieve (i.e., targets, outcomes) through areas in the Ontario boreal forest?
5. Is 50% protection part of your target? If so, what do you expect to achieve with 50% protection?
6. What are the limitations of protected areas in the boreal?
7. Can other land uses or economic development activities achieve conservation outcomes?

### *2. The role of First Nations in conservation and protected areas*

1. How do you see First Nations playing a part in conservation in the boreal?
2. What do you think are the benefits of protected areas for First Nations? What will ensure that the negative past doesn't repeat itself in the future?
3. Can you think of any reasons why First Nations may not want to work with protected areas?

### *3. Innovation in protected areas thinking that allows space for First Nations to negotiate culturally appropriate/sensitive conservation approaches*

1. How does your organization contribute towards achieving innovative approaches to conservation that are more sensitive to First Nations?
2. What do you expect out of partnership agreements with First Nations?
3. What communities have you worked with? How often have you meet with them?
4. When do you decide to enter into partnership agreements with First Nations?
5. What are examples of positive partnerships?
6. What do you consider positive outcomes?
7. How does community-based land use planning (NBI) fit within large-scale planning (i.e., Northern Tables)?

### *4. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative and the creation of Dedicated Protected Areas in the Whitefeather Forest*

1. What was your organization's role in the Whitefeather Forest Initiative?
2. When did you get involved and what were your expectations?
3. What were the ideas guiding the designation of protected areas in the Whitefeather?

4. Were there places you found common ground? Where did you find the most challenges?
5. Has your relationships with Pikangikum led to changes in how you envision boreal conservation?
6. What did you learn from your encounters with the elders?
7. Could the Ahkee dialogue lead to a new policy for the management of DPAs in the Whitefeather Forest?
8. What do you think this dialogue addresses that has not been addressed in legislation and current policy?